

The Woman Citizen

Formerly The Woman's Journal
Founded 1870

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

MAY 31, 1924



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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director Editor
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Advertising Manager Associate Editor
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART WINIFRED L. RICH

The *Woman Citizen* is published every other Saturday (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City, Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City.

By subscription, \$2.00 a year; postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style

IX

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No. 27

No. 1022 note in volume 7 June 28



Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird

Republican Women at Cleveland



Mrs. Martin J. Caples

HERE are five women, out of many equally prominent, who will be seen at the National Republican Convention in Cleveland, June 10, where some thousand women expect to gather. They are all delegates. By the latest reports from headquarters ninety-three women delegates with full powers had been listed, with ten states not yet heard from. Besides, there will be about 250 alternates.

Women are to take a prominent part in the convention this year, all up and down the line.



Mrs. Clarence Maynard

ABOVE (left) is Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, East Walpole, Massachusetts, president of the Massachusetts Women's Republican Club. Across from her is Mrs. Martin J. Caples, of Norfolk, Virginia, alternate to C. Bascom Slemp, whose official duties as Secretary to President Coolidge may prevent his casting his vote. In the middle of the page is Mrs. Clarence Maynard, of Olympia, Washington. The lower left is held by Mrs. John T. Pratt, district delegate from New York City, and the right by Mrs. David Tod, of Youngstown, Ohio.



Mrs. John T. Pratt

ELABORATE arrangements are being made for the women's entertainment. Steamers have been chartered to take the delegates sailing on Lake Erie, special performances have been planned in the theatres, and tea may be found at the women's headquarters every day. On the evening before the convention opens the National Committee will be entertained by the Cleveland Committee, with three prominent women as speakers. There's still more about the convention on page 24.



Mrs. David Tod

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII vol. 9

MAY 31, 1924

No. 1 Number 27

News Notes of the Fortnight

Japanese Exclusion

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has just signed the immigration bill, including the clause excluding the Japanese, of which he and Secretary Hughes, and large sections of the press and numerous organizations disapprove. He said, in a statement accompanying the bill, that he in view of the fact that the present immigration law expires next June 30, and that immigration legislation, in his opinion, is needed, he is forced to consider the bill as a whole and approve it. He reviews the incident of the Hanihara letter, and the action of both Houses, emphasizing his own appeal for postponement until March 1, 1926, to allow negotiation of an agreement with Japan, and the refusal. He characterizes the action of Congress as "unnecessary and deplorable."

Much feeling had been reported in Japan over the exclusion legislation during the period of uncertainty over its final vote, but no outbursts. The resignation of the United States ambassador, Cyrus H. Woods, because of his disapproval of the exclusion measure, must have been very comforting. A meeting of the leaders of every party in the Japanese Diet recently passed a resolution of "profound sorrow that Congress by its action should have attacked so harshly the cordiality of relations between Japan and America."

The Coming Conventions

THE conventions are upon us. June 8 the preliminaries of the big Republican meeting begin at Cleveland, and on Tuesday, June 10, at eleven the formal opening occurs with Theodore E. Burton of Ohio delivering the keynote address. It is expected that the President will be put in nomination on Thursday morning—and unless controversies develop over the vice-presidential nominee, that will be all. At the moment former Senator Beveridge of Indiana looms large among these running-mate possibilities,

which include the other Indianan, Senator Watson.

June 24 is opening day at Madison Square Garden for the Democratic convention, and the choice from among a whole hatful of candidates' names—McAdoo, Glass, Smith, Underwood, Ralston, Cox, John W. Davis, Governor Davis of Kansas, Senator Robinson, Governor Ritchie, and doubtless others as well. Senator Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, is to make the keynote speech.

June 17 is the date for the convention at St. Paul of the united forces of Farmer Labor, Committee of Forty-Eight and other progressive groups bent on forming a third party but not fo-

cused on a candidate, while on July 7 the new group of the Conference for Progressive Political Action meets in Cleveland.

The Revised Tax Bill

THE tax bill, passed with widely differing features by House and Senate, went to conference, and the conference report embodying concessions from both houses was passed by the Senate, May 24, 60 to 6. During the interval the press was filled with speculation as to whether or not the President would veto the bill, as Secretary Mellon is reported to have urged. Some of the points considered objectionable to him remain, but others have been removed. The provision in the Senate bill for publicity of income-tax returns has been softened to say that tax returns are public records, but open to inspection only on order of the President and under rules prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and approved by the President. This at least kills the objection that full publicity would put the small business at the mercy of the large. The provision remains that the names of all income-tax payers and the amount of their tax shall be made public. On the normal tax the House conferees accepted the Senate changes (see May 17 CITIZEN). The Senate maximum surtax—forty per cent—was retained. So was the Senate provision that the maximum amount that may be considered earned income shall be \$10,000 instead of \$20,000.

A surprise of the proceedings was the appearance of new Treasury estimates on the basis of which Senator Smoot, Chairman of the Finance Committee, who had previously predicted a serious deficit, admitted that the income from this tax bill with other resources would be sufficient to pay expenses, including the bonus, and to leave a surplus. This, however, he said would be true only in case other measures now pending which call for large appropriations should not be enacted—among them the very necessary item of increased pay for postal employees. The estimates are based on

Very Briefly

TWO subcommittees of the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation have been meeting in Brussels. One has been considering an international university. It was felt this could not yet be done, but the subcommittee is taking steps to encourage employment of foreign professors in universities and to give wider publicity to those facilities which already exist for students of foreign universities. The subcommittee also approved in principle the organization of a course of instruction in the League of Nations, to be given at Geneva.

Lithuania has ratified the Memel agreement, for which chief credit goes to Norman H. Davis, who headed the League of Nations Committee that drew up the settlement.

Republican members of the Senate Agricultural Committee voted not to report out the bid of Henry Ford for Muscle Shoals, which has had such wide discussion for several years.

The Secretary of the Navy, Curtis D. Wilbur, admits that the United States now ranks second among naval powers—the ratio 5-4-3 representing Great Britain, the United States and Japan.

When charges were preferred against Senator Wheeler by a Federal Grand Jury in Montana, a Senate Committee headed by Senator Borah was appointed to investigate. The Borah report pronouncing the charges groundless has just been accepted by the Senate by a vote of 56 to 5.

Announcement is made of the discovery by several persons independently of a "death ray" with diabolical powers.

At the same time, no less an authority than Dr. Charles H. Mayo is willing to predict the cure of cancer within a few years, though he is not yet ready to indicate what the means will be.

the tax return of 1923, which was a more prosperous year than 1924 promises to be.

The bill has now been passed by the House, and may be acted on by the President before this magazine is read.

The Pepper Plan

A WORLD Court proposal is before the Senate—at last, at the end of sixteen months in which the Committee on Foreign Relations has kept World Court proposals in restraint. But this isn't the World Court proposal which President Harding was urging on the trip that ended in his death—the proposal with the Harding-Hughes reservations, which were considered to make American participation in the Court safe from alliance with the League of Nations. That proposal won Mr. Coolidge's endorsement also, but it still sleeps despite the clamor of many powerful organizations and individuals. Then came the Lenroot proposal, introduced when it seemed clear that the committee would not report out the original plan. That was not generally welcomed as "just as good." It, too, sleeps. Next came a plan of Senator Pepper's, first offered some months ago.

Recently Senator Lodge announced a plan which called for making the Court all over anew, and was plainly impossible. This, when it seemed best to report out *something*, Senator Lodge declined to release. A plan offered by Senator Swanson (Democrat)—practically the Harding-Hughes proposal—was defeated, and the Pepper plan was brought out.

Flying Round the World

THE three planes of the round-the-world American flight—three, since Major Martin's misfortune in being lost for ten days in Alaska—have landed at Tokio, and been heartily welcomed. They crossed the Pacific from that far point of the Aleutian Islands, Attu, to the island of Paramashiru—818 miles—and then, by another long flight to Japan, linked the Far East and this country by air for the first time. Their story is one of days of fighting the elements—snow that weighted the wings of the airplanes, winds that threatened to rip off the canvas, and almost impenetrable fogs. Whenever they landed it was on the bleakest of spots—remote trading posts and desolate islands.

The Public Printer's Charges

A STARTLING account has been made by George H. Carter, Public Printer of the United States, of the conditions he found in the Government Printing Office when he entered it. Mr. Carter was a Harding appointee, under directions to make the Government Printing Office as efficient as any private concern. What he found, he says, was an office run by a secret, oath-bound society called the "Wahnetas", which

had been accustomed to dictating who should go or stay and what should be done. He found, besides, an office that was a nest of racetrack gambling—so raw that the files were full of betting tips—and of bootlegging and graft activities. Mr. Carter says he was forced to dismiss 268 employees for these reasons; and that he was the victim of persecution by the Wahnetas, who have tried hard to secure his downfall.

The revelations were made at a convention of the Third District Typothetae Federation. The charges are denied by officials of the International Typographical Union, who say they are part of a campaign of vilification by a faction of the Union desirous to retain control.

The Senate Committee on Printing may ask for more evidence.

German and French Difficulties

IN both Germany and France there are difficulties looming in the way of forming a new government. The German moderates, a group of several parties elected May 4, have not yet succeeded. It seems that there is a provision in the German Constitution which may require a two-thirds majority for the full acceptance of the Dawes report, and the moderates have not that number in line.

After many councils the Marx Cabinet, lacking a majority, resigned on the eve of the opening of the Reichstag. It is expected that the spokesman of the Nationalists, the strongest individual party in the Reichstag, will be asked to form a Cabinet; that he will fail, and that Marx will again be Chancellor.

Edouard Herriot, mayor of Lyons, and leader of the victors in the election, will be the new premier of France.

President Millerand told him so when he asked M. Herriot to meet him and Poincaré in conference over a new descent of the franc. Assurance was wanted that the new government would not unbalance the budget. This M. Herriot gave, without details; he called attention to the fact that he had advocated taxation all during the war while the other two had encouraged the policy of living on loans. Herriot claims that the recent fall of the franc was due to a planned maneuver to embarrass him and his party.

His indicated policies will be moderate—will not imperil French security; will not be precipitate about the Ruhr, but will mean its evacuation when Germany fully accepts the Dawes plan. And his foreign policy will be built around the League of Nations.

The difficulties in prospect for him in forming a government lie in the opposition of the extreme left to the Dawes plan. M. Herriot has 137 deputies in his group—about a quarter of the French Chamber. To have a majority of even 25 or 30 he needs the support of 39 Republican Socialists and the 108 Unified Socialists—the extreme left. The 39 will be delivered by their leader, M. Painlevé, but the other group is still uncertain.

A New Treaty

ITALY has made a treaty with Czechoslovakia which has significance for the peace of Europe. Shortly after the Armistice, France adopted a policy of allying the minor powers of the Little Entente, and a balance of power line-up developed as a possibility: France and the Little Entente on one side, Italy, Austria and Hungary on the other. But recently Hungary made a treaty with the League of Nations, which softens the line between it and the Little Entente; Yugoslavia made an agreement with Italy, and now this third treaty, together with the change of government at Paris, marks a new direction of European alliances.

Published as You Pay

SENATOR Borah has succeeded in having an amendment tacked onto the Postal Salaries bill, now before Congress, which provides that campaign contributions shall be made public every ten days. At the end of the campaign a complete financial report would be published giving the names of all contributors and the amount of any deficit, and thereafter every month the names of those contributing to wipe out the deficit, with the amounts, would be published. The bill now hits directly at the practice of shaking down postmasters and other holders of government jobs for contributions. The essential idea of the amendment is publicity of contributions while the campaign is in progress. May 27, 1924

Mrs. Cornelia E. Hildebrandt—our cover artist—became a miniature painter by chance. Born in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, she studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, and under Augustus Koopman, in Paris, working in oils on lifesize paintings. Then a friend asked her to join a miniature class. From the time she touched the first piece of ivory large paintings were forgotten in the fascination of this delicate work.

Mrs. Hildebrandt is a member of the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, and exhibits with them and with the American Society of Miniature Painters.

"Naturally, the history of miniatures interests me," said Mrs. Hildebrandt. "Dating back so many centuries, this art was in eclipse for a time after the discovery of modern photography, but now there is a revival of love for the old art. Throughout the country there flourishes a process whereby a print of a photograph is made on ivory and tinted, and 'miniatures' are made by the dozens. The public should be educated to the difference between this new industry and the beauty of the old art."

Her other hobbies? Her flower garden, her remodeled home in New York, and, of course, her husband—Howard L. Hildebrandt, the portrait painter.

Congress
Speeds
Up



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Bonus
World Court
Farm Bills

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

May 22, 1924.

MRS. COOLIDGE'S garden parties are in full swing, and Pennsylvania Avenue shows more high hats than it has seen since last New Year's Day, but Washington has been drenched in rain, rain. Strawberries are all late and the early ones are rotting. The President took cold standing on the damp ground back of the White House at the last garden festival, so today's party will be held indoors. What predisposes the President and Mrs. Coolidge to a cold undoubtedly is the long line of thousands of hands to be shaken, which brings on almost inevitable fatigue. Mrs. Coolidge has mastered the art. The President usually has to have his hand bound up afterward. They accomplish the hand-shaking in a different way. Mrs. Coolidge seldom allows the person who approaches her to grasp her hand. She reaches for the visitor's proffered hand-shake, grasping it firmly, so that there is no chance for her own to be squeezed. In this way she is the master of the situation and can shake hundreds of hands without having her fingers lamed. The President, however, is not so agile and many cordial guests in the line get hold of him first and wring his hand heartily. Consequently he is stiff and sore at the end of the afternoon's work.

The Return of Colonel Harvey

Colonel George Harvey is coming to town as editor of the local morning newspaper, the *Washington Post*. Even before he arrives on June 1, he has created something of a sensation as to what his viewpoint on national affairs will be. No one exactly knows who will be his circle of intimates. Nor can one imagine the same kind of friendship between President Coolidge and Colonel Harvey that existed between President Harding and Edward B. McLean, proprietor of the *Post*. They were golf cronies and houseboat friends. President

Coolidge is not given to that kind of recreation, even if Colonel Harvey were his choice. As for the members of the Cabinet, it has been considerably renewed since Colonel Harvey served at the Court of St. James's.

The *Washington Post* lately has been considered the administration organ at the capital, with this exception, however, that this relation was most obvious when President Harding and Mr. McLean were so much together. Since Mr. Harding's death the *Post* has shown signs of peevishness at the ways of Congress and other Republican idiosyncrasies. Political incidents heretofore generously condoned or overlooked by the *Post* have been taken up and regretted. Moreover, the *Post's* isolation policy in foreign affairs, on the whole, has been considerably softened, so much so that the administration paper has been turning to domestic issues and letting foreign affairs alone for a while. But it is not to be imagined that Colonel Harvey will steer a middle course. He wields probably the most trenchant journalistic pen of any writer in the country. He can stir up more dust in a few paragraphs than any other editor. His coming to Washington in a permanent capacity is of national consequence.

Congress has gone into night sessions, and leaders are predicting adjournment by June 7, with members of the farm bloc holding out for action on agricultural relief measures before Congress closes. In a conference with President Coolidge leaders from the Republican and Democratic sides of the House agreed to work for the June 7 date, and in all probability this will hold. The controlling factor right now is concentrated attention upon the opening of the active presidential campaigns, with the nominating conventions in June, and as both House and part of the Senate come up for re-election, and as presidential politics has been at the bottom of all the session's work from the be-

ginning, it is unthinkable that there will be appreciable delay in getting out of Washington to take part in the actual event.

The Bonus

There is no satisfaction in Washington over the bonus legislation, which has gone through as I write. No one thinks it will get many soldier votes, will give the soldiers anything highly appreciated in the way of reward, or will make any headway for the Republican or Democratic parties. It is considered a severe affront to the President and an evidence of arrogance on the part of Congress without logic or reason. It will open the way, according to the best government economists, for another fifty-year series of bonus propositions, each one a little more grasping than the last. Pensions awarded after the Civil War were modest, and in all succeeding years, even a few weeks ago, legislation has been proposed, and now and then passed, increasing and extending the Civil War award. The Bursum bill, which the President recently vetoed (sustained by Congress), was merely another measure to increase the Civil War pensions and extend them. And although the present bonus legislation does little for the soldier, its cumulative effect on government finances is tremendous. It gives a man a \$50 cash bonus, an opportunity of borrowing about \$80 on an insurance policy after two years, or an insurance policy for about \$1,000 on an average, upon which he can realize by death. On the other hand, it saddles the Government with an expense of stupendous size and a new organization of 4,000 clerks and officials to do the work. It practically nullifies the achievements of the Republican régime, and the Wilson administration before it, in bringing about a program for a national budget system to conserve the country's finances.

The Senate had only two votes to spare in passing the bill over the Presi-

dent's veto. In the House there were fifty-two more than the requisite two-thirds. There was little definition of party lines in the vote, regular Republicans joining Democrats in the repudiation of the President, and the list of seventeen Republicans who voted to sustain the presidential veto included regular Republicans and stand-pat Democrats—such as Senators Moses, Pepper, Smoot, Wadsworth, Reed of Pennsylvania, McKinley, Colt, and Edge, Republicans; and Bayard, Bruce, Edwards, Glass, King, Dial, Shields, Swanson and Underwood, Democrats.

American-Japanese Relations

Some idea of the seriousness of the immigration situation can be felt from the fact that the American Ambassador to Tokio has sent in his resignation, publicly because of the physical condition of his mother-in-law, who was hurt in the Japanese earthquake, but to those who know, for the real reason that he is entirely opposed to the Japanese exclusion proposed in the new immigration bill now awaiting the President's signature or veto. In Washington it has been rumored that Ambassador Hanihara is at the point of resignation for the same reason. This ought to tell a simple story which has not had sufficient emphasis. The American representative on the ground, who presumably has given the greatest study to actual conditions and relations between the United States and Japan, has come to the conclusion that such a legislative course would not be the best judgment. Long before the bill was passed by either house of Congress, the Ambassador's reports on the matter were coming into the State Department. It must have been well known to State Department officials and to members of Congress directly concerned, exactly how this legislation would affect American-Japanese relations. Communications did go from Secretary Hughes to Congress, containing, no doubt, actual transmission of such expert views as came from the American Ambassador; but the elemental fact of how the whole thing appeared on the other side and what it presaged in public opinion and complexities in view of the present gentlemen's agreement between this country and Japan, was not emphasized. The country is now awaiting the President's action.

President Coolidge is in an unhappy position with regard to Congress. Heretofore, relations between the legislative and executive ends of government have been punctuated by a great deal of talk. Since Mr. Coolidge took office, the dissension has been almost without controversy, but full of action, that is, the affronts which the President has received from Congress have been more than mere matters of conversational squabbles. The President has been unable, appar-

In Congress

BONUS legislation has overshadowed both houses of Congress during the fortnight. Little progress has been made in the general legislative program in consequence. Notable bills have been the following:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Smith, Democrat, South Carolina, agricultural relief bill, creating a federal cooperative association of member groups to handle individual problems of farmers.

Conference report on the immigration bill providing for Japanese exclusion effective July 1 this year in opposition to the President's advice.

By Senator Lodge, Republican, resolution establishing a world court at The Hague of which the United States would be a member.

By Senator Copeland, Democrat, New York, bill incorporating a national police bureau.

By Senator Howell, Republican, Nebraska, bill proposing a loan of \$25,000,000 to the government of Germany with which to purchase American grain and other food supplies for destitute women and children.

Passed by the Senate

Soldier bonus bill over the veto of the President, with the necessary two-thirds—59 to 26.

Army appropriation bill, for the support of the War Department.

Legislation already passed by the House providing for the refunding of the Hungarian war debt and its settlement.

Bill extending the life of the District of Columbia Rent Commission one year.

Resolution requesting the treasurers of the Democratic and Republican National Committees to report regarding campaign contributions from the five meat packing companies.

Resolution instructing the Interstate Commerce Commission to adjust freight rates on agricultural commodities at the lowest figure compatible with transportation service.

Resolution already passed by the House remitting further payments on the Chinese Boxer indemnity.

Resolution directing the Tariff Commission to investigate the cotton textile industry.

Introduced in the House

By Representative La Guardia, Republican, New York, resolution requesting President Coolidge to call an international conference to outlaw war and establish a new international code.

By Representative Thomas, Democrat, resolution providing that a vote of two-thirds of each House be required to declare war.

By Representative Howard, Democrat, resolution for a congressional investigation of the present depression in agriculture.

By Representative Victor Berger, Wisconsin, bill for government ownership and operation of railroads, express companies and telegraph and telephone.

By Representative Fairchild, bill granting absolute independence for the Philippine Islands in twenty years.

Passed by the House

Soldier bonus bill in the form of insurance certificates—over the veto of President Coolidge by a vote of 313 to 78, more than the necessary two-thirds.

Conference report on the immigration bill with the Japanese exclusion feature operative on July 1.

Bill already passed by the House increasing the number of army non-commissioned officers available for duty with the national guard.

Second deficiency bill, in the main for the Department of Justice.

Lehlbach bill abolishing the personnel classification board and transferring its duties to the Civil Service Commission.

Resolution relieving China from further payment of the Boxer indemnity with the provision that such funds shall be used by the Chinese government for educational purposes.

ently, to impress Congress with the reason and logic of government problems. He has transmitted to both houses the opinions of able members of his Cabinet, backed by reports from men on the ground, and Congress has paid no attention to such expert advice and recommendation. Every Cabinet officer has been first looked upon with suspicion, and then ignored. Secretary Mellon has lost his point with both the bonus and the tax-reduction scheme. Secretary Hughes made no headway with what must have been his advice in the Japanese immigration matter. Attorney General Daugherty had to get out. Secretary Denby, under extreme pressure from insurgent Republicans and Democrats, finally resigned. Postmaster General New has not received the support of the regular Republican faction in Indiana, his home state. What the Republican campaign will be in the face of such lack of unanimity is a matter for wonderment.

Congress comes up for re-election next November, as well as the President. The country has not yet got around to thinking of that, but it is most significant, and it may well be that the public attention is concentrated at present in the wrong channel. It is not at all unlikely that greater benefit would come about by rigid study of the Congressional candidates, their individual purposes, qualifications, character, etc., than by concentration upon the personality of the Presidential nominee.

A Financial "Pickle"

This Congress has passed the bonus over the President's veto, with the money coming from Heaven-knows-where to meet it. At the same time it actually proceeds to put through the tax-reduction bill, upon which the conferees from the House and Senate now have agreed, on the assumption that national taxes can be reduced and the bonus paid at the same time. The financial end of the Government will be in what the old woman called "a pickle." The tax bill will create on its own accord a hundred million dollar deficit. The bonus is additional. The tax legislation, as at present tentatively formulated, will retain the proposition to cut this year's income taxes 25 per cent. It eliminates the feature inserted by the House insurgents for publicity for income tax returns. The unfortunate part of all this is that no matter what political party gains the next election, the country will keep on paying for the next dozen years, the problems being passed on from one four years to the other.

The farm group has said that Congress shall not adjourn until some action has been taken on the proposition of Henry Ford to purchase and operate the government nitrate plant at Muscle

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Insurgent Prospects

By E. K. P. S.

To help its readers follow intelligently the events of presidential year, the *Citizen* has been publishing sketches of the candidates for nomination. Mrs. Stokes, the *Citizen's* Washington correspondent, began with the outstanding Republican candidate, President Coolidge, and has reported the record of two Democrats. Here she sums up the situation of the insurgents and third-party prospects. As in the personal sketches, Mrs. Stokes's aim is to state the facts, without prejudice or partisanship, without any endorsement on her part or the *Citizen's*.

Several Democratic candidates will follow.

CANDIDATES for the presidential nomination in both Republican and Democratic parties have been prone to point to "poor Europe"—Europe, where political parties are shot to pieces; England, where the labor element has obtained complete control; Germany, the so-called republic, in the hands of the "left"; France, with the overthrow of the conservative régime. But when they come down to brass tacks they know that the political fabric in the United States is almost as shattered in its foundations. About the only difference is that so far we have not put on the cloak of the new order. If the Republican Party took any other name, no one would recognize it as the old institution. If the Democratic Party chose to call itself something else, its identity as the party of Jefferson would not be obvious. Lines are so split and interchanged that there is little semblance left on either side. Votes of Congress, usually the index of regular party cleavage, lately have been so mixed that even their party definition has been lost. Regulars have deserted the "regular" President. Sooner or later the man is going to be found, inside or outside the old lines, who will coordinate the present complexity. Either there will be a new party, or the old ones will shake off the dead leaves and start afresh with restated designs and purposes.

England, France, Germany and the rest in Europe have been concrete in their transition from the old to the new because there the new order has had a foundation less factional, more definitely stated, and has had leaders powerful and true to type. We have no Ramsay MacDonald, a combination of specialist and statesman. If we have and don't know it, he is in the lazy background somewhere. Our progressive and liberal prospects as we approach the nominating conventions are only a little less nebulous than the line-up of the old parties themselves. If anything comes from the insurgency so strong in Con-

gress and throughout the country, it will be because some man shakes himself out of his shoes and starts to work, forsaking factions and making concessions. If Senator Borah stirred himself, something might happen. If Senator La Follette regained his strength, the wheels might go round.

Consider the situation today in con-



© Harris & Ewing
Senator Robert M. La Follette,
Leader of the Insurgents
Will They Bolt?

trast to the progressive bolt of Roosevelt's time, when in March, 1912, he announced himself a candidate for the Republican nomination and, opposed by Taft, finally walked out of the convention and was nominated by the new progressive element. By a campaign of the severity of trench warfare, the third party carried the work through to the election and received eighty-eight electoral votes, thereby nullifying the whole Republican effort and virtually electing Woodrow Wilson, Democrat. But Theodore Roosevelt was a man of opposite character and potentialities from some of the so-called leaders in the progressive movement today. He knew what he wanted. He had the physical strength to carry it on and the courage to fight it through. He had the personal magnetism to attract helpers. He

had a spirit of compromise so long as it did not interfere with the main purpose. He was not weakened by personal extremes of opinion. His liberalism was entirely compatible with the school of experience. His theories were more economic and scientific than purely ideal, and he was not hampered by the bogey of the Russian Reds. In those days it was not thought queer to be called a progressive. Not so many years before, Senator Lodge had been catalogued as one of the liberals of the upper House. But the main point of it was that the personality of Theodore Roosevelt was sufficiently well rounded to swing a great problem.

Progressive politics needs another Roosevelt. As the conventions approach, the country and the best politicians are aroused to the need of political reconstruction. The material is here. It only needs formulation. To pass up the coming opportunity and revert to an antiquated and reactionary status only postpone the funeral. There are two methods of accomplishing such a reconstruction: First, a series of revival meetings and conversions in each of the old parties, led by the best elements, so much in the majority as to dominate the party situation. Second, the coordination of the insurgents of both parties and outside into an independent movement strong enough to function on its own account.

The course of American political history so far has been to favor reconstruction within the old parties rather than the interjection of a new one. The populist movement, the great issue of the Civil War, prohibition, the farming disaffection represented by the Non-Partisan League, have all been carried on more or less successfully through the old parties. The Roosevelt bolt of 1912 is the only example of a successful separatist and independent movement, and this could be called a success only from a non-constructive viewpoint. It killed the Republican chances and did not win for itself. It was in effect a

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Mrs. Wallace T. Perham
Second Vice-President, G.F.W.C.



© Backrach
Mrs. John D. Sherman
Chairman, Department Applied Education



The Woodward Studios
Mrs. William S. Jennings
First Vice-President

The Gathering of the Clubs

At Los Angeles, June 2-13

EARLY in June California women become hostesses, at Los Angeles, to club-women from all over the country, in what promises to be a huge and brilliant convention. For months past leading women have been devoting time and interest and brains to the task of providing, out of California's rich resources, for the entertainment of thousands. The great Philharmonic Auditorium, built through the efforts of a leader of the convening body, will shelter the big meetings. The Biltmore Hotel, half a block away, will be convention headquarters. Hundreds of California women have been at work on the committees; one group has even put itself through a stiff study course in order to man an efficient bureau of information on everything in California. Three thousand guests are expected. The convention will last for twelve solid days—June 2 to June 13—the program will cover a staggering range of subjects and will assemble a host of educators, writers, editors, musicians, government officials, and eminent speakers who are specialists in civics, art, home economics, Indian affairs, home decoration, dramatics, journalism, foreign relations, better homes and better laws.

All this means the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the largest organization of women in the country—an organization devoted to the promotion of "all movements looking toward the betterment of life." That defining phrase in itself accounts for the wide reach of the Federation's interests, reflected always in the Biennial program,

and for the complex organization, the many sub-divisions and committees. The "seventeenth" speaks of almost a forty-year history, and sends one back.

The beginnings of this big development were in 1889, when Mrs. "Jennie June" Croly, founder of the Sorosis Club, of New York City, proposed that Sorosis celebrate its twenty-first anniversary by calling a convention of the various women's study clubs scattered



Boyd
Mrs. Robert J. Burdette
Chairman, Biennial program

through the country. The convention was called, the idea caught hold, a movement toward federation started, and a year and a month later the Ratification Convention made it effective. Mrs. Charlotte Emerson Brown, of New Jersey, became the first president. The Biennial habit was inaugurated and the first convention was held at the old Palmer House in Chicago, in 1892.

It would be entertaining to compare the program of that meeting with the

Los Angeles program. Large vs. small clubs, the value of extemporaneous speaking, philanthropic work for clubs, something on parliamentary law, literary subjects, were the business and themes of the first Biennial, and "at the first Biennial it was the almost unanimous decision that . . . the club should serve as a 'resting place' from the regular absorbing activities of life." Today, while there are still plenty of literary subjects, the program is crowded with matters of broad public interest, carrying suggestion of anything but rest.

Gradually through the years the program widened. Beginning with literary and philanthropic concerns, art and music were added; then education. Bit by bit it became clear, in repeated situations, that philanthropic work involved legislation, and bit by bit the suffragists drove home the question, How get legislation without the vote? Suffrage was discussed, carefully, with the sides well balanced, on the floor of the conventions; but it was not until the New York Equal Suffrage League applied for membership that the issue was raised. After that it was straight sailing. Other suffrage clubs joined, and in 1914, at Chicago, when Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker was president, a suffrage resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority.

Leafing through a history of the Federation's first twenty-one years, one sees the subjects that make up today's program gather momentum—public health, child labor, control of the packers, home economics, more and more forms of conservation. Still farther on, in the years since suffrage, has come the vitalizing influence of citizenship, turning theory into practice and shifting the em-

phasis of the Federation. Even yet it avoids the political field, explicitly, though more and more it is drawn in. A few years ago a Department of International Relations was established; within the past year the World Court has been endorsed, and it is likely the President's address will stress, at this convention, the demand that this country shall enter the World Court at once. And a Bureau of Education with a secretary in the Cabinet—a subject involving the hot political issue of Federal vs. state rights—is prominent in the Federation's program.

Just how wide reaching now are the Federation's interests a glimpse at the coming program will show—and that glimpse is of interest in itself, too. The formal opening comes on Tuesday evening, June 3, when California, through the junior auxiliaries, gives a great, gorgeous flower welcome, and Mrs. Winter, Federation President, makes her farewell address, at the end of four years' splendid leadership. A whole day is devoted to each of the seven departments—with the department chairman in each case presiding, and the discussion carried on right through luncheon. Press Day, under Lessie Stringfellow Read, will include a school of journalism for club press women, and a long row of distinguished writer guests. Legislative Day—Mrs. Edward Franklin White, chairman—means conferences on law enforcement, civil service reform, legislation against narcotics, for protection of children in industry, and uniform marriage and divorce laws. A national campaign will be initiated to place all law enforcement officers under the merit system. Education Day will see the beginning of a new campaign against illiteracy, with the budget and home economics featured in Mrs. John D. Sherman's many-sided Department of Applied Education. Public Welfare, including important health topics, will be in Mrs. Elmer Blair's charge. The conferences of American Citizenship Day (Mrs. Pennybacker, chairman) will be topped with a speech by Mrs. Catt. On the day devoted to artistic and cultural interests, noted artists and musicians, secured by Mrs. Rose V. S. Berry, will appear, and for every department of work there will be an exhibit, and sometimes pageants.

The last day is Foreign Relations Day. For this day Mrs. Winter, who is chairman of the department, has secured as one speaker Whiting Williams, the vice-president of a steel company who went into overalls himself to study the relations between labor and capital, and carried his quest into the Ruhr—into the workshops of Europe.

The chairman of the committee which arranged all this program had the pleasure of having it accepted without change. She is Mrs. Clara B. Burdette, widow of the famous clergyman, Robert J. Burdette, and her public activities are

legion. She built the first clubhouse for women by women in the country—the old Ebell Club in Los Angeles—federated the clubs of California and became their first president; did important war work. She is at present state director of the General Federation for California and president of the Los Angeles Women's Athletic Club, to mention two things. It was Mrs. Burdette who planned and financed the building of the Philharmonic Auditorium, where convention sessions are held. Both as



Mrs. Edward Franklin White
Chairman, Legislative Department

lecturer and writer she is well known.

Another California clubwoman of distinction is chairman of the California Local Biennial Board, Mrs. Joseph F. Sartori, who, as its president, started the Friday Morning Club in Los Angeles on the career of building which has just climaxed in the opening of a beautiful clubhouse.

Election Day will be an absorbing interest from the beginning. To suc-



Mrs. Eugene B. Lawson
Of the Indian Welfare Committee

ceed Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the Federation for the past two terms, there are three candidates: Mrs. John D. Sherman, chairman of the Department of Applied Education, whose record was given in the CITIZEN of May 17; Mrs. William S. Jennings, of Jacksonville, Florida, now First Vice-President, who is president of the Florida Legislative Council, a member of the national committee working for a Unit-

ed States Department of Education with a secretary in the Cabinet, a leading woman in Florida Federation official circles; and Mrs. Wallace T. Perham, of Glendine, Montana, now Second Vice-President of the Federation, who has been Montana state president, and was a prominent worker with the Food Administration during the war.

For First Vice-President the candidates are: Mrs. Edward Franklin White, the able chairman of legislation, deputy attorney general of Indiana, and in legal editorial work besides, who has been responsible for much progressive legislative work; and Mrs. Eugene B. Lawson, of Oklahoma, member of the Indian Welfare Committee and chairman of Indian music, whose mother was a daughter of the last tribal chief of the Delawares. For Second Vice-President, Mrs. John Ruhl, Mrs. William R. Alvord and Miss Florence Dibert are mentioned.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Henry S. Godfrey; the Recording Secretary, Mrs. James E. Hays; and Mrs. Florence C. Floore, Treasurer, are slated to succeed themselves.

It is understood that a Biennial convention is entertained by a state rather than a city, and California takes this in the fullest sense. Not only has the state shared in preparations, but for the week following the convention San Francisco also is hostess to clubwomen visitors. The convention program says the California women have restrained their impulses toward hospitality; after reading of simultaneous teas in thirty hotels, luncheons, trips to mountains, to moving-picture studios, to the marvelous group of clubhouses that Los Angeles boasts, and to any number of other attractions, one wonders what they would have done, unrestrained.

Tremendous values must come from the sheer gathering together of so many women from so many places. With the vast distances across, and up and down this country, it is only in such ways that the extremes can come to know each other—and, knowing, inevitably like each other and cooperate. To this meeting delegates come west not only from north, south and east, but a number from the allied clubs of foreign countries as well. It is a very fine kind of melting pot, dissolving misconceptions and differences and bringing out the clear gold of womanhood united to make a better world.

For that is the Federation—groups, big and little, making up a total of two and a half million women, each in its own way, in its own community, trying to meet the outstanding need—whether literary cultivation, libraries, rest rooms, clean-ups, social gatherings, dance halls, public health, work for helpful measures, or what not, as community needs and the club's ability dictate—each contributing its bit to a huge sum of human improvement.



Alice Ames Winter

By Lillian E. Taaffe



Mrs. Winter's home in Minneapolis—outside and in

Photos by Hibbard, Minneapolis

MARRIAGE or a career. Must a woman choose? Seated in the cozy living-room of her home, a room of blue velvet carpets and hangings, with mahogany furniture and soft-shaded reading lamps, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, smiled her answer to my question.

A fire burned brightly in the huge grate, and before putting her reply into words she let her gaze wander out the broad front windows, past the stately pine trees of her sloping lawn, and feast on the lovely view out Dean Boulevard, just off Lake of the Isles—beauty spot of Minneapolis' fine residential section.

Wife, mother, grandmother and recognized among America's foremost leaders in the woman movement—who could be better qualified to fill the rôle of oracle?

"Woman does not necessarily have to choose; at least I did not. It is possible to marry and still have a career," she said. "And what's more, many men who object to their wives having interests outside the home will be bored to death living with them ten years from now. It is not only possible for a woman to marry and have a career but it is in my mind one of the finest ways of holding a husband, since the woman vitally alive stands a better chance of keeping his interest.

"It's hard to generalize about careers," she went on. "As for me I would have been most unhappy if I had not been doing something worth while. But I have never wanted to see women forsake the home for public life, and no woman while her children are small can have a greater interest. She can and must have some outside interests such as in literature and the arts, but what we women, supposed to be having careers, are doing today, is harvesting our middle age when our grandmothers had no fun at all."

"But what is the secret of it? Tell me the formula."

"Well," she responded, "Mr. Winter and I spend our evenings together, and

in all the years I have been doing things, until just recently when I have had to be out of the city a great deal, I don't think he ever discovered I was busy. That was because I made a point of never working at night. It was his leisure and I felt I owed it to him to keep my time free then too.

"But, anyhow, Mr. Winter's attitude toward me and my work has never been one of indulgence; but rather he has held that I had a right to do it if I made good."

Given every advantage in the way of education by her parents, Mr. and Mrs.

At the Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Los Angeles, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter leaves the office of president, which she has filled so well for the past four years. She is known the country over; but we have thought our readers would like a close-up, intimate picture, and this Miss Taaffe, a St. Paul newspaper woman who has followed Mrs. Winter's work at home and in convention, presents here. Miss Taaffe was asked to interview Mrs. Winter particularly from the point of view of marriage vs. public career, which has especially concerned the CITIZEN.

Charles Ames, of Boston, Mrs. Winter started out to be an artist, attending the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. Later deciding on a teaching career she went to Wellesley, graduating at the age of twenty, and carrying off her master's degree at twenty-three, with a major in political science and a minor in Greek.

"Yes, I thought first I would be an

artist," she said. Then, pointing down the long living-room, "Why, that Van Dyke head on the wall I did at sixteen. And, oh yes, those andirons and that carved bench in the reception hall are mine too."

Then her hands went up and she laughed heartily. "Of all the things I have done since then! Why, do you know I've painted, taught school, made hats and dresses, modeled in clay, written novels and magazine stories, lectured, and goodness knows what not. Mr. Winter always says the trouble with my hobbies is that as soon as I find I can do a thing I don't care to do it any longer. But the truth is, I never asked real success in any line, but I've always wanted to find out what life is."

A romance of the whirlwind kind was that of Alice Ames and Thomas G. Winter, a plain case of "love at first sight." Receiving an invitation from her brother, the late Charles Ames, of St. Paul, to accompany him on a trip to Yellowstone Park—in the form of a railroad advertisement promising the "schoolmarm" a "flame," Alice Ames accepted, providing guarantee of at least one offer of marriage went with it. The guarantee followed duly signed and sealed by a notary public.

It was not at Yellowstone, however, but on her way home, while stopping at Banff in the Canadian Rockies, that she met Mr. Winter—a delightful Englishman, lover of the great outdoors, with an individuality all his own; a man whom, no matter how much success his wife achieves, one will never be able to describe as just "Mrs. Winter's husband."

Well, a party was fixed to go up Glacier Stream, so the story goes, but somehow the two managed to slip off

and get on a boat by themselves. In trying to land a fish out of the stream, Mr. Winter missed it and instead splashed the water, fairly drenching Miss Ames. She didn't mind, but he was dreadfully distressed. On their return he was relating the story to his aunt, with whom he was traveling.

"I missed the fish but"—he started in. "Yes, he missed the fish but caught me instead," Miss Ames interrupted. And then she almost died of embarrassment. What she had intended saying was—"He missed the fish and I caught it," meaning the drenching.

"He has always teased me and said, 'After that what was there left for a gentleman to do?'" she ended.

They were married very soon. Her conservative Boston parents were a little startled at the idea of their daughter being married to a man they had known so short a time.

"When we went to the station to meet Mr. Winter before the wedding my father, as a final thrust, asked: 'Are you sure you will recognize him?'" Mrs. Winter said. Then she added—"But look how it has turned out. Why, in my opinion young people never really know each other until after they are married, and with certain precautions I see no sense in long engagements."

Mrs. Winter is the mother of two children, Edith, now Mrs. Knowlton Lyman Ames, of Chicago, and Gilbert, her eldest, killed accidentally by a companion. It was the death of her son that was largely responsible for Mrs. Winter's going into public work.

While the writer had many times listened to Minneapolis club women tell of the great tragedy in the Federation leader's life it was not until this interview that she had ever heard Mrs. Winter mention it herself. She had spoken of her love of poetry and her early training in memorizing—as a child she was obliged to learn a poem every Sunday. Then suddenly she remarked: "You know I used to repeat verses for my children when they were small. One day I recited Macaulay's 'Horatius,' and four nights later my little boy, then nine years, came down stairs to kiss me good night. 'I can say Horatius now, too, mother,' he said. I could not believe it, but encouraged him to repeat it, and to my amazement he recited the whole thing through. Why, he knew Shelley and great portions of Tennyson's 'In Memoriam,' and oh so many others," she went on, the tears filling her eyes.

"I have often heard," the writer ventured, "that your little boy's death had much to do with your real career."

"Yes," she admitted, "probably more than any one single incident. I felt I could never bear up under my sorrow and I had to keep my mind occupied constantly with other things. But out of it all a certain sympathy came to me

that I probably would not otherwise have had, an understanding of other women. And do you know I have had hundreds come to me in trouble—women who never would if they hadn't—well, felt that I understood."

While her children were young, Mrs. Winter, interested especially in questions relating to the education of youth, was one of a small group of women to form a kindergarten association, which, as an experiment, supported free kindergartens in various parts of Minneapolis.

After this the college women's club claimed her attention. She was one of its founders and the second president, helping to establish during her administration a scholarship fund to aid worthy girls.

Lectures on Dante and the Greek drama were written and courses given



Mrs. Thomas G. Winter

by her in those early days. Several magazine stories may be checked to her credit and two novels, "Jewell Weed" and "Prize to Hardy"—both Western stories.

In the meantime, she had opened her home and undertaken the task of mothering two children, a niece and nephew of her husband, both orphans, one twelve and the other fourteen years old. The little girl, Kittie Hubie, now married and living in California, served as a trained nurse overseas in the world war. The boy, Douglas Winter, was graduated from the University of Minnesota and is now acting as a government inspector in agriculture in Minnesota.

Mrs. Winter made it plain that she had never deliberately set out to go into public work. Any career that came to her, she said, had been without deliberate choice, but somehow each job she undertook opened the door to another.

And in this way she served on innumerable civic committees and public boards of many kinds.

Failure of a certain Minneapolis woman to keep an engagement with her may be said to have been the incident which indirectly was responsible for her turning her energies to club work and getting started on her real club career. It happened this way.

An invitation came to her in 1906 from a little group desirous of forming a club. Her engagement prevented her from attending so she dismissed the matter from her mind. Then the woman failed her and she decided to stroll over and see what was going on. A woman physician was the speaker and she fairly terrorized the group with stories of conditions in Minneapolis. Then a visitor from a western state arose and told what her club was doing to clean up the town. After the meeting was over the women came to Mrs. Winter and said: "If you start the club we'll back you," and finally she consented. Some two hundred women were invited to her home and the club was formed. It is now the largest in Minneapolis.

While Mrs. Winter had been in club work for three years she admitted that she knew "practically nothing" of the General Federation until Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker paid a visit to Minneapolis in 1909 to address the mid-winter conference of the Minnesota Federation. Then she was impressed tremendously with the speaker and became interested in the national organization. Following the meeting she urged the Woman's Club to join, and when the Chicago biennial came along in 1914, went with other delegates from Minnesota. Although Mrs. Winter was new in club work, Mrs. Pennybacker recognized her and put her on the resolutions committee. The resolution on suffrage was up for endorsement and there was a lively battle. After the convention Mrs. Winter was invited to serve as chairman of the literature department. Later she became director for Minnesota, then second vice-president and finally president.

"But hasn't all the work outside your home made a difference? Haven't you had some system to keep things running smoothly at home?" the writer asked.

"Well, you see," Mrs. Winter replied, "for more than twenty years I only had three different maids. One stayed with me thirteen years, one eleven and the other seven, some overlapping the others. I have always tried to get fine girls, have taught them myself when necessary and then encouraged and placed every confidence in them. It is only very recently that there have been short-time incumbents. One of the girls, Oline, always thought of this as her home. And I never shall forget her. During the war when Edith was al-

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Poison Propaganda

By Carrie Chapman Catt



SOME TIME ago insidious comments upon all educational peace movements and their leaders began to appear in the press. In 1922 there was a widespread circularization of the newspapers with a fanciful declaration that the "Law, not War" day celebrated in many cities was being financed by Moscow, and an especially virulent attack was made upon Mr. Libby, Quaker, of the National Council for the Prevention of War, who was promoting these demonstrations. Many papers reprinted the matter. In 1923 the American Defense Society sent out similar propaganda declaring that Russian communism and American efforts to promote peace were working hand in hand.

From time to time similar attacks have been made upon individuals, any individuals, who have appealed to public opinion on behalf of world peace. The charge has been implied in these stories that various women's organizations, well known and composed of highly honorable memberships, were being financed by Moscow because they were promoting peace sentiment.

On March 15, 1924, the *Dearborn Independent* carried an amazing story, continued in the number of March 22, under the startling title "Are Women's Clubs Used by Bolsheviks?" These articles asserted that the masses of women within the many well-known organizations were being weakly played upon by a few women in "key positions" who were linked to world communism and its aim to overturn all governments. The second instalment was accompanied by a chart compiled from the Lusk report and connecting the highest and best organizations with socialist-pacifist activities. A definite attack was made upon the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, its seventeen component organizations and many of its members.

This Committee thereupon named a sub-committee, of which Mrs. Maud Wood Park was Chairman, to investigate the source of this attack, although its libelous character would have warranted a suit against Henry Ford, whose paper had published the articles. Quiet and efficient search revealed the astonishing source—the Chemical Warfare Bureau of our own government.

Things sometimes happen in this strange world that are so amazing one's senses are fairly paralyzed by the revela-

tion. This is one of them. Here are women conducting themselves as they always have when they want something which can only be attained by political action, that is, speaking, arranging meetings, petitioning, reading, investigating, thinking, how to abolish war, the world's greatest crime. Yet, in this supposedly most tolerant republic in the world, boasting of its free speech and liberty for all, they suddenly discover that a department of their own government is systematically discrediting them by the distribution of false and libelous charges, which, because of their source, carry abnormal influence. These women, trying to attain their hopes through constructive, educational measures, are accused of being in conspiracy with communists whose aim is the overthrow of governments through revolution. For trying to teach men and women to think, the public is warned to beware of them. They are called Bolshevik—the world's present-day most damning condemnatory epithet—and the bills for the distribution of these libels are quite clearly met by their own tax money! Is this America or Russia? Is this the twentieth century or the middle ages?

With facts in hand, the sub-committee of the Joint Congressional Committee did a very ladylike thing: it prepared a letter and took it in person to Hon. John W. Weeks, Secretary of War. The correspondence follows:

"Washington, D. C.

"April 2, 1924.

"My dear Mr. Secretary:

"An attack has been made upon the Women's Joint Congressional Committee by means of a chart compiled and circulated by a subordinate in a bureau of the War Department, which is exceedingly irritating to the organizations comprising the Women's Joint Congressional Committee and to the twelve million women voters composing these organizations. They cannot understand why an employee of a government bureau should be permitted, with the knowledge of the head of that bureau, to attack the women's organizations of the country and the women voters in these organizations. They wonder where the funds come from whereby these attacks are made. The following is a statement of the objections which the organizations make to the chart above mentioned:

"A. The Purpose and Method of Or-

ganization of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

"The Women's Joint Congressional Committee, which is attacked in the chart, was organized in 1920. It is a clearing house for seventeen national women's organizations which have representatives in Washington for the purpose of keeping in touch with Federal legislation of interest to women. The committee, as such, initiates no policy and supports no legislation and no organization joining it is committed to any policy except that of cooperation, whenever possible. The members bring to it the endorsements of their organizations. After a measure has been endorsed by five or more member organizations of the committee, a sub-committee of representatives of endorsing organizations is organized, elects its officers and carries out a campaign of action for the enactment of the measure by the Congress.

"An accurate list of the member organizations of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee in 1922-23, the year to which the chart refers, and of the sub-committees is appended.

"B. The Chart.

"This chart has for its caption the heading 'The Socialist Pacifist Movement in America Is an Absolutely Fundamental and Integral Part of International Socialism.'

"1. This heading is scurrilous, libelous and criminal as applied to the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, and we protest strongly against its use in this chart circulated with the knowledge of a branch of the government.

"2. At the bottom of the chart appear the following verses:

Miss Bolshevik has come to town,
With a Russian cap and a German gown,
In women's clubs she's sure to be found,
For she's come to disarm America.

She sits in judgment on Capitol Hill
And watches appropriation bills
And without her O.K. it passes—Nil
For she's there to disarm America.

She uses the movie and lyceum too,
And alters text-books to suit her view,
She prates propaganda from pulpit and pew,
For she's bound to disarm America.

The male of the species has a different plan
He uses the bomb and firebrand,
And incites class hatred wherever he can
While she's busy disarming America.

His special stunt is arousing the mob,
To expropriate and hate and kill and rob,
While she's working on her political job
AWAKE! AROUSE!! AMERICA!!!

(Continued on page 32)



© H. Parker Rolfe

A Scene from "The Old Wives' Tale"
Given by Bryn Mawr Players on May Day



Margaret Wylie as Maid Marian

Bryn Mawr's May Day



© Keystone Photo Studio

From the Masque of Flowers

SIX times Bryn Mawr has had its unique and lovely May Day. Once in her four years' course every Bryn Mawr girl has a chance to share in the all-day program that carries college and campus back to the England of Queen Elizabeth—every May Day different from those that have passed, but true to a cherished tradition. This year the celebration fell on May 10 and 12 and, as in 1920, Mrs. Otis Skinner was May Day producer. As always, it began with the long procession to the Green, with the oxen dragging in the great center May-pole, the crowning of the May Queen (who is always Maid Marian) and the May-pole dances.

The loveliest moment of all on the Green was when the students and alumnae—several hundreds of them—danced in five circles, alternating directions, about the big May-pole. All day the Green was filled with old English dances, but meantime, on different parts of the campus, in beautiful settings, the companies of players were giving five old English plays and two masques. Most important of all was "Robin Hood"—part of the tradition—with Margaret Wylie as Maid Marian, chosen for the rôle by her fellow students for her typical Maid Marian beauty and fitness.

Editorially Speaking

Women's Program

BECAUSE of their native qualities and their experiences in life which differ from those of men, women have a distinct contribution to bring to the life of the nation. Instinctively the woman is the conserver, the protector of human life. It is inevitable that her interest in public affairs should be centered on measures of human welfare and especially on those connected with children. The program of the Federation of Women's Clubs, the largest women's organization in the country, held in Los Angeles, June 2-13, shows how concerned women are with every phase of the development of better human beings. To a large degree it is built about the WOMAN CITIZEN program, which was printed in the New Year's number:

- To open wide the doors of opportunity for women.**
- To help extend the blessings of home into community life.**
- To insure a sound body for every child.**
- To eliminate illiteracy.**
- To promote general happiness and prosperity.**
- To make human life safe.**

This is not only the WOMAN CITIZEN's program, but wholly or in part it is the program of practically every woman's organization in the country. Not self-seeking nor amusement could hold together the great women's bodies. It is because they have definite programs which awaken the mothering spirit in women and which give them an opportunity for service, that these organizations are growing. And in their organizations women are finding a training school for more than the social graces. The club has been a University Extension education to many a woman, and from this training have come many outstanding leaders.



A World Court Plan Emerges

THERE is to be a tragi-comedy on the floor of the Senate over the World Court. Senator Lodge's red herring of a plan has proved not good enough, even as a red herring, and remains behind in the committee. Senator Pepper's plan, which asks the members of the present Council and Assembly to rechristen themselves as "signatories" and to reorganize free from the League of Nations taint, has been endorsed by the Foreign Relations Committee, and will be supported by the Republicans on the floor as a carrying out of the Administration promise and plans. Meantime the Democrats will struggle to have the original plan, the plan endorsed by two Republican presidents, adopted. Senator Pepper's plan is not so elaborately new as the Lodge proposal, but it is obvious that in reporting it out the Committee had no other aim than to make a gesture. The undoubted popular opinion in support of the Court, the criticism for failure to support the Administration, have brought that much. But it is the belief in Washington that the committee intends that nothing shall happen. Does the committee really think we don't know that?

This, of course, is not the end. The pressure of public opinion from both Republicans and Democrats through the country is becoming too great for even the irreconcilables. They will have to give way or they will be superseded.

The Bonus Burden

THE passage by Congress of the bonus bill was as flagrant an example of playing politics for supposed votes as has been exhibited even by the present Congress. The bonus bill passed was not the one the Legion wanted, but it threw a sop to soldier voters. It gives very little to the individual soldier, but it will add uncounted millions to the burden of the Treasury during the next few years, when everyone is asking for tax reduction, and the burden will be passed on to the next generation. The few dollars the Government will give a veteran soldier, his children and grandchildren will pay many times over in years to come. When people are groaning over the number of Government officials and the multiplication of office holders it adds a new organization now estimated at 4,000 employees. For women it brings an added difficulty. Every time a genuine welfare measure is needed the cry will be raised that the country can't afford it. It will make much more difficult the raising of standards of education, health and comfort.



Good News for Diplomacy

ALMOST overlooked in the stress of public attention given to the bonus and tax bills, the Rogers bill providing for a reorganization of the diplomatic and consular service has finally passed both houses of Congress. It authorizes changes which will go far toward making the diplomatic service an attractive profession which young men (and women) may undertake, with salary sufficient to live on and with wide opportunities for advancement. Not only have salaries been somewhat increased but a flexible provision has been made for increased allowances in capitals where living is exceptionally high. It will no longer be necessary for men who go into the diplomatic service to have private means. Also the service is made interchangeable so that one branch may avail itself of the experience gained in the other branch. Ministers and ambassadors will still be political appointees but provision is made for yearly lists to be compiled on the basis of special merit and promotions are to be made from those lists. The tendency of the measure is to raise the entire standing of the diplomatic and consular service. It cannot help but have a beneficial effect on our foreign relations to have our foreign service attract the best type of men, who will go into it as a life's career.



Three Ways to Help the Indians

THREE bills need hard pushing in the interests of the Indians. One is the Pueblo Lands bill (Senate 2932), into which the organizations working for the Indians have succeeded in putting a clause granting mandatory compensation to the Pueblos for lands lost through encroachment by white settlers. For this bill there are good prospects. It has passed the Senate, has been favorably reported by the Indian Committee of the House, and may reach the floor before this magazine is read. Another—of great importance—is the House bill (129) which calls for an appropriation to construct the San Carlos Reservoir in Arizona. This is a matter of life or death to the Pimas—the tribe that white settlers have reduced to penury by calmly taking the waters

of the Gila River to which the Indians had prior rights. The reservoir would provide enough water for both Indians and whites. This bill has been passed by the Senate, and should be urged on the House. A third measure (H. R. 6900) is up to the House—one that would give the Indian Bureau power to handle the estates of minor and incompetent Indians in Oklahoma. Such cases are handled now by the courts of Oklahoma, where judges are appointive and "guardians" rather extensively live off Indians' money.

Every one of these measures has been backed by the American Indian Defense Association and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. To help get them over is a big part of our responsibility to the Indians, whom we have deeply injured.



Religious Liberty Halts at Taos

AT Taos, that wonderful pueblo in New Mexico, Commissioner Burke has recently given an order which practically prohibits the Indians from training their children in the Indian religion. It has been their religious rule for centuries that their children, and especially those who are to become priests or leaders, shall be withdrawn a year from their regular routine for intensive religious instruction, and each year a few children have been taken from the government schools for this purpose, so vital to the Indians' communal religion and life. Now Commissioner Burke has issued an order prohibiting the withdrawal.

The Indians have refused. In a letter of moving nobility, signed by the governor and the council of the pueblo of Taos, they state their case, plead their clear rights to religious liberty under treaty and covenant, and firmly refuse to obey, at whatever cost. Officials of the American Indian Association, and Mrs. H. A. Atwood, chairman of the General Federation of Women Clubs Indian Committee, have declared this interference with the Indians' religious liberty both illegal and intolerable. Surely the support of American women can be counted on in an issue of religious freedom, an issue on which this nation was founded.



American Women Writers

THE 1924 Pulitzer prize for the "American novel best presenting the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standard of American manners and manhood" goes to a woman, Margaret Wilson, for her "Able McLaughlins" which previously won her first prize in the Harper "first novel" contest. This award makes one realize all over again what a high place women hold in contemporary literature. The dean of them all is Edith Wharton, whose four new stories of old New York are written in her best clear-cut, ironic prose. Already the younger generation is bringing up candidates for her high position. There is Willa Cather, who paints a broad canvas like "My Antonia" or a delicate miniature like "The Lost Lady" with warm simplicity and haunting undertones. Fannie Hurst, known for a vigor of emotion which amounts almost to opulence, has recently taken to a new mode of expression in "Lummox". Edna Ferber comes very close to greatness in the eternal quality of parts of "So Big". Dorothy Canfield's honest thinking and genius for characterization are combined with a rare appreciation of the modern adjustments necessary between men and women and their children.

Among the writers of non-fiction, Ida Tarbell has published what is said to be the very best life of Lincoln in existence. Alice Brown writes poetry in slow cadences that have a Greek sense of impending fate. Edna Millay adventures in and above life itself with "The Harp-Weaver", and Elinor Wylie juggles sharp blades and gleaming jewels in "Black Armour". While Amy Lowell, perhaps the most interesting poet of them

all, brooding over her promised life of John Keats like one of her own stone Chinese gods, emits an occasional acrid poem by way of sharp incense. All of them are writers of vision and interpreters of life to whom their age already owes much.



Eggs vs. Carnations

A TINY story proving that the world does move comes to us from Deep Creek, on the edge of the Great Dismal Swamp of Virginia. Here some years ago suffragists from Norfolk were trying to get signatures for a state suffrage petition. One moonlight night they had a meeting from an automobile at the crossroads, with a speaker from New York who had been widely advertised by dodgers spread over the countryside. As the meeting began the one young woman from Deep Creek who had encouraged the meeting idea whispered a warning of things she had heard—a warning of something against which there is no protection but flight. Rotten eggs. They came—unmistakably, though fortunately the aim was bad, and the speakers were able to pretend they knew nothing of the comment. Just here, at this same Deep River crossroads, a few weeks ago, in the midst of a membership drive for the League of Women Voters, the chairman of that district received a gift of a great mass of carnations as the climax of a successful meeting. So votes for women, writes the chairman, Jessie E. Townsend, has moved up a peg.



The Church and War

SINCE the close of the war there has been a growing feeling that one great peace hope lies in the definite action of the churches. The fundamental lack of any reconciliation between war and the Christian religion seems to be increasingly realized. Will Irwin painted the possibilities of united church action in "Christ or Mars?" Religious organizations of young people have taken strong positions, and some of the younger clergymen have taken the stand that, without dictating to the individual conscience of its members, the church itself must refuse ever again to bless war. Though no church has yet gone so far, the Methodist General Conference, concluding its month of sessions at Springfield, Massachusetts, has taken a step of great promise and hopefulness. It has passed strong war resolutions which among other things propose the appointment of a commission authorized to call a conference of the religious forces of the world to consider the "best plans and methods for making the impact of united Christendom against war." In addition it urges another conference "for the more drastic reduction of armament"; the immediate entrance of the United States into the World Court; our participation in a League of Nations. It declares for the principle of conscription of wealth and labor along with life, and attacks selfish nationalism, economic imperialism and militarism as war causes. It declares that "secret diplomacy and political partisanship must not draw ment and a referendum on war, except in case of invasion.

In the same month a Vermont Congregational Conference declared for the outlawry of war; a Long Island Protestant Episcopal convention for our entrance into the World Court,—and incidentally for the child labor amendment. And just now the Presbyterian General Assembly has adopted a resolution pledging itself to the outlawry of war, endorsing the World Court, a joint agreement for international disarmament and a referendum on war, except in case of threatened invasion.

All this is a long way from the days when religion and politics "must be kept separate." The church is accepting its social, as well as its individual, mission. If it once fully grasps its responsibility and power there will be no more war.

What the American Woman Thinks

Women as Citizens

An Interview With

Harriet Taylor Upton

Vice-Chairman of the National
Republican Executive Committee

By Courtenay Savage

AT a country fair last fall a local speaker, with his mind on the fact that local elections would occur in November, was addressing a crowd on county problems. He had just started an eloquent plea for good roads by quoting many figures, and he shouted: "Just stop and think over what I have told you men and women; think it over, fellow citizens."

A group of young people stood close by, and the mad wag of the party saw an opportunity to display his humor. "Oh, mister," he called in a high-pitched mocking voice, "are women citizens?"

The crowd laughed, and the speaker went on talking, ignoring the "fresh" remark. But the young man who had thought only to be funny had asked a question that cannot be lightly dismissed by those who are concerned in the welfare of the Government of the United States. Women are in politics inasmuch as they won the right to vote, and are holding office—but are American women interested in citizenship?

"Yes, I know that those who fought against the granting of the franchise to the women are loudly proclaiming that women are political failures, but that is because they, the critics, are in too great a hurry," was Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton's quick answer to the question. "To discuss women in politics—" Mrs. Upton sat forward in her chair, and one caught a flash of a dynamic personality, tireless, but not so forceful as to overlook the fact that humor is the saving grace of all situations—"to discuss women in politics as they exist today it is necessary to go back a great many years to the beginning of the fight for equal suffrage. In those days women that wanted to vote were generally regarded as queer—almost subjects for suspicion. Even ten years ago the attitude of the average man to women who wanted to vote was not a great deal different. Why, I can sympathize with those who felt that women had no right to ask for the privilege of voting and holding office. Back in 1880, when my father

was serving in Congress, he was asked to head the Ohio Women's Suffrage Association, and I was horrified." She laughed merrily.

"And I'll tell you something else. The effrontery of those women who dared to ask my father to help them win the vote so angered me that I sat down and wrote an article against suffrage. It was accepted at once, and I was asked to write other articles on the subject. It was the research work incidental to the preparing of those articles that made me a suffragist. Yes, sir, the more I studied, the more I became convinced that women should have a place in government. I was against suffrage because I didn't know anything about the subject.

"There are thousands of women in every state in the Union who felt just



Harris & Ewing, Washington

that way in 1920. There had been so much said about women voting incoherently, about how they would vote for one man because he had lovely eyes, and would not vote for another man because he wore a beard, that the average woman felt that she had no right to rush to the polls until she had learned the art of political thinking. Go slow—think—that seemed to be the motto of the women in 1920. And they have done exactly that—gone slowly and thoughtfully forward.

"At the beginning of her experience in politics the individual woman may feel that it is not necessary for her to become affiliated with a definite line of political thought—a party. The new voter soon realizes, however, that mass representation is necessary, that a Democratic President or Governor can accomplish little if the Senate and House of Representatives are strongly Republican. I fully believe—and I speak from the experiences that I have passed through while traveling from state to state—that today the women know that there must be a political machine. And by 'machine' I mean organization. Every-

thing that is organized on a communal basis has to have a machine. Churches have to have machines, so do women's clubs. Even a picnic needs a machine—someone must plan to make the coffee, others prepare the sandwiches, while a third group supplies the cake. Without organization few projects in this world have been successful.

"Incidentally, it is my belief that once the women have affiliated themselves with machines—parties—they will keep that machine improved and clean. Have you ever passed a newspaper office and seen through the big glass windows the presses at work? Well, in the future the political machine will be worked just that way—in the open."

"Then you feel that the women of the country are fairly well organized politically, and are really interested in politics?" was the next question asked of Mrs. Upton.

"I do," was the emphatic reply. "I think that women have been studying politics, and that they have been organizing along definite lines of political thought and action." She pulled forward a card index, and picking out a handful of cards studied them. "New Jersey, which is a small state, has over 100,000 women enrolled in Republican clubs; Massachusetts, Missouri, California, Minnesota, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Utah, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Texas—well, you can go right on down the line and name every state in the Union, and truthfully say of each that women have organized for political purposes.

"In many of these states the women are organized separately, but in the Western states where women have had a voice in state government for many years the men and women work together. That, as I see it, is the whole trend in politics—for the men and women to work together, to hear both men and women speakers, for men and women to serve on the same committees; in other words, for the women to be real citizens at the polls, working for the greatest good for the greatest number.

"Yes, women are organized, and they know it is best that they should vote in a body. And if you doubt their interest just go out into the rural districts where the effect of the vote is more quickly felt than in the larger cities—and look and listen. Hear the discussions on good roads, see how taxes are being spent, read the letters women are writing to the local papers, and listen to the calm way in which they remind political spellbinders that it is all right to make promi-

ises of vast improvements—but that if you rush into vast improvements you also rush into big tax bills.

"And do you know the greatest aid that the woman has had in her political study? The automobile. Within the past four years there has been more touring than ever before in the history of this country. There was a time when the women in the small town, the women on the farm, had the use of the broken-down horse which could not be used in the plowing. That day has passed. The small car can be bought on easy terms, and once the family gets the feel of the car in their veins they go. Nothing has knit the American people into one great nation as effectively as the automobile. Democratic women of Texas talk to Republican women of Illinois, and they talk of the things that concern them, most—their homes, schools, the conditions of the roads, how this locality needs better roads, and another, better factory conditions. These are the things that really concern the modern women—not tatting patterns

and the best way to make apple butter!"

"Then you think that the women's ballot will form an important part of the vote for the next President of the United States?"

"I'm certain of it. In 1920 over 54,000,000 persons in the United States were eligible to vote for the President. Of this number more than 26,000,000 were women. When the total vote was counted less than 49 per cent of those eligible had voted. In the elections for 1860 to 1920 the percentage of the voters had been about 70 per cent, so when the vote dropped to 49 per cent there was a terrible hue and cry. All the anti-suffrage people said 'Hurrah, didn't we tell you the women didn't want to vote!' They felt that they had won a great point, while as a matter of fact the small percentage was a great encouraging sign to the leaders who had fought for suffrage. It showed that women were not going to rush at politics as they might at a bargain counter. They were going to *vote carefully after they had learned the art of citizenship.*"

"Do you remember the old-time election days? Lots of red fire and liquor. Remember where the men went to vote in those days—to the barber shops, the livery stables, and the saloons? And do you recollect how in 1920, when women first voted nationally, the voting booths were moved into schoolhouses, vacant stores, and even into especially constructed portable houses? It marked a big step upward when the ballot boxes were carried out of the barber shop into the schoolhouse—the setting of a higher standard.

"It is my firm belief that that is what women stand for in political life—a higher standard. Women are going to be the housekeepers of politics and as housekeepers they are going to keep politics clean.

"Yes, women are citizens, and keenly interested in their job, and let those who think differently read the political returns after the next election. 'Read 'em and weep'—to think that they so misjudged the political influence of the women citizens of the United States."

Have Women Made Good in Politics?

By Alice Ames Winter

President, General Federation of Women's Clubs

HAVE women made good? That is one of the breathless questions that have been repeated on various occasions all the way down through the ages.

When Adam and Eve went out from the Garden, there were evidently other people to be found in that outer world. We don't know how they got there; but the boys found girls to marry, and there was Society. So one can imagine a group of those early gentlemen, gathered on the lee side of a shady rock engaged in the original discussion, while their wives were off gathering firewood. I suppose Adam was the oldest and wisest. We like to associate wisdom and age. As a matter of fact, the old story does not tell us about Adam's wisdom, but only that he was pliable in the hands of his wife. At any rate, one of the bunch undoubtedly said, "We must keep our women from the knowledge of good and evil. It would spoil their feminine charm." Then there was an awful silence, followed by a still more awful whisper from Adam. They had to lean forward to hear. What he said was, "Boys, they already know!" Well, there was only one possible comeback to that. It was: "Do you think they have made good with this knowledge?" And here opinion was unanimous. They had not. Shortly afterward Cain went out and killed Abel, but the next time the group gathered on the shady side of the rock it didn't occur to anyone to ask whether man had made

good. Or whether the human race had made good.

That early process of thought (I do not know whether in strictness it can be called logic) has been perpetuated all down through the ages, call them six thousand or six million years, according to your personal predilections. It did not end when Dr. Lozier was afraid to have women learn to write for fear they would forge the names of their fathers and husbands, and afraid to have them study geography for fear they would grow discontented with their homes. They learned to write and got a smattering of geography—but did they make good? To be sure, we made them teachers of our youth, but perhaps that was partly because, as a good old Connecticut father pointed out, it was possible to get two well-trained women for less than you had to pay one inferior man; and we have always been economical in our teaching administration.

I hold no brief against men. In fact, I think lovers and husbands (one husband to each woman), fathers and sons are the best possessions a woman can have, and in the long pull of the ages, the best friends women have had have been men. But in spite of the reputed absence of humor on the part of women, occasionally we have to get off in a corner when no men are around and indulge in a grin and a wink. They are so funny, and don't know it, poor dears.

If there is anything which the whole world is not making good in at present

it is politics. Put a finger down in Asia or South America or Africa or Europe or even in our own notoriously immaculate United States, and it is hardly possible to be jubilant about political success in any higher sense. But the discussion of these failures lies with political economists and philosophers. It is left for the man on the street and still more the wisher-that-she-had-not-had-a-chance to raise to the skies this inquiry about women.

No, they have not made good, except with apologies and explanations. But neither has any other sex. "I'm not denyin' the women are fools. The Lord Almighty made 'em to match the men," said one of the greatest of women. But if women are fools, let us at least remind ourselves that the three supreme follies of the world—drunkenness, gambling and war—cannot be laid at their door.

As to politics, no newly enfranchised group can possibly make good at a bound. There must be not only opportunity but training necessary. It was only a few women who went into citizenship either prepared or profoundly interested. There is a long process of awakened consciousness and responsibility before women. Moreover, politics, as it is actually played, is an enormously intricate game. Women came into the new power with abstract ideas. They did not know the rules of the playing of the game. But they are getting a certain knowledge, even of the game, and

(Continued on page 33)

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

OF the several bills in the League's legislative program, the one which has made the greatest progress in the Congress recently is the Lehlbach bill, proposing the abolition of the Personnel Classification Board and transferring its powers to the Civil Service Commission. On May 8 the House, by a vote of 172 to 26, passed the bill. Opponents of the bill attempted to have it amended so that the administration of the act would be delegated to an independent board of three members appointed by the President, instead of the Civil Service Commission. An amendment to this effect, introduced by Representative McKeown, of Oklahoma, was rejected by a *viva voce* vote. A motion also by Mr. McKeown to recommit the bill was voted down by a vote of 103 to 41. Senator Stanfield, chairman of the Senate Civil Service Committee, reported the Lehlbach bill to the Senate May 10 without amendment.

The House Education Committee has been conducting hearings each Wednesday on the Reed bill, which would create a Department of Education with its head a member of the Cabinet. Officials of the Federal Board of Vocational Education and Dr. Thomas E. Finegan, former chief of the Pennsylvania educational system, and a former deputy commissioner of education of New York State, were among the chief proponents appearing before the committee.

It is also of interest that the Senate and House have passed the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 195) authorizing an appropriation not exceeding \$40,000 for the participation of the United States in two international conferences this year for the control of the traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs.

At this writing no change can be reported in the status of the World Court proposal as suggested by Presidents Harding and Coolidge with the Hughes reservations, or the proposed child labor constitutional amendment. The status of other measures supported by the League remains unchanged.

ANNE WILLIAMS.

To Get Out the Vote

PRELIMINARY work in the get-out-the-vote campaign began for the Michigan League February 23 with a letter to all county clerks asking the number of voters in their several counties. On receipt of the information desired, more or less approximate in some instances, the League made out blanks showing the number of voters in each county and the number of votes cast in each in the last presidential election.

On March 17, a letter went from state headquarters to the heads of ten state women's organizations in Michigan asking for their co-operation in the get-out-the-vote work. The same request was made to the state heads of Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Exchange. On March 20, letters were sent to county chairmen of the Republican and the Democratic parties, asking them to help. March 21, a letter went to every local League president enclosing the plan of campaign. On March 21, letters were sent to 106 women's clubs in the state enclosing plans and asking co-operation. These clubs are in parts of Michigan where the League is not represented. As this was only the beginning of the work in Michigan, it is safe to say that the Michigan reproach of less than fifty per cent of the vote out in 1920 will not be repeated this year.

Some of the slogans of Michigan are:

"All the men and women in this town ought to vote unless they are in jail."

"Folks can't vote in jail; if you are out, vote."

"Are you one of the slackers who did not vote?"

"Have you an opinion as to how this town ought to be run?"

If you have, say it with a vote."

"Getting out a big vote is *your* responsibility."

"Folks can't vote in Siberia. Why make a Siberian of yourself?"

"Who does your thinking for you? If you do it yourself, vote."

For its registration drive the Norfolk, Virginia, League sent out, among other equally effective appeals, this "Kindly Word to those who have not availed themselves of the privilege of voting":

"Are you a good citizen?"

"Are both the men and women of your household good citizens?"

"If you do not vote you are not good citizens."

"It is your duty to vote."

"On your vote rests the responsibility of good government."

"If you do not vote you are not measuring up to your duties and responsibilities."

"In order to vote you must register before May 15."

"Having registered, be sure to vote. Make your ballot count."

"Those who take the trouble to vote get what they want; those who do not, get what they deserve."

"You say you are not interested in politics. Are you interested in schools? Does the tax-rate interest you? Good roads? Law enforcement?"

"Would you be willing to have no right to vote?"

"The good citizen who is too busy to vote, too indifferent to vote, gives the political boss his opportunity."

"Get rid of the idea that politics need be dirty."

"The word politics means the science and practice of government, and governments are established for the safety, well-being and prosperity of the people."

"Whether you own property or not, every increase in taxes is passed on to you in the increased cost of rent, food, clothes, amusements—everything you buy. All these things are controlled by politics."

"You might as well say you will have nothing to do with the weather."

"Pay your poll taxes. Register. Vote."

Rotarians of Norfolk, Virginia, were taken aback when, in response to the Norfolk League's appeal to them to get ready to vote, they made a poll and discovered that only about forty-five per cent of their members were registered. Mrs.

Lewis C. Matthews, president of the local League, who gives the figures, says that the Civitans found themselves all qualified voters except three members who are not eligible. In general, she believes that the younger the average age of members of an organization, the more likely that organization is to have a high proportion of registered voters. Registration in Norfolk is not confined to any set time except that it ends fifteen days before an election. The Norfolk League's Speakers' Bureau provided speakers for every meeting of every kind it could learn of during February, with the result that at the central place for registration, where of old nine or ten was a good week's list, no fewer than 255 voters registered in seven days.

"One or two of our Leagues have started birthday parties for new voters and consider it a very valuable way to begin the get-out-the-vote work," Miss Gladys Harrison writes from Minnesota. "I believe we should stress means of enrolling younger women in the universities, colleges and normal schools. The first thing we are going to do here is to have some enrollment cards printed, on which these girls will sign up to do some speaking, driving, or organization of get-out-the-vote work in their own communities. We have assurances of co-operation from several of the schools already, in reaching the girls for this purpose, which ought to yield us a card-file of several hundred names of young enthusiastic workers from communities all over the state, ready to co-operate with the work laid out by the state central committee."

The First Assembly District League in Brooklyn held an all-day meeting on May 20 as a preparation for the work of raising the voting percentage of that district, which was 38 per cent in 1920, to the League figure. Miss Ruth Morgan made an address, "The President and International Co-operation to Prevent War;" Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, vice-chairman of the Women's Democratic State Committee, spoke on "The President and His Job as a Leader," and Mrs. Caspar Whitney, first vice-chairman of the New York League, on "The Woman's Part in Electing a President."

"I live in a very highly organized community," Mrs. Harriet T. Cooke, of New Jersey, writes, "and I am planning to ask every woman's organization in it to organize a telephone committee which will reach its entire membership in a few hours. This may be done by dividing into groups of ten the membership list of each organization, and appointing a captain who will be responsible for reaching her team of ten by telephone on registration day and on election day, and who will urge them to go to the polls. The captain will also arrange to have voters taken to the polls if for any reason they are unable to get there."

Mrs. James E. Cheesman, president of the United League of Rhode Island, reports that the town clerk of North Kingstown has agreed to attend each meeting of the League there and make registrations.

Figures obtained by the North Adams, Massachusetts, League, after careful investigation, show that only 58 per cent of the men in that town eligible to vote are registered—or were registered when the announcement of dereliction was made in April—and only 38 per cent of the women.

The New Executive Secretary

MISS GLADYS HARRISON was appointed executive secretary of the National League, during the Buffalo Convention, and will come to Washington headquarters July 1 with a splendid record of achievement behind her. She has been executive secretary of the Minnesota League, the only executive secretary the Minnesota League has ever had, and her energy, clear-sightedness and what somebody has called her "passion for perfection" have played no small part in the great success of that League.

Miss Harrison is a native of Minneapolis, granddaughter of a pioneer, and was educated in the public schools—where she learned to read three languages besides her native tongue—and in the University of Minnesota. As an undergraduate

she won a fellowship, was acting assistant in the Department of English, edited a university publication, and was of such high scholarship that a Phi Beta Kappa key is hers by right. A year after her graduation in 1914 she received her master's degree.

To furnish material for her thesis, she had photographs made of the cipher manuscript of Sir Simon d'Ewes ("a fussy little man of that antiquarian group who explored manuscripts and wrote up the parliamentary and court gossip of the days of the Stuarts") which covers a period of about a year and a half in the reign of James I. It had never been deciphered before, gathering dust and not fame in the British Museum, and Miss Harrison had what she calls the "fun of working out the key" and arranging the transcript with copious annotations on the personalities and events with which it deals.

Miss Harrison's personal connection with the suffrage movement began when she went with her grandmother, Mrs. H. G. Harrison, to the suffrage convention in Washington in 1915. She marched in the parade of that year and in the New York parade a year later. Since that time, whether doing research work for the Phelps, Dodge Corporation, in New York, keeping house for a brother in a Nevada mining camp, or serving with the Red Cross in France, she has never lost touch with the woman movement for a moment.

She went to France in January, 1918, qualifying as a stenographer, and was assigned to the publicity division of the Department of Civil Affairs, writing many stories having to do with the refugees and American wounded coming into Paris. When there was an emergency at the time of the Argonne drive, she went with Margaret Farrand to Evacuation Hospital No. 4, between Souilly and Verdun, when the hospital was overwhelmed with wounded coming in from the front, and the two young women were the only Red Cross workers.

Later she started the Red Cross work at Base Hospital 55 at Toul, including the home communication service and the hut. She stayed in France for eight months after the Armistice, and two months after her return to Minneapolis—two months, also, before the League of Women Voters was organized in Minnesota—she met Miss Marguerite Wells and became secretary of the infant organization.

Miss Harrison believes that if she had a favorite recreation beyond swimming and skating and canoeing and riding and tennis and basketball and sports in general, it would be "Doing nothing at all in some nice spot," but she has always been too busy to find out "for sure."

It would be difficult to find another young woman with better general and specific training for the position she is to fill at national headquarters, but it is not at all clear to anybody how Minnesota is to get on without Miss Gladys Harrison.

Some League Conventions

BECAUSE "it is universally acknowledged that women are good talkers, and it has always seemed a little unfair to put mere men into competition with them on the convention programs of such organizations as the League of Women Voters," the Indiana League made its annual convention at Michigan City, May 13-15, an "all-women" gathering. Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region for the National League, and Mrs. James W. Morrisson, of the Illinois League, spoke at the convention dinner on May 14. On Thursday, May 15, Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse, regional secretary, reported the National League Convention.

Indiana supplied such interesting and informed speakers as Mrs. Carina Warrington, state probation officer, and Dr. Ada Schweitzer, who spoke of the working of the Sheppard-Towner Law, and Mrs. May Wood-Simons, state chairman of citizenship training for the Illinois League, made an address at the banquet of Thursday. A full list of speakers is not available at the time this is written, but the committees

appointed by Mrs. Thomas H. Mullins, state president, contained the names of so many experienced Indiana women that the success of the convention was more than assured before it began.

The Massachusetts League held its fourth annual convention, May 13 and 14, at the New England Women's Club rooms in Boston, and Mrs. Herbert J. Gurney, first vice-president, presided. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell opened the first session, and at a luncheon that day Miss Katharine Ludington, guest of honor, explained budgets and finance plans. Some of the speakers listed in the convention program were: Miss Ethel Johnson, assistant commissioner State Department of Labor and Industries; Miss Mary E. Driscoll, field agent of the prison committee of the National Civic Federation; Charles H. Adams, of the Commission on the Necessaries of Life; Mrs. Madeline Appel, of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, and Miss Sarah Wambaugh.

Mrs. Arthur G. Rotch was reelected president. The other officers for the year are: First vice-president, Mrs. Robert L. DeNormandie; second vice-president, Mrs. William X. Ripley; treasurer, Mrs. Thomas H. Logan; clerk, Mrs. Joseph A. McCord.

One hundred and thirteen delegates and alternates attended the convention.

Knoxville was hostess to the annual convention of the Tennessee League which the state president, Mrs. John M. Kenny, called to order on May 7 and adjourned on May 9 after a mass meeting, at which Mrs. Benton McMillin, head of the state work for international co-operation to prevent war, presided. Miss Josephine Schain, representing the National League's Department of International Co-operation, discussed international relations, and four candidates for the United States Senate were the other speakers at the closing session. Miss Adèle Clark, the new director of the third region, opened the program of the Friday morning session with a talk on "The Dividing Line Between the League and the Parties." An unusual feature of the convention was a legislative luncheon, presided over by the Honorable Marion Griffin, of Memphis, the only woman member of the Tennessee Legislature, at which representatives of virtually all the organized activities of Tennessee women were speakers. The luncheon ended with a get-out-the-vote symposium which owed much of its earnestness to Mrs. Kenny's report that in 1920 only 15 per cent of the qualified voters of her state went to the polls.

One crate of chickens, a bushel of beets, twenty dozen eggs, uncounted jars of jam, and pieces of needlework were collected from the country about Norfolk by Miss Blanche Culpepper, president of the Norfolk (Virginia) County League, and her helpers, and sold in the Norfolk market to defray the entertainment expenses of the Virginia League's annual convention, which was held May 14-16. "International evening" was an unforgettable feature of the convention. Miss Josephine Schain, of the National League Department on International Co-operation to Prevent War, spoke on international relations with special reference to the status of the World Court proposal before the Senate, and Mrs. Ann Webster, national chairman of social hygiene, who was a member of the woman-to-woman commission the National League sent to Europe last year, talked on women in politics in Europe. Mrs. Webster's evening speech was preceded by one in the afternoon on the program of her committee and its law enforcement item.

For the first time in its history, the Wisconsin League held its annual convention (May 12-14) in the state capital and not in Milwaukee. The Dane County League, Mrs. M. V. O'Shea, president, was hostess and acquitted itself in Dane County League fashion. Mrs. William Hibbard, director of the fourth region, made an address on "International Relations," and Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Peru, Indiana, formerly first vice-president of the National League, discussed the work of local Leagues. Special attention was given to women in industry, and Miss Mary Anderson, head of the Women's

Bureau, gave a notable talk on the subject. Mrs. W. Z. Stuart, of Neenah, state president, invited women from all Wisconsin towns and cities, whether League members or not, to attend, and granted every one of the many women who came all the privileges of a delegate except the right to vote.

Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, second vice-president of the National League, was principal speaker at the second day evening session of the Alabama League's annual convention which was held in Gadsden, May 14-16. At the opening session, on the evening of May 14, with Mrs. C. R. Bricken, of Montgomery, state president, in the chair, Dean Bidgood, of the University of Alabama, gave a thoroughly convincing talk on "Alabama's Need For a New Constitution."

League Citizenship Schools

MANKATO was the town chosen for the fifth and last of the institutes of government and politics the Minnesota League has been carrying on with the co-operation of the teachers' colleges of the state, and May 14-15 were the dates. Miss Agnes Larson headed the local committee, and pre-institute reports expected women from many other places in Blue Earth County besides Mankato to attend, and women from adjoining counties as well. "America and Her Foreign Policy" was the subject dealt with at the two sessions of the first day, with Mr. A. B. Morris, of the Mankato Teachers' College, and Professor Harold Quigley, of the state university, as speakers. Mrs. A. J. McGuire, of St. Paul, vice-chairman of the Ramsey County League, gave an account of the Buffalo convention.

The second day began with "Government and Social Progress," by Mr. G. S. Petterson, of the Mankato Teachers' College, and Mrs. F. W. Wittich, who heads the state League's efficiency in government work, discussed reorganization of state departments. Professor John M. Gaus, of the state university, gave a lecture, "Significance of Parties in American History," at the afternoon session of the second day, and another lecture, "The Problem of Party in the United States," at the evening session. Mrs. Sumner T. McKnight, chairman of the Minneapolis League, talked on the World Court, and discussions added considerably to the value of the well-planned school.

A most alluring program was prepared for the Connecticut League's citizenship school on national and international issues, which began at Wesleyan University, in Middletown, on May 15 and ended May 17. Notable speakers not connected with Wesleyan, and equally notable faculty members made up the corps of lecturers. Owen Lovejoy, executive secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, conducted a round table on the proposed child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution; J. Henry Scattergood, of Philadelphia, had as his subject, "The European Deadlock and America's Opportunity;" Howard Bradstreet, director of the Bureau of Adult Education in Hartford, made an address, "Guarding Uncle's Sam's Gates;" Dr. J. R. Perez, a Filipino, and physician at Middlesex Hospital, talked on Philippine independence, and Ernest A. Inglis devoted himself to "Uncle Sam's Prohibition." Clyde Olin Fisher's address on the tariff, and the talk by Professor Henry Merritt Wriston, of Johns Hopkins, on the applicability of Washington's foreign policy to present conditions, were striking features of the last day's program.

Wesleyan undergraduates helped to make the school a success. The "Jibbers" sang at a school tea, and the *Wesleyan Wasp*, an undergraduate publication, contributed a page for the "Who's Who" folder distributed to those who attended the sessions. It contained campus nicknames and undergraduate character sketches of the members of the Wesleyan faculty who lectured at the citizenship school.

Mrs. J. B. Aimer presided over the one-day institute of politics, the Twenty-first Assembly District League of Brooklyn, held May 10, and her leadership was eminently successful. Mrs. Caspar Whitney, first vice-chairman of the state

League, brought state greetings, and Dr. J. Herbert Low, principal of Erasmus Hall High School, where the institute was held, made an opening address. Raymond Moley, associate professor of government at Columbia University, had as his subject, "Our Democracy," and the trio who spoke on the topic, "Party Responsibility in Getting Out the Vote," were Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, and Miss Sarah Schuyler Butler, daughter of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. Mr. George Boynton, head of the Erasmus History Department, conducted the afternoon session, with Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip to describe the work of the Citizens' Federal Research Bureau, and Dr. Frederick Roman, of New York University, to talk on international relations. The discussions of the various questions raised by the addresses were by no means the least helpful and interesting items of the program.

Since its conference in New Bedford, April 15, at which Mrs. True Worthy White's drill on "Where Do You Live Politically?" was such a success, the Massachusetts League has held two other conferences of the kind under the direction of Mrs. White and Miss Mildred Gutterson, organizing secretary. One was at Rogers Hall School, Lowell, on May 20, at the request of the head of the school, with attendance from Essex and Middlesex Leagues, and the other at Pittsfield, on May 24, open to all citizens of Berkshire and Franklin counties. Local government was the special topic of all three schools, and Mrs. White displayed maps, posters and charts, making clear the relation of the individual voter to the government of her town and county.

Mrs. White, who is civic director of the Massachusetts League, reports that the schools of politics held at Wellesley and Radcliffe, with very small fees for students, added about a thousand dollars to the League treasury.

Leagues and League Women

DAYS before the work began, sixty-four corporals and 418 workers were enrolled for the membership drive of the United League of Rhode Island which began May 6 at 10:30 in the morning and ended May 16 with a total the *Woman Voter* has not yet learned. On the first day of the drive Mrs. James E. Cheesman, president, was given a reception in recognition of her election as director of the first region; on the second, the Woonsocket unit had a rally; on the third day the usual "hospitality tea" at state headquarters took the form of an experience meeting, whereat workers talked of what they were doing and exchanged suggestions. The fourth day was Friday and Miss Mary I. Gallahan, executive secretary, explained the drive to the Woonsocket Y. W. C. A. Business Club, whose guest she was at dinner. The Gloucester unit gave a fellowship luncheon on one day of the undertaking and other units followed suit, and not for one moment during the ten days did anybody in Rhode Island forget that a League membership drive was on.

THE *Cleveland Press* has a way of calling on the city's patron saint, Moses Cleaveland, gone from the visible world a century or so, to say things, when things are called for, to citizens of the town he surveyed so long ago. The *Press* reports that Moses Cleaveland has just written this note to Miss Belle Sherwin:

"Just a word of congratulation upon your election to the presidency of the National League of Women Voters. The League has fine and high ideals for the future of American democracy. I know from your past record of public service that these ideals will find splendid and effective expression under your guidance."

MISS ETHEL RICHARDSON, chairman of the Committee on Education of the California League, has prepared, and the state League has published, a chart showing how state senators and assemblymen voted on a dozen measures in which women are especially interested. The several

legislators are grouped according to counties, and after the vote on each separate question, are the two heads, "Votes With Women's Policy" and "Votes Against Women's Policy" so that it is possible for any California woman to tell at a glance precisely how her representative has represented her and what his general attitude toward the bills organized women support has been. The chart is published as a supplement to the California League's *Bulletin* for April.

MRS. C. B. SIMMONS, of Portland, Oregon, who was formerly director of the seventh region for the National League, and a member of the Oregon House of Representatives during the 1923 session, is a candidate for the state senate this year from the thirteenth district. Her slogan is, "I will give conscientious, intelligent consideration to all matters for public good."

ROTARIANS of Wilmington (Delaware) listened to an address by Miss Katharine Ludington, National League treasurer, at luncheon, May 15. Later in the day Mrs. Alfred R. Warner, president of the Delaware League, gave a tea in her honor. On May 21, the Wilmington Junior League entertained Miss Gertrude Ely, director of the second region, and Miss Eleanor Thompson was hostess at a luncheon for her.

ON April 16 the Sioux City and Woodbury County (Iowa) League ended a series of citizenship lectures which began March 21, and continued for the succeeding five weeks. A luncheon at a downtown tea room preceded each lecture. The enrollment fee was a dollar and, as the average attendance was seventy-five, the League is properly pleased with the success of the undertaking. Professor Warner Woodring, of Morningside College, gave the lectures and chose for subjects of four of them, "Why Is a Political Party?", "What Have the Parties Done Since the Civil War?", "The Big Factors in Politics of Today" and "The Pressing Problems of Local and City Government." The topic for the fifth lecture was chosen by the women who had attended the preceding four. Mrs. C. A. Hoyt was program chairman for the series and Mrs. Edwin J. Stason is League president, and head of the committee on arrangements.

THE Minnehaha County League took virtual charge of the anniversary sale of a large department store in Sioux Falls (South Dakota) May 21 and appointed a League member to serve in each department. Coffee, sandwiches and cake were served on the balcony. At two o'clock in the afternoon the chairman of the League's Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War presented a one-act play and at three Dr. M. C. Haecker, of the State Board of Health, talked to as many women as could crowd into hearing distance on child welfare.

SINCE there is no better way of "remembering the men who have given their lives in war than by effort to strengthen the forces that make for peace," League leaders in New York state were asked to send members to call on the delegates to the national political convention, on Memorial Day, and urge them to do their utmost to secure World Court planks in the party platforms.

THE Saginaw County (Michigan) League has adopted for its official use, and sells for the general use of League members and others, a regulation-size post-card, with "Get Out the Vote" printed in red and blue letters at the top of the correspondence side, and a tri-color strip at one corner. Plenty of space for a brief message is left on the card and the League intends to employ it as much as possible in correspondence, hoping that hundreds of members will follow the same rule.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The Republican Convention

THE bugle has almost blown for the Republican National Convention at Cleveland, and when the notes finally sound, on June 10, approximately one thousand women will answer to the call either as delegates, alternates or visitors. Our latest reports say ninety-three women delegates with full voting power and about two hundred and fifty alternates. (Some ten states are not included in these figures.)

It is hopeless to begin on names, and yet there are a few we must mention. Of course, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the National Republican Executive Committee, will be there, and Mrs. Nettie M. Clapp, chairman of the women's advisory committee, who is arranging for the entertainment of the women delegates and visitors. Other names that just must be said are: Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, Mrs. Medill McCormick; Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, all associate members of the National Republican Committee; Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Mrs. Bessie Parker Brueggeman, Miss Betsey Edwards, woman manager of the Coolidge forces, and Miss Marion Parkhurst, who will not attend as delegates, but whose influence will be felt.

The auditorium where the meetings are to take place is new and houses fourteen thousand people.

The new Federal Reserve Bank—not yet occupied—will serve as national headquarters. Mrs. Leonard G. Woods, of Pittsburgh, second vice-chairman of the National Republican Committee, and Mrs. Upton will be in charge for the women.

A New Peace Organization

THE Sisterhood of Jeanne d'Arc is a new organization in the interest of peace founded by Mme. Carlo Polifeme. It is a subsidiary of the Société des Femmes de France à New York, of which Mme. Polifeme is president. The new Association has had a miraculous growth. By unanimous vote at a convention, the General Federation of Women's Clubs joined en masse. Mrs. Thomas G. Winter is a charter member, with her name enrolled in the church of Domremy, France, where Jeanne was registered at her christening. Mrs. John H. Booth, president of the New York State Federation, and Mrs. Thomas Slack, president of the New York City Federation, both are charter members with their names also enrolled at

June Calendar

Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs—June 2-13, Los Angeles, California.

Annual meeting of the Medical Women's National Association, Inc.—June 8-10, Chicago, Illinois. Dr. Louise Martindale, of London, and Dr. Maude Abbott, of Montreal, will speak.

Ninth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America—June 16-21, New York City.

Labor Institute—June 21-28, Katonah, New York. The Institute will be held by the National Women's Trade Union League in cooperation with the Brookwood Labor Institute. Twenty dollars covers the expense of lodging, board and tuition.

Working conference in Health Education—June 23-28, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The conference is limited to 100. Application for registration should be sent to Emma Dolfinger, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—June 25 to July 2, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Sixty-second annual meeting of the National Education Association—June 29 to July 4, Washington, D. C.

Domremy. The headquarters of the Sisterhood is in charge of the Dean of the village church at Domremy, and Mme. Polifeme is his American representative.

Parents and Teachers

TRAINING for parenthood was the keynote of the twenty-eighth annual convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, which met in St. Paul, Minnesota, May 6.

Law enforcement, better roads, better films, religious and moral education, as well as home education, were some of the subjects discussed.

One day was devoted to a conference at the University of Minnesota, in which extension divisions of state universities, national, state and city library associations, and the home education division of the United States Bureau of Education met with the Congress to discuss work in American homes and American communities.

Three new committees were formed: One on illiteracy, to reach the illiterate or foreign-born mother through the school children; one on music, to increase appreciation and to aid those with musical ability, and one on art, to educate parents to the value of good pictures and books.

Among the important resolutions were: Approval of the founding at the University of California of a department for the scientific study of the American family and home with a view

to discovering the cause and remedy for family disintegration. Endorsement of the establishing of adequate courses in home-making in grade schools. Recommendation to the United States Commissioner of Education that the National University Extension Division, the American Library Association and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers appoint two members to serve on a committee to study the subject of reading courses in Home Education. Endorsement of the Sterling-Reed bill granting a Federal Department of Education with a Secretary in the Cabinet of the President.

The Association has a membership of 651,000, with branches in forty-six states. Mrs. A. H. Reeve, of Philadelphia, is national president.

California's Dry Campaign

CALIFORNIA women are active these days. Preparations for the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, June 2-13, at Los Angeles (told about on another page) are in full swing. But that has not drawn their attention from a dry campaign against the wet forces of the state. The Woman's Committee of Five Thousand in California and the California Federation of Women's Clubs have banded together "to take prohibition machinery out of politics." A resolution pledging their "individual and concerted influence through the medium of the vote to take prohibition machinery out of politics" and to make every effort to bring about the election of dry candidates will be presented at the coming convention.

Mrs. Cowan Defeated

AUSTRALIA'S first and only woman M. P.—Mrs. Edith Cowan, of West Perth—was defeated at the last election, in spite of the fact that she had served a very satisfactory term.

The World Y. W. C. A.

FOLLOWING the National Convention of the Y. W. C. A. in New York, a meeting of the World's Y. W. C. A. Committee, the coordinating body for all the national organizations, was held in Washington, D. C., May 9-16. Lady Parmoor, of England, was elected president of the Committee. Vice-presidents elected were: Lady Montague Waldegrave; Lady Proctor, D. B. E.; Miss Elizabeth Treton; Mrs. W. R. Arbuthnot (all of England); Fraulein Hulda Zarnack, national secretary for Germany; Mme. A. Ber-

trand, of Switzerland; Mrs. H. C. Mei, president of the "Y" in China; Mrs. James Cushman, of New York.

For Indian Women

UNDER the provisions of the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act, a full-blooded Indian graduate nurse has been assigned to maternity work among the Indian women on the state reservations in Nebraska.

Wyoming's Historian

DR. GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD, one of our contributing editors and professor of political economy and sociology in the University of Wyoming, has completed her new edition of "The Government of Wyoming." After each session of the state legislature Dr. Hebard publishes a small book, recording the important laws passed.

Election News

AT the recent primaries in Illinois three women were chosen for its legislature. Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer, Republican, was nominated senator; Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, Republican, was renominated to the House of Representatives as well as Mrs. Katherine Hancock Goode. By a peculiar arrangement in Illinois, victory at the primaries is equivalent to election.

In Kansas City two women, Mrs. Masie Jones Ragan and Mrs. Rose Ludlow, were elected to the upper house of the common city council on the Republican ticket.

Missouri has one woman who has filed as Republican candidate for Congress. She is Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing, now state industrial inspector of the Department of Industrial Inspection of Missouri. The primaries take place in August.

A Library School in Paris

A NEW school will open in Paris on June 2. It is the Paris Library School, made possible by a gift of \$50,000 from the American Committee for Devastated France. The course will not only give France a training in American library methods, which it greatly desires, but will give this training to women as well as men, thus knocking down another barrier. The school will be held in the building of the American Library in Paris, and will have the close cooperation of the American Library. Myron T. Herrick, American Ambassador to France, and Florence Wilson, librarian of the League of Nations Library, will take part in the opening.

A Course in Peace

THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom held a two weeks' course in the "Human Factors in Internationalism" in Chicago, beginning May 18. Many of the delegates to

the Fourth Congress of the League, held in Washington, May 1-7, took part in this summer school. The place of history, literature and art in furthering internationalism were the subjects for the first week; the educational bases of internationalism as well as industrial and economic bases were discussed during the second week. The two last days were given up to the European youth movement, with Fraulein Gertrud Baer, of Germany, in charge.

In Recognition

DURING the closing hours of the recent Mississippi legislative session, when legislators were being commended for their services, Mrs. Nellie Somerville came in for her full share of appreciation. Mrs. Somerville is Mississippi's first woman member of the lower house, elected last August. (The November 3 CITIZEN gives her story.) Nine months later her fellow members of the House of Representatives paid her tribute by standing as she passed to the speaker's stand, where she was presented with a silver vase, in recognition of her work.

Party Manager

MRS. BERTHA HALE WHITE, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, is managing its national political campaign from her desk at headquarters in Chicago. In detail she routes speakers, compiles and sends out campaign literature and raises money to carry on activities. It was she who issued the call for this year's national convention of the party, and it is she who will preside when it convenes in Cleveland, July 6.

A New Chamber of Commerce

TEXAS has a woman's Chamber of Commerce, according to the *Woman's Viewpoint*, with headquarters at Dallas. Mrs. Nellie C. Metcalfe is president-manager. Its growth has been rapid, and it is fast becoming a factor in the civic, social, commercial and industrial life of the state.

England's Woman Economist

ANOTHER woman has come to the foreground in England. Mrs. Barbara Wootton has just been appointed by Premier MacDonald as one of thirteen members of a government committee to inquire into the national debt and its effect on taxation and industry. Mrs. Wootton, who is only twenty-seven, took first class honors in economics at Girton College, Cambridge, with a special distinction which had never been awarded to any other student.

Honored

AMONG the nine busts which were unveiled in the Hall of Fame, at New York University, May 13, is that of Alice Freeman Palmer, educator. The bust was given by Wellesley College, of which she was president.

A Double Job

MRS. ALLAN P. STEVENS, besides being a member of the city council of Portland, Oregon, has been made a member of the American Committee on the International Institute of Agriculture. The purpose of the committee is to extend the knowledge of the Institute and to endeavor, by friendly cooperation, to harmonize the authority of governments with the free energies of the farmer. The committee is composed of many prominent persons, among them Richard Washburn Child, Myron T. Herrick, Gifford Pinchot, Frank A. Vanderlip and Mrs. Thomas G. Winter.

Coughs and Colds

BY GULIELMA F. ALSOP
College Physician at Barnard

WHETHER is in charge of the family must familiarize herself with a few essentials of nursing technique. She must be able to take a pulse, respiration and temperature accurately. When taking a pulse, rest the child's arm on the side of the bed, or a table, or else hold it with the disengaged hand. With the three middle fingers press firmly but lightly on the wrist and locate the pulse. When the pulse is felt bounding under the finger, look at your watch and wait till the second hand comes to a convenient spot, as a quarter or a half or a minute. Then begin to count. For absolute accuracy count a minute. The normal pulse rate in children is, roughly, from eighty to a hundred beats a minute. A mother ought to know what is normal to each of her children, for rates vary greatly with sex, age and temperament. If she knows the normal rate then she is able to evaluate any change with illness.

The first-aid-er must also be able to count the rate of respiration. Respiration is partly under the control of the will. If a child, or an adult, knows that her respiration is being counted, she will unconsciously alter the rhythm, either hastening or slowing it. The rate of respiration must then be counted when the child is unaware that it is being done. Several devices may be used. When, with the fingers on the pulse, one has finished its count, keep the hand in the same position, thus making the patient suppose the pulse is still being counted, and count the respiration by sight for the second minute or half minute.

An increase of both pulse and respiration rate is natural with all sickness. With colds and bronchitis the respiration rate is more marked; with abdominal ailments, the pulse.

A clinical thermometer should be in every household. In the case of young

children, under four, the temperature should be taken per rectum, the thermometer being held in place by an adult. With older children the temperature may be taken by mouth. The thermometer should be inserted under the tongue, and the lips, not the teeth, closed for three minutes. An elevation of temperature is expected with all illness.

A mother should be able to recognize the condition of the abdomen, whether soft and flaccid or tight and filled with gas. She can approximate this knowledge by placing her hand, palm downward, against the abdomen and pressing slightly.

When an illness occurs in a household, these four observations should be made by the mother. If she finds a slight increase in temperature, pulse and respiration, she will know there is inflammation somewhere. As the most usual site of inflammation, even in adults, is in the nose and throat, the mother should then examine the child's throat. If the child obeys and is fairly well controlled, this much-dreaded procedure of "looking down the throat" will go off easily. Take a spoon by its bowl, use the handle as a tongue depressor and gently press down the tongue until the back of the throat and the tonsils are seen. A gentle red flush accompanied with moderate swelling and a slight increase in temperature do not call for the immediate presence of a doctor. A red angry appearance with marked swelling and white spots on the tonsils indicates tonsilitis, needing a doctor's attention.

In the sore throats, coughs and gripes of children the one infallible treatment is bed early and at once and until the symptoms have subsided. The diet should be light—omitting meats and sweets—containing bread, milk, cereals, vegetables and raw fruits, especially orange juice, in abundance. The child can have a sponge bath daily.

In all infections a mass of food in the intestines seems to lessen the recuperative power of the individual. Hence the custom has arisen of administering a laxative at the beginning of every infection. With children the best is castor oil.

To sum up: flushed cheeks, shiny eyes, a cranky disposition, a sore throat with slight increase in temperature, pulse and respiration, calls for bed and a laxative at once. After that, more bed, a light diet, plenty of water and fruit juice, a hot salt gargle every three hours (if the child knows how to gargle) and patience.

No cold or cough ought to be allowed to drag on. The child should be kept at home until well. After the symptoms have subsided, it should be allowed up around the house for a day or two, then sent out of doors to play for another day or two before it is permitted to go back to school.

The Bookshelf



By
M. A.

THESE are all sorts of qualities which put books in that favorite group labeled "Discussable". Sometimes it is the vividness of the problem which forms the theme, sometimes a book is so nearly great that it stirs up a fine battle for the adjective, sometimes its author is a public character who reveals so much of himself in his writing that one is thrilled with the unexpected perception of a personality.

Dorothy Canfield's "*The Home-Maker*" stands very high in the first class. With a courage as unusual as it is able she challenges the formula that every woman is a home-maker and every man a bread-winner. The book opens with Evangeline Knapp on her knees "scrubbing furiously at a line of grease spots which led from the stove toward the door to the dining-room." She is a woman of energy and ability, an uncommonly perfect housekeeper, an executive who loves to plan and finish things, and she is tied to housework and three growing children, neither of which is ever finished except by a catastrophe.

Her husband is a dreamy, contemplative person to whom material things are of negligible value, and who is such a failure as a money-maker that he tries to commit suicide. He even fails at that, and becomes a chair-bound invalid able only to tend to household things while his wife goes joyfully into the world to a job which gives her talents exercise. Then Lester Knapp discovers that he is a born home-maker, a person to whom the infinite detail of daily housework is soothing. And the children are the most absorbing, breath-taking adventures in the world, while to his wife they were stupid, immature, careless trouble-makers. Their adjustments, and possible readjustments, are stimulating reading.

"*Jenny the Joyous*," heroine as well as title of Cornelia Stratton Parker's new novel, was mother as well as wage-earner, and one of the nicest parts of the book is a conversation between her and her sons who have grown up under the care of a working mother. Two other things keep the book from drowning in its own mediocrity, her insistence on honesty of thought, and her adventure in industrialism. The book suffers from a breathless wordiness and a continuous expression of enthusiasm which is uncomfortably reminiscent of Pollyanna.

The very mention of industrialism calls up Sherwood Eddy's book, "*The New World of Labor*." Mr. Eddy,

who is assistant secretary of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., recently returned from a trip around the world, in which he studied the whole problem of labor, and this book contains his findings and his deductions. What work he found the women of Asia doing was told in the *CITIZEN* of November 17, 1923. His account of industrialism in Russia is particularly fine in its fair spirit and unbiased evaluations. Mr. Eddy is not afraid to give credit where a propaganda-bound press has heaped blame. Nor does he hesitate to point out the mistakes of England and America, and hope for their speedy correction. The book has obvious faults of construction which do not lessen its value as a survey. No one willing to think instead of fulminate about labor since the war will fail to find it stimulating.

Clemence Dane, who is better known in America for her plays than for her novels, has written two separate stories which, taken together, form a whole called "*Wandering Stars*". The first concerns a woman whose husband has grown callous and uninterested, and who turns for comfort to the spirit which was his when she married him. The second is the story of a great actress told by the man who knew her best to the man who thought he knew her best. Through it runs the thread of the first story made into a play which establishes the reputation and kills the soul of the actress. Finely wrought and beautifully told, the two tales have a mystic quality that marks them as rare and valuable.

J. Ramsay MacDonald, Labor Premier of England, has written a biography of his wife and called it by her name, "*Margaret Ethel MacDonald*". Reading it, one gains more knowledge of the author than of his wife. This is not due to any abundance of "I"s, for even in writing of their married life the Premier rarely mentions himself. Rather does the picture lie in the very wording of the book. England feared Mr. MacDonald would be a revolutionist, and finds he is an able statesman. If you want to know what kind of a human being he is, read between the lines in which he relates the life of his wife.

The Home-Maker, Harcourt, Brace, 1924. \$2.00.

Jenny the Joyous, Harcourt, Brace, 1924. \$2.00.

The New World of Labor, Doran, 1924. \$1.50.

Wandering Stars, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.25.

Margaret Ethel MacDonald, Seltzer, 1924. \$2.50.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

THE ENCHANTED COTTAGE—The story is about a war-crippled boy and a homely girl who are glorified in each other's eyes when they fall in love, and see themselves as strong and beautiful. Both the picture and the play from which it was made have as *dramatis personae* the transformed lovers, a device both easier and harder on the screen than on the stage. The picture play has a sincere and sensitive actor, Richard Barthelmess, and an actress playing responsively to his intellectual tempo, May McAvoy, in these principal parts of lonely boy and girl, and both under direction intelligent and honest. These three have made of a subject more than ordinarily difficult one of the most interesting and sound of recent pictures. A First National picture, from Pinero's play of the same name, and directed by John S. Robertson.

THE MARRIAGE CIRCLE—A neat whittling of events and characters into a smooth and balanced structure, of not very subtle farce, of husbands and wives and the mischief-making woman, adequately played by Adolphe Menjou, Florence Vidor, Monte Blue and Marie Prevost. A Warner Brothers picture, from a stage play "Only a Dream," by L. Schmidt, and directed by Ernst Lubitsch.

THE STRANGER—A story of a crime, an innocent guilt, and a social quandary, that is much too subtle for the direction it has received. The picture is entertaining and not sensational, but rather pointless. Tully Marshall wanders in and out, the most convincing of the cast (Richard Dix, Lewis Stone, Betty Compson), as the *Stranger*. No special interest for children. A Paramount picture, from a story by John Galsworthy, and directed by Joseph Henabery.

GIRL SHY—If the comedies of the motion picture are what many feel them to be, "Girl Shy" is a very slippery spot on the toboggan slide to artistic perdition, for it has their usual ingredients of the practical joke and the chase made into an irresistibly funny picture. It is a dramatic cartoon of adolescence, with Harold Lloyd heart and soul in his broad comedy part of a literary "Merton of the Movies." There is no prescribing these comedies by age: above fifteen, it depends on one's temperament; under fifteen, we recommend it. A Pathé picture, directed by Harry Newmeyer.

PETER THE GREAT—A Russian historical picture, with a foreign cast and a Russian director. It tells the story, more prosaically than Griffith would have done it, of Russian expansion in the eighteenth century and the marriage of the shipbuilding *Peter* with the commoner who became *Catherine the Great*. It has an excellent *Peter* in Emil Jan-

nings—his vigorous characterization is the best of the picture—and a pretty Viennese *Catherine*. Interesting history and any age's picture. A Paramount picture, directed by Dimitri Buchowetzki.

Insurgent Prospects

(Continued from page 9)

victory of punishment rather than accomplishment. It did make a very definite impression upon the psychology and character of American politics and laid the foundation for a progressive policy which afterward came to some fruition, but in its early stages, powerful as it was, it was merely a gesture, and during following years failed to build up upon its own foundation. Year by year the Progressives left the fold of the third party and returned to the regular channels. The roster of Republican reactionaries today contains the names of some of the men actively associated with the Roosevelt bolt of 1912. So the outlook for a third party, even if there were another Roosevelt, is not any too sanguine, certainly if there are not behind it the best minds of the country, the best leaders and a platform and policy so definitely shaped as to be practically conclusive and supported by people as a whole.

Let us review the possibilities:

Senator Hiram Johnson, as I write, is reiterating his decision to release all the delegates who have been pledged to support his candidacy for the nomination in the Republican Convention in June. This mainly refers to the delegation from South Dakota, which will go to the convention uninstructed, it is now said. He lost his hold in California, his home state, and has waged a long fight for support all over the country, which has not rallied. However, the fact that he had the South Dakota delegation and has released it may mean that if an insurgent movement does start, either in the form of a third party or in the Republican Convention, it is not unlikely that this South Dakota delegation will swing its force into that channel. Second, Senator LaFollette, the acknowledged leader of the strongest insurgent element in the country today, that of the Northwest, after some twenty years of constant fight in the Congress, a strain that has taken every ounce of physical energy—for that is his way of working—entirely collapsed this winter and has been away from Washington recuperating. His friends expect him back any day, again to lead. He has the Wisconsin delegation and the whole Northwest is pretty much in the hollow of his hand if he can find the strength to rally it.

There has been steady progress there toward the formation of a third party. Only recently in Wisconsin a new political organization known as the

Wisconsin Conference for Progressive Political Action was formed by representatives of farm, labor and other liberal elements. Delegates were elected to attend the convention to discuss a third party, to be held in Cleveland in July, and the Farmer-Labor-Progressive Convention in St. Paul in June. If Senator LaFollette forms a third party, the Wisconsin delegation will go with him, and it is safe to assume that he will be followed by Senator Brookhart and his colleagues in Congress, who have constantly worked with him. The time has come now when they think they have established the absolute incompetence of the old parties. They and they only have accomplished in Congress what they set out to do. They made no boasts of extraordinary hopes at the beginning of the session. They did not expect then to be able to put through a legislative program of their own.

Notwithstanding this modest aim, the insurgent group has made a record to which it now can point.

It has forced the Republican Congress at every desired place to accede to its wishes, even to divergence from its own President and administration.

It has gained the control of important investigating committees and places upon Senate committees ordinarily not assigned to new men. For instance, Senator Shipstead's seat upon the Foreign Relations Committee, obtained for him with the help of Senator Borah.

Senator LaFollette himself is chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, and several years ago started the foundation for the present oil investigation. He holds the place next to Senator Smoot in seniority on the Finance Committee.

Senator Norris, of Nebraska, who has been Senator LaFollette's running mate for twelve years, is chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and so holds the key position for the whole farm bloc program.

Senator Wheeler, of Montana, has been put on the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Senator Brookhart obtained the chairmanship of the special committee investigating former Attorney General Daugherty. Senator Wheeler became the prosecutor.

Senator Ladd, of North Dakota, obtained the chairmanship of the Committee on Public Lands, investigating the Teapot Dome, after Senator Lenroot's health gave out.

In the first days of the session the liberal group blocked the re-election of Speaker Gillett, who failed to get a majority vote on many ballots, the faction casting its votes for one of its own delegation. Only after the regular Republicans had promised to embark upon a program of liberalization of the rules of the House, did the insurgents cease their attack and allow the elec-

tion of Speaker Gillett to be consummated. They gained their most wanted point, which was so to change the rules that a committee could be discharged from consideration of a pending bill, and a member of their own group, John M. Nelson, of Wisconsin, obtained membership on the Rules Committee itself.

In the Senate the progressive group refused to vote for the election of Senator Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa, as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee and the result was a deadlock, enabling the Democrats and insurgents to combine in the election of Senator Smith, of South Carolina, ranking Democrat, as chairman, thus holding a certain control in this important committee which is considering amendment of the transportation act, against which the insurgents are bitterly arrayed.

In the House the group has a bill proposing the abolition of the Railway Labor Board, and a fight almost amounting to a filibuster has been on for several weeks to prevent its passage. The same legislation has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Howell, of Nebraska, and has reached the stage of committee hearings.

In the House the group rallied against the Mellon plan for reduction of taxation with the announced program of favoring cutting the normal tax in half and leaving the surtax at a 50 per cent maximum, which was at variance with

Secretary Mellon's judgment. The only way the Republicans were able to put the tax bill through in the House was by the strategic compromise of majority leader Longworth, when he finally got the insurgents and Democrats to agree to a medium cut, not at all satisfactory to the Secretary of the Treasury and the administration.

From the first the insurgents espoused the cause of the bonus in the face of administration opposition and held to it so consistently that the vote carried the proposition over the President's emphatic veto. If it had not been for the support of the insurgency, the bonus probably could not have received the two-thirds vote in each house which was necessary to nullify the President's adverse action.

The edict has now gone forth that this Congress must not adjourn until farm relief legislation has been acted upon, and as this was number one upon the group's program, it is fairly certain to come to a head.

If the progressive faction were to write a platform for a third party convention, its main points would read something like this:

Farm relief measures.

Constitutional amendment for Child Labor.

Prompt payment of the Bonus.

Repeal of the Transportation Act and abolition of the Railway Labor Board.

Government control of the necessities of life, such as speculation in farm produce, coal, and transportation.

Anti-injunction legislation.

Uniform presidential primaries.

Elimination of profits from the manufacture of war materials.

Abolition of tax-exempt securities issued by states and municipalities.

Radical amendment of the Federal Reserve Act.

Tax reduction in favor of small incomes.

Independence for the Philippines.

New policy for the American Merchant Marine.

Conservation of Natural Resources.

Reorganization of departments of the government and elimination of graft and incompetence.

Revision of the rules of Congress.

Much of this program is entirely compatible with the ideals and policies of both Republican and Democratic parties, as well as forward-looking politicians and citizens all over the country. In the matter of paternalistic legislation and government control of transportation and food supplies and distribution there would be more controversy. In fact, within the insurgent group itself there is little unanimity on these subjects. The longer its members are in Congress, the less radical they become. Senator Brookhart is not half the radical he was when he came from the rifle range to Congress. Senator Borah is not as "wild" as many a man who contributes

to the regular Republican organization and signs his name under that of Brandegee, Lodge and company. Moreover, a great deal of this program has been adopted by both old parties as necessary in order to conciliate progressive elements within. For instance, it would be futile to expect a woman politician to ally herself with the old crowd if such conceded policies as a constitutional amendment for child labor should be turned down.

From the above it is plainly seen that what the insurgents go to the country on, whether they do it through the old parties or a new one, is actual accomplishments and record.

It would be more than partisan to state at this writing that this insurgent group has any reason to expect phenomenal success either with a third party or through the old parties at the coming conventions. Their prospects are none too good, but for a reason which might be remedied, namely, lack of the right leader. This is not an impossibility, but unless something is stirring in a very short time, it will be an improbability. If such a man arose, say one who was willing to risk his neck and his life in the fight in a third-party movement, then the prospects could be more definitely conjectured. All the liberal group would have to do to put itself in a controlling position of great power would be to deduct enough state delegations and consequent electoral votes from the Republican expectations to tie the election, and that would not be difficult because the line-up today is fairly even. It takes a majority of the electoral college to elect a President, and if no candidate has a majority, the House of Representatives, under the Constitution, assumes that function. In the House the insurgent group easily holds the balance of power; therefore, it could control the selection of the Presidential nominee.

This is not mere theory. It has happened twice in the course of American political history. Moreover, the third party movement need not be overwhelmingly strong to bring about such a situation. The reason the election was not thrown into the House of Representatives in 1912, when Roosevelt led the fight, was his strength. He took more electoral votes from the Republican Party than any third-party movement today could hope to do, thereby giving the Democrats a heavy lead. But a third-party movement with any momentum at all could embarrass both the old parties to a point of deadlock.

But the facts are just as obvious that within both the old parties are men who are liberal, progressive, forward-looking and capable—able to lead, and fighters. There is some small psychological complex which not yet has "released" them. They are still "instructed," and although the radicals believe that the country has



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Washington, D. C.

been sufficiently advised of the incompetence of the old parties, they fully know that there is only a slight barrier which is keeping a large progressive element submerged. The radicals hope to prove that the country must go through another period of travail before political matters become crucial enough for a definite demand for an overturn.

That the undercurrent of discontent is at high tide now is perfectly evident to the whole political organization; but the size of the problem and the sacrifices involved apparently are deterring potential leaders. Washington is too comfortable and New York too profitable to unseat some of those who might be fitted for the work, and something psychological seems to hinder the advance of such men as Borah, Arthur Capper, Judge Kenyon, and others.

Alice Ames Winter

(Continued from page 13)

ready in Paris with the American Fund for French Wounded, and I was returning from New York after seeing my husband off to serve overseas with the Red Cross, there she was on the porch with her arms outstretched as I came up the steps to my lonely home. 'Now don't you cry, Mrs. Winter,' she said. 'I'm going to take care of you.' And she lived up to every word of that promise."

Mrs. Winter has a reputation herself for being a fine cook and her husband "swears by her" in this.

As she has never permitted her work to interfere with spending the evenings with her husband, so too, she may be found nearly every morning early, in season, with him in the garden. Every tree and shrub on the grounds they have planted together as well as cultivating vegetable and flower gardens. A part of summer vacation time, too, is set aside, for Mr. and Mrs. Winter have a camp in northern Minnesota.

It was at the time of the Arms Conference in Washington, when the above "rule" was first broken, that Mr. Winter left his camp to attend a "movie" in a nearby town. There he saw on the screen his illustrious wife, who had been gone for two months, seated in the midst of world notables. The incident called forth a message. It read:

Saw you tonight on the screen surrounded by statesmen and you wouldn't even wink at me. I say, how's the old head? Have you measured it lately?

"Besides keeping oneself out of a 'rut' and one's husband interested what return does a married woman get from a career such as yours?" the writer asked. And quick as a flash, Mrs. Winter's answer came back:

"The satisfaction of being able to give some slight service and then—love letters, real ones, from women throughout the United States."

Your Investments

By ELEANOR KERR

"SUPERPOWER" is a term which is being heard more and more, as systems of steam and hydro-electric plants, transmission lines, etc., are consolidated, and it is a term that carries marked interest for investors.

Great reserves and resources of power are formed by these consolidations which connect what were originally many separated, isolated units into great systems, covering large areas, and so interconnected that the failure of any one unit may be made good by the reserve of others in the group, while steam and water power may be used interchangeably.

Electric power is, in this way, produced much more efficiently and economically. It is usually cheaper to generate power by steam at or near the coal mines and transmit it by high tension lines for as much as several hundred miles to the users, than it is to load the coal on railroad cars, haul it to various generating plants in the territory, unload it and there transform it into small amounts of power.

Tentative plans have been made for consolidation of all power systems into definite zones. The power developments of Niagara Falls, in the Piedmont, the Pittsburgh District, California and the Youngstown District, are well known, while the potential development of Muscle Shoals is a live political issue.

Other countries are not behind us in the creation of super-power systems. Such work is financed by both public and private capital. A number of foreign bonds and preferred stocks have been sold here for this purpose, among them being various issues of Canadian, French and other corporation issues, while the Italian Power Company, whose stock was sold a little while ago, although an American corporation, owns and operates public utilities in Italy.

It is expected that a number of issues for the financing of power systems, etc., abroad will be offered on the American market during the next year or so. They should prove attractive investments, with sound security behind them, and would offer a much higher income in proportion to this security than can be obtained from domestic issues. The developments these issues will finance are as follows:

France is already at work on three great systems, two using the power of mountain streams, and the third generating power at the coal mines around Lens. In England the plans take the form of a linking up of the many existing units into sixteen main zones. Italy already has important hydro-electric power developments around Milan, and

indeed the whole north of Italy is fairly well supplied in this respect. Much of the work has been financed by American capital.

Canada has several large hydro-electric power systems in operation and, jointly with the United States, is discussing plans for a great super-power system in the territory surrounding the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River Valley.

Japan, in the new Tokio which is arising, plans to use power transmitted a long distance from the hills of the interior, where there are large hydro-electric generating plants.

The super-power systems mean real cooperation in the production and use of electrical energy, and they are one of the vital progressive factors of today. The intelligent investor will watch them carefully.

FOR PERFECT FOOT HEALTH



FLEXATOR UNLOCKED SHANK

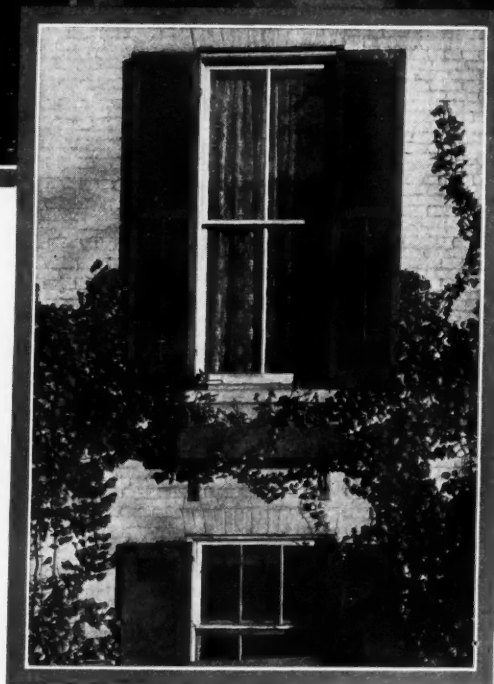
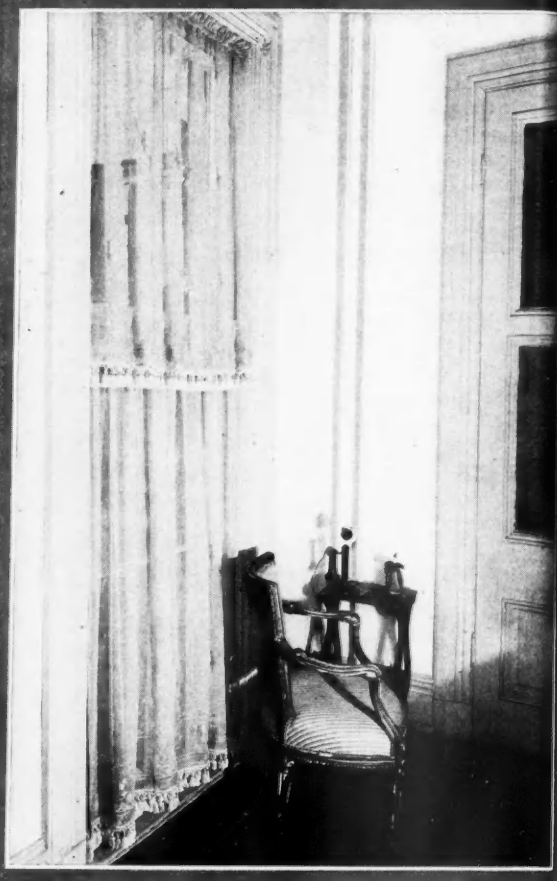
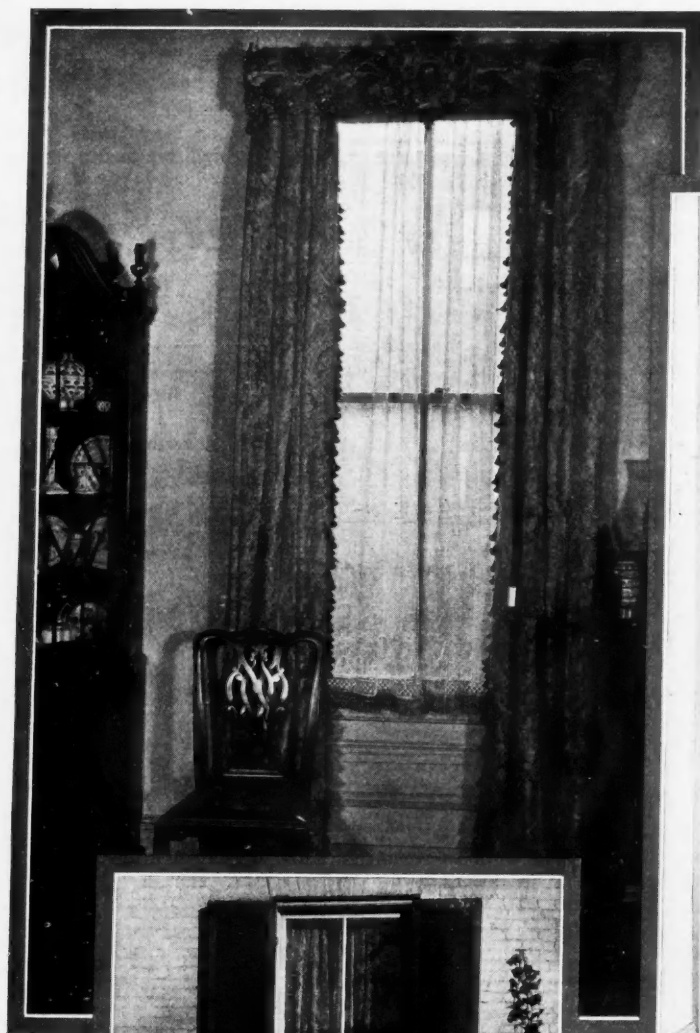
Correct Walking Shoes for Women Misses and Children

The action of the flexible arch exercises, strengthens and correctly develops the muscles; the guidance of the soft and hard rubber heel, together with the straight-line last, gives proper balance and poise.

Experts will fit you with the proper model designed to eliminate any present or impending foot trouble.

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CURTAINS of Oxford Cross Net in the "Sunshine" color, give unusual charm to the dining room of Mrs. Borden Harriman of Washington, noted suffragist worker.



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Curtain Your Windows with *Sunproof Sunshine*

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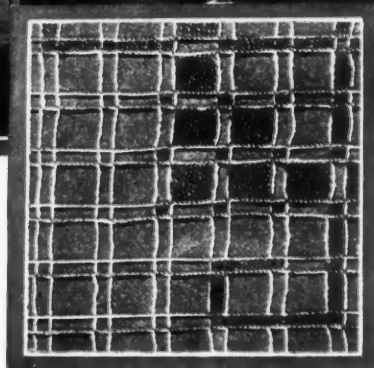
It may be a golden tone, to give the room a cheerful, sunny character even on sunless days.

Or it may be a coloring characteristic of the furnishings—a touch of blue to give the colonial feeling to colonial furnishings or architecture.

But there is one thing it *must not be*—it must not be so obvious as to make the windows a patchwork of color when seen from the street.

In short, it must be a *touch*, not a *splash*, of color. And, of course, it must be sunproof. (Note that we say "sunproof," not merely sunfast; see caution at the right.)

There are several new Quaker Craft Lace Curtainings meeting these requirements, the most favored being Oxford Cross Net, in Sunshine color or a combination of sunshine and old rose or blue; Sunshine Casement; and Colonial Filet Net in sunshine or colonial blue—all both sunproof and tubproof.



*Small section of Oxford Cross Net
Curtain in actual size, showing
the general character of the net.*

CAUTION

A glass curtain is subjected to burning, as well as a fading, action of the sun. Therefore a net (or lace) curtaining should be selected, since lace is a "three thread" fabric, with each warp and weft tied (or knotted) by a bobbin thread. Moreover, Quaker Craft Lace is made of firm long-staple thread, specially tested against the sun's burning action.

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Poison Propaganda

(Continued from page 14)

"These verses are scurrilous and libelous and insulting to every woman voter in these women's organizations. We again protest in the strongest terms against the use of them in this connection.

"3. In the third place the chart is false and inaccurate in listing the organizations which belong to the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. An accurate list is appended here. Of those listed on the chart the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom does not belong to the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. The Women's Council for World Disarmament does not belong and has never belonged to the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. Yet these two organizations are connected by lines with one of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee and both are included in the list in the middle column of the chart of organizations belonging to the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

The intention to vilify is perfectly clear.

"Again only seven, not all, of the member organizations of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee are participating organizations in the National Council for the Prevention of War. The General Federation of Women's Clubs is not a member of the National Council for the Prevention of War, the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Association is not a member, the American Home Economics Association is not a member, the National Consumers' League is not a member, and the Girls' Friendly Society is not a member.

"In addition to the heading and the verses, the second offense is in the list of women forming the border of the chart. Here is a list of names of women about whom scurrilous remarks criticizing their patriotism and citizenship are made. As to the truth of these remarks we have no evidence. If not true they are libelous. The point of interest before us is that these names are linked by lines with the Women's Joint Congressional Committee through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Women's Council for World Disarmament, when neither of these is a member of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. The intention to vilify the Women's Joint Congressional Committee is perfectly clear and we protest against it.

"G. Author of Chart and Connection With General Fries.

"Investigation has revealed the fact that the author of the chart is known as Librarian of the Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department. When a request for the chart was made of her, the author stated that it must be referred to General Fries. When General Fries has been approached with requests for the chart, these have been referred to the author in several instances. Such a request is known to have been answered by letter from General Fries. The chart is said by the author to have been distributed to various official and private agencies. In other words, the Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department, a branch of the Government, is engaged in this contemptible attack on the women's organizations in the country.

"D. What We Request.

"1. We request a statement from General Fries to the effect that the chart is misleading in general and untrue in particulars and that the War Department has no information with which to support it.

"2. We ask, further, that the files of the Chemical Warfare Service be examined and that copies of the above statement be sent to every person or agency or organization to whom the chart has been sent from the address of the Chemical Warfare Service.

"We are sure that although this attack has been perpetrated by a subordinate in a bureau of the War Department immediate redress will be made to us. We should like to say, however, that if such redress is not made immediately by the War Department we intend to secure it in some other way. Twelve million women voters in these organizations do not propose to bear this scurrilous and contemptible attack by a subordinate in a government department without redress.

"Sincerely yours,

"MAUD WOOD PARK,
"Chairman Special Committee Women's
Joint Congressional Committee."

"Apr. 16, 1924.

"My dear Mrs. Park:

"With reference to the letter from your Committee, dated April 2, 1924, complaining of the injustice done your organization by the circulation of a chart by a subordinate in the War Department, you are informed that all the charts complained of in the possession of the Chemical Warfare Service have been ordered destroyed. General Fries has been directed to inform all persons to whom these charts have been distributed from his office that there are errors in the chart and to request their destruction.

"I regret that charts containing the errors pointed out by your Committee were circulated by any branch of the War Department.

"Very sincerely,

"(Signed) JOHN W. WEEKS,
"Secretary of War."

"April 22, 1924.

"Dear Mr. Secretary:

"Permit us to thank you on behalf of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee for your letter of April 16th, stating that all of the charts to which we objected in the possession of the Chemical Warfare Service have been ordered destroyed and that General Fries has been directed to inform all persons to whom the charts were distributed of the inaccuracies and to request their destruction.

"We presume that in informing these persons to whom the charts were distributed of the inaccuracies in them, General Fries will point out the particular inaccuracies to which we objected, that is, that the Women's Joint Congressional Committee is in no way connected with most of the persons to whose activities the Chemical Warfare Service has found objection, and that the caption and poem and other remarks have no bearing whatever on the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. It will be apparent to you that the mere statement that there are inaccuracies in the chart would not have the effect of disabusing the minds of the persons who have seen them of the erroneous im-

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pressions of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee which they have received. We therefore request an assurance from you that General Fries will make these specific statements.

"We are glad, as we are sure that the representatives of the other women's organizations will be, that we can report your favorable reply to our conventions and that it will enable us to refute the slanders of any persons who hereafter claim to have the authority of the War Department in their unwarranted attacks on the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

"Very truly yours,

"MAUD WOOD PARK,
"Chairman Special Committee."

At this point, although the incident seems incomplete, probably both sides may "rest their case," the Government having apologized and promised withdrawal of the offending material. It is to be regretted that in its own defense the Joint Congressional Committee could only speak for itself and left the other women, charged by the chart with unpatriotic behavior, out in the cold. It now becomes necessary for them to take up cudgels in their own behalf.

Meantime, the scurrilous articles, somewhat shorn of their sharpest libels, have been reprinted from the *Dearborn Independent* in a leaflet by the Associated Industries of Kentucky (Louisville) and widely distributed by them. Just why should these industries publish this attack upon women? Clearly to intimidate them and prevent something they are sponsoring from becoming law. Is it the abolition of child labor, education or peace?

Women of America, don't get frightened; think. Don't be intimidated; act.

Have Women Made Good?

(Continued from page 19)

one of the best things about the situation is that they do not like the present playing rules. I have heard women discussing their experiences in precinct and ward caucuses, for instance, and there was a certain rumble of menace in their tones. They do not yet know how they are going to influence the situation, but the will to change it is stirring. It is a threat against old-established ugliness. It is a new realization that they have been for years under dominations that they consider contemptible.

For two generations all women's training in organization has been altruistic. They have cared for public weal without personal return. They are carrying that attitude into citizenship. The result is not a transformation, but a hope. Human progress is not by lightning bolts, but by slow and often agonizing steps. That very altruism is the contribution that would prove a supremely healing ministry in the world

as it is in politics. Women are being fooled and baffled and inadequate. But that is the best of educations. SOME of them are making good, and these are the precursors of the rest of us. Women have not made good, but they are in the making; and here they stand with the rest of the race.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

Shoals, Alabama. Henry Ford wants to make quantities of agricultural fertilizer from it, and has put in a definite bid. For months he was alone in the field with little competition. Since then, corporations and firms from all over the country, notably New York, have made offers. Senators have tried to attach the Muscle Shoals bill to the tax legislation as a rider, but made no headway. Yesterday the Agricultural Committee of the Senate took a significant vote on the proposition, when Senator Harrison, Democrat, of Mississippi, moved to report the Ford bill without amendment. The motion was lost.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is still holding up the legislation for an appropriation of \$10,000,000 for relief of starving women and children of Germany, which the House has passed. Unfortunately this whole matter, everybody here knows, is not entirely on its own merits, but is masquerading. It was the dream of the farm bloc to force the Government into marketing excess grain in Europe under Federal patronage. The farm bloc struggled for some time, by means of the McNary-Haugen bill, to get the Government into the grain business. It finally hit upon a humanitarian cloak for grain marketing, and managed to make considerable head-

way with this relief legislation until it reached the Senate Committee and there it sticks.

Another bill has been put in by Senator Howell, Republican, of Nebraska, which would authorize the United States Government to make a loan of \$25,000,000 to the Government of Germany, to be used for purchasing within the United States domestic grain and other food supplies for the relief of destitute women and children of the German Republic. If this legislation passes Congress and goes to the President there is considerable doubt that it will be approved. It is known that the administration is favorably disposed to many humanitarian movements of this kind, but so far the greatest measure of success has been obtained when they proceeded under private rather than Government auspices, and the involvement of the Government in the actual selling and exporting of agricultural products in each of these cases is too apparent to be overlooked. It is a delicate situation and one which could be easily misconstrued in Europe, were the entire facts unknown. It would place the Government on the face of it in the position

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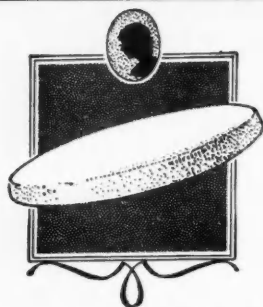
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of having to turn down humanitarian relief of a kind for which it has valiantly stood ever since and during the war.

The imminence of the nominating conventions and the problem of formulation of platforms is putting activity in the wet and dry question in Congress. Representative Black, Democrat, of New York, has a proposition to offer, an amendment to the McNary-Haugen grain export bill, which contains a proposal for light wines and beers on the ground that they will provide a "profitable market for surplus barley and wheat products." The "beer bloc" in Congress is said to control about one hundred and forty-one votes, but this is entirely volatile, some of the one hundred and forty-one being in favor of one-half of one per cent, and others a much higher alcoholic content. The House Judiciary Committee has before it now about fifty bills for the modification of the Volstead Act. It has been holding hearings before which the representatives of the Anti-Saloon League have had to appear to uphold the prohibition end.

The Foreign Relations Committee at this late date is becoming agitated over World Court proposals, and several conferences have been held with President Coolidge. Three plans are before the committee, with prospects of others. There is the original Harding plan, endorsed by President Coolidge; the Lodge proposal for an entirely new court, which gains very little support because of its assumption that the United States can remake the whole court organization; and the proposal of Senator Swanson, of Virginia, ranking Democratic member of the committee. To initiate so important and vital a problem at this stage of the legislative session is considered more than futile and no one thinks the committee will make headway. In fact, so far as country-wide benefit is concerned, Congress might as well adjourn as soon as possible. It has given its own majority party more trouble than benefit. It has made a chapter in American political history which never can be pleasant reading and will have few equals.

The oil investigation is over, but the special committee inquiring into the affairs of former Attorney General Daugherty and the Department of Justice continues to turn up witnesses who ramble of the intrigue in the Department of Justice routine. So far as one can gather from recent testimony, a great part of the activities of the Department consisted in sleuthing on its own account to prevent discovery or to offset attack. The business of the Government got along as best it could. No matter what party succeeds in control of the next Congress, it can hardly fail to make a better record because some of the worst has been with us.

OUR OWN DINGBATS

SOMETHING seems to have happened to spring here. ♦ ♦ ♦ We haven't really been warm enough one single day of it. ♦ ♦ ♦ As the elevator man says, "Everything's changed since the war—even the weather." ♦ ♦ ♦ We're glad the lilacs haven't noticed it. ♦ ♦ ♦ Bobbing as a privilege is gaining ground. ♦ ♦ ♦ Not only teachers and high school girls but student nurses—sixty of them, in a Kansas hospital—have made an issue of it. ♦ ♦ ♦ A judge even has supported a wife's right to bob, despite a hostile husband. ♦ ♦ ♦ Evidently a wife has property rights in her own hair. ♦ ♦ ♦ Do the political parties have colors? If not, why not? ♦ ♦ ♦ It's a great thought, and we regret that our non-partisan nature forbids our choosing some. ♦ ♦ ♦ No, it would be too dangerous. ♦ ♦ ♦ Did you see by the papers that the lady Ku Kluxers are going to wear crowns hereafter instead of sheets? ♦ ♦ ♦ Seems to us like surrender of principle. ♦ ♦ ♦ Any idea of priding yourself on a strong chin goes glimmering if you have to believe the Berlin professor who says maybe apes developed from men, but not the other way; because of chins. ♦ ♦ ♦ You see, only humans have chins, and though chins may have been lost, no chinless being ever yet grew one. ♦ ♦ ♦ Those political conventions are bearing down on us fast now, with predictions fresh every hour and lists of committees columns long in all the newspapers, till you wonder how any convention can need so much welcoming. ♦ ♦ ♦ The suspense must be awful when you have a candidate in your family. ♦ ♦ ♦ And think how many Democrats have! ♦ ♦ ♦ Speaking of campaigns, Mrs. Katherine Goode, who, barring accidents, will be in the Illinois Legislature next year, gave us the chorus of a song used in her district. Tune, "Ole Black Joe"—

Gone are the days when the men all vote alone,
Gone are the days when the women stay at home,
Gone are the days when the children all are taught
That Pa can run the universe
And Ma cannot!

Sir Conan Doyle, in "Our Second American Adventure," tells of a close race (horse) he heard about. ♦ ♦ ♦ An old Negro tout was explaining why his tip had failed. "Yes, sir," he said, "your horse was beat by six inches. But it really wasn't beat at all. The rumps of them horses was dead a-line when they passed the post. It was a dead heat at the end, but you backed a short horse." ♦ ♦ ♦ We're going for the holiday where trees grow without apartment house competition. ♦ ♦ ♦ And we mean to hold speech with a robin. ♦ ♦ ♦ Pretty soon our Esteemed Director is going to California on Citizen business. ♦ ♦ ♦ Our Valued Associate is going abroad in quest of pleasure. ♦ ♦ ♦ And we are just reckless enough, rather than go out in the garden and morosely eat worms, to contemplate attending BOTH political conventions.

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VERY little is known by the average magazine reader about the part that advertising plays in magazine making.

On the other hand, advertisers, who are making an appeal to readers, often work in the dark, as they know very little about the particular people who are going to see their message. Both readers and advertisers may theorize over each other, but it would be of great advantage to each if they could have a closer and more definite acquaintance.

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Will every Woman Citizen Contributor please take to herself the Citizen's warm thanks and appreciation for her cordial and helpful cooperation.

The Citizen has been as careful of its advertising columns as of its editorial pages. It is proud of the quality of the advertisers who have been attracted to the magazine. A serious woman's magazine of this type is a new thing in the publishing world. It takes time for advertisers to realize how changed the world is for women, that the current is set in this direction, and that the field in which the Woman Citizen is the first to venture is the coming one for women.

ADVERTISERS need to know more about the kind of women who read the Citizen and you readers of the Citizen are the ones to tell them. We want them to know you as we know you, as a large group of women with astonishing intelligence and capacity, with the usual woman's needs plus unusual good taste, discrimination and buying power. Also it would be an advantage to you to know more about the advertising business.

We invite questions from both readers and advertisers and we will ask each side to answer the questions asked by the other.

This is a subject which a magazine seldom discusses with its readers. The Woman Citizen means to blaze the way in this as it has done in other directions. It will do us all good if we can get together on it.

Any organization of any kind that needs \$100 in its treasury or any individual who would like \$100 for her summer vacation can obtain full details of the plan by writing to the WOMAN CITIZEN, 171 Madison Avenue.



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The flexible arch of the Cantilever Shoe fits snugly and harmonizes with the flexing movements of the foot. This means well exercised foot muscles—stronger, springier arches. The flexible shank and the natural lines of the shoe give freedom of circulation, which is half the secret of keeping cool. The well placed, moderate heel distributes the weight of the body evenly over the foot, instead of allowing it to bear down on the inner and weaker side of the foot arch. By encouraging correct body posture, there is no unnatural pressure on the internal organs to result in backache.

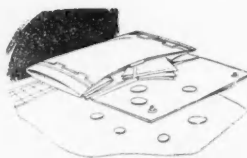
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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director Editor
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Advertising Manager Associate Editor
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART WINIFRED L. RICH

The Woman Citizen is published every other Saturday (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City, Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City.

By subscription, \$2.00 a year; postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. LIII Old Style.
Vol. IX New Style

No. 2



HARCOURT,
BRACE &
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"Every woman who reads in America will undoubtedly read it. It carries a message"

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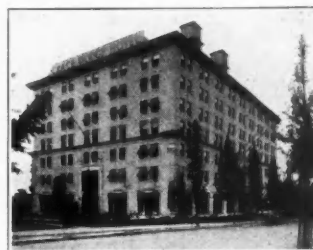
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Washington, D. C.



Mrs. Eleanor Bailey Johnson

Democratic Women at New York



Isabelle Ahearn O'Neil

FIVE out of several hundred Democratic women who will be in New York June 24 for the National Democratic Convention are pictured for you here—samples of the big group. They represent Ohio, Rhode Island, Washington State, New York and Illinois. Four of them are delegates-at-large, and the fifth is a district delegate.

Above is Mrs. Eleanor Bailey Johnson, of Zanesville, delegate from Ohio, and across from her is State Representative Isabelle Ahearn O'Neil, of Providence, delegate from Rhode Island.



Mrs. William Mathews

IN the center is Mrs. William Mathews, of Spokane, delegate from Washington. Below is Mrs. William H. Good, of Brooklyn, delegate from New York, and across from her is Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, of Chicago, delegate from the Ninth District of Illinois.

For the first time women are attending political conventions in impressive numbers, and for the first time, in consequence, women of the convention cities are mobilized to show hospitality. It is hoped that women will play an important part, too, in the business of the conventions.



Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank

© Bachrach

ENTERTAINMENT is entrusted to Elisabeth Marbury, chairman of the General Reception Committee, and her "Committee of Nine." Miss Marbury has established headquarters at the Commodore Hotel. Judge Jean Norris, City Magistrate, heads a committee to take visitors about the Children's Courts, the Woman's Day Court and the Family Court. Mrs. John W. Davis, Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt are among the many prominent hostesses.



Mrs. William H. Good

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

JUNE 14, 1924

Number X 2

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Gavel Falls

LET'S put the good news first. It is the passage by the Senate (61 to 23) on June 2 of the Child Labor Amendment, which the House passed on April 26. (For the exact wording see the *Woman Voter*, page 18.) Now it goes to the states, to acquire, it is hoped, the endorsement of three-fourths of the legislatures. Senators who voted against the amendment were: Bayard, Borah, Broussard, Bruce, Dial, Edwards, Fletcher, George, Gooding, Heflin, King, Moses, Overman, Ransdell, Reed (Mo.), Reed (Pa.), Simmons, Smith, Smoot, Stephens, Swanson, Trammell, Wadsworth.

This was one of the last—and best—acts of the Senate session. Congress closed June 7, and the gavel fell without action on the following, among other measures.

The World Court resolution.

The deficiency appropriation bill, \$186,000,000, which included \$132,000,000 for payment of the soldiers' bonus and \$16,000,000 to refund the 25 per cent due to those who paid all their 1923 income taxes in March.

All farm relief measures, in spite of the efforts of Senator La Follette, who returned, convalescent from his recent illness, to fight for them. The reclamation relief bill, providing for irrigation. There were gestures of effort to get these measures through as riders to the last deficiency bills, and much sympathy for the farmer was implanted in the record.

The Muscle Shoals bill.

The naval increase bill, carrying an authorization of \$110,000,000.

The majority report of the Walsh committee on the oil scandals. Filibustering, conducted chiefly by Senator Spencer, of Missouri, prevented action.

An important measure passed on the last day was the La Follette resolution to create a special committee to investigate campaign expenditures, including not only money spent in campaigns for but in campaigns against. There was an amusing moment when Senator Lodge read the names of the committee he requested, so plain was it that the choice

was La Follette's: Senators Borah (R.), Jones (R.), of Washington; Shipstead (F.-L.), of Minnesota; Caraway (D.), of Arkansas, and Bayard (D.) of Delaware.

The postal pay increase bill was also passed, at the last minute—and vetoed by President Coolidge. His ground was economy, in harmony, he said, with his vetoes of the Bursum pension bill and the bonus. He considered the need not sufficiently urgent to warrant adding to the deficit. The plea had been that postal employees are entitled to a fair wage in any case.

This Congress has on its record: The long, hard fight over the tax bill, beginning with Secretary Mellon's proposals and ending in a compromise disappointing in many features to the Administration—but providing at any rate for tax reduction and signed by the President as better than nothing. Nine major appropriation bills and two deficiency bills. The restrictive immigration act. The provision for the Child Labor Amendment. Three bills for reclassification of employees' salaries. The bonus bill, passed over the President's veto. The Bursum bill, not passed over the President's veto. The postal increase bill, vetoed. Two bills favoring the Indians. Provision for Federal prisons for women.

We have chosen another miniature painter for our cover series of women artists. She is Bertha Coolidge, of New York. At least she is now of New York. Miss Coolidge was born in Boston, Massachusetts. She studied there and then in Munich and Paris. During the war she served in France with the American Red Cross and went through the experience of having her canteen shelled in 1918.

There is a long list of exhibitions to her credit, beginning with the Société des Artistes Français in 1913. San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia have all seen her work. One distinction that should be mentioned is her membership in the French Société de la Miniature, whose doors are open to few Americans.

Decorative value and color, with the qualities of a larger portrait, are, according to Miss Coolidge, the requisites of a good miniature, and her work portrays her ideals.

A Third Party?

ON May 28 Senator La Follette solidified hopes or fears (as the case may be) by practically reannouncing, in a letter written to the Attorney General of Wisconsin, that unless the old parties clean house vigorously he will lead an independent movement. In the same letter he dealt a blow to the Farmer-Labor-Progressive convention, June 17, by showing up the plans of Communists, who had been admitted as a minor group, to control it—"not for the purpose of curing, by means of the ballot, the evils which afflict the American people, but only to divide and confuse the Progressive movement." As a result the Committee of Forty-eight withdrew from the convention and transferred its interest to the meeting to be held July 4 by the Conference for Progressive Political Action, where the third party movement may be launched.

The French Puzzle

AN extraordinary situation in France is just nearing a solution as this is written. After the May elections, in which the moderate left triumphed, it was all settled that Edouard Herriot would be premier. But meantime the various left groups decided that President Millerand must resign, and that no man from the left should accept the premiership at his hands. Millerand's offense was, in general, that he is not of the same political hue as the majority of Parliament and, in particular, that he had made campaign speeches in support of Poincaré. Though Herriot had taken a moderate position in this matter he refused the premiership when it was offered him. One after another representatives from the left were invited to form a ministry, and declined to try. At last Millerand asked Frederic Francois-Marsal, who was Finance Minister under Poincaré, and got his acceptance. The sole purpose of the new ministry is to carry to the Parliament the President's message of protest against the effort to force his resignation and to ask the vote of both houses. It is "a twenty-

four-hour ministry," and its fate and Millerand's will be known before this is read.

Japan's Reaction

A FORMAL protest against Japanese exclusion was made by the Japanese Government, with the sanction of the Prince Regent. It claimed that exclusion is a violation of the treaty of 1911, emphasizes the scrupulous observance by Japan of the gentlemen's agreement and announces that Japan can no longer continue that undertaking. This is understood to mean that immigration will begin to flow again into Mexico and Canada. Several Japanese suicides, committed as protest, have made a deep impression in Japan, and there have been demonstrations of anti-American feeling.

The Kiyoura Cabinet has just resigned. In the May elections the government was heavily defeated, and the leader of the majority party in the new Diet—Viscount Kato, author of the twenty-one demands on China—will probably be premier.

The Oil Report

THE majority report of the Senate committee investigating the naval oil leases of Doheny and Sinclair has the approval of Senators Walsh, Dill of Washington, Adams of Colorado, Kendrick of Wyoming, Jones of New Mexico, Pittman of Nevada—all Democrats—and of Ladd of North Dakota and Norbeck of South Dakota—Republicans. A minority report is expected from the remaining Republicans.

Written in moderate tone, the report

charges "unwarranted assumption of authority" by Albert B. Fall in connection with the leases. It does not "characterize" the loan made by Doheny to Fall, but "does not hesitate to condemn it as in the last degree reprehensible." It condemns severely the secrecy, the absence of competitive bidding in leasing; questions the legality of the executive order that transferred the oil reserves from Navy to Interior, and charges that the intended policy of Congress in handling the reserves has been twisted. Without offering ironcast conclusions on the advisability of leasing, it points out terrific wastage and loss to the Government under the present leases. The report (which will be reviewed more fully in the next CITIZEN) concludes with a series of constructive recommendations. June 9, 1924.

Last
Minute
Laws



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Congress
Goes
Home

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

June 5, 1924.

GOOD-BY to Congress. Nobody knows whether to sing it or cry it. After all the expletives already hurled at the unlucky assembly, the charitable would be inclined to sing it. What has the Sixty-eighth not been called? Blunderbusses, know-nothings, trouble-makers. Kind words can never die—but there haven't been any. From the beginning of the session when campaign politics, sauced with a little legislation, became too obvious for the stomach of the lay public, the members of the present Congress, both individually and collectively, have been unpopular. There was too little camouflage. Elections overshadowed too darkly. Personal ambitions and not public welfare ruled. There was too little finesse. The ordinary man, with little time to look into political technicalities, read the surface of the congressional condition, understood, and voiced his disgust. And the whole situation of unpopularity culminated in the passage of the bonus and

In Congress

THE closing week of the Congress was marked by the rush in committees to report important legislation that had been pending since the beginning of the session. In both houses insurgents struggled to pass agricultural relief measures, or postpone adjournment resolutions. Adjournment resolutions prevailed. Following is the action on bills of note:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Sterling, Republican, South Dakota, bill putting the prohibition enforcement unit under civil service and creating a bureau of prohibition in the Treasury.

By Senator Ferris, Democrat, Michigan, bill changing the Bureau of Naturalization to the Bureau of Citizenship and extending its powers and activities.

By Senator Stanley, Democrat, bill giving the President authority to determine when an emergency existed, under which there would be a reduction of 50 per cent of the duty on products exchangeable for farm products.

From the Foreign Relations Committee, resolution providing for the participation of the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

By Senator Johnson, California, legislation permitting the Filipinos to adopt a constitutional form of government.

By Senator Walsh, Democrat, Massachu-

tax revision legislation. At that, the layman rose in wrath, called Congress names, swore that he wished he had four million dollars to tell them individually what he thought of them, took his brief-case and sauntered out to his daily work. It must be hard for a congressman, or senator, to come now to his class-day, garden party, baccalaureate sermon and final glorious and triumphant graduation with all his audience throwing spiked brickbats instead of roses . . . the literati with the farm-erati all pelted and reviled.

It is with a kind of human regret that your correspondent writes down the extent to which the above feeling permeated Washington. It became the after-dinner fashion to discuss freely the awfulness of the Congress, with comments more damning than humorous from men whose high wisdom and lofty positions made the Simon-pure gold from their lips retailed and quoted, in confidence, from one end of the capital to the other. The President himself reflected some of this in his messages on the bonus and tax legislation, particu-

larly the latter when he said that he would bend every effort in the next Congress to obtain a better bill. His whole tone with Congress lately has been that of the lady and the cook. He had to eat. The cook was almost worthless. But some food was better than none—and when circumstances permitted, there would be a change and different living in the household.

But Congress alone should not be blamed. The Congress is not the whole two-party system of government, nor the Republican party in toto. A pre-election pace was set by both party organizations—and Congress simply somewhat outran the timekeeper. What was the President doing—to wait until the last gasp of the Congress before taking the leadership in urging the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to get out some form of participation for the United States in the World Court? What were the Democratic members of the Foreign Relations Committee doing in waiting until this week to gather and publish minority views, or to state their position?

Why does the President have to take what he can get during the last few days of a waning Congress in so vital and important a matter as tax reduction when for months it has been obvious that the Congress would proceed upon just such a dilatory course? Why was there such a surprise in both parties over the country's reaction to the vote which nullified the President's bonus veto, when Democratic and Republican leaders and followers have had months in which to ascertain a sentiment not difficult to detect? Looking over the record of the session, there are three answers—and probably many others—for all this "out" with Congress. In the first place, the machinery of the government has not been developed as fast as the gigantic problems of the country. Second, there has been too little individual voter's responsibility regarding the type of legislator sent to Washington. Third, the party system has not kept up with the times.

The Vice-President's Importance

However—by the time this is in print the Republican organization in convention at Cleveland will have nominated Mr. Coolidge and his Vice-President, and the platform for the campaign will have been announced. The nation will know whether or not the leaders have profited by the country-wide temper, or have merely been goaded to further attempts at blindfolding. The business of selecting a Vice-President this year—when it would be possible, although not probable, for the Vice-President to become President, if the election were thrown into the House of Representatives, if that body were deadlocked, and the election then went to the Senate where a vote would be taken on the

setts, bill amending the present bonus act, substituting cash payments for the insurance feature on the same basis.

By Senator Walsh, Democrat, Massachusetts, resolution for an investigation of alleged corrupt practices in Massachusetts, and report on remedial legislation.

Passed by the Senate

Legislative appropriation bill, carrying \$15,000,000.

Appropriation bill for the District of Columbia.

Legislation already passed by the House giving the Secretary of Commerce authority to establish closed areas in Alaskan fishing waters and to otherwise conserve the fishing industry.

Bill for the increase of salaries of postal employees.

Amendment to the postal pay bill, sponsored by Senator Borah, requiring campaign committees to report every ten days the names and amounts of campaign contributions during the period of the campaign, and once a month during the remainder of the year.

Constitutional amendment regulating child labor, already passed by the House.

Conference report for the tax reduction bill. Vote 60 to 6.

Agricultural appropriation bill, carrying \$61,000,000.

Bill authorizing the Shipping Board to expend \$25,000,000 from sales and operations for the installation of Diesel engines in vessels.

Bill appropriating \$6,850,000 for additional hospital facilities for veterans.

Legislation for inspection of battlefields of the Civil War, with the possibility in view of historically marking them.

Bill requiring railroads to use steel express and baggage cars on fast trains, equipping them with safety appliances.

Bill already passed by the House increasing salaries of Congressional employees receiving less than \$4,500 a year.

Introduced in the House

By Representative O'Sullivan, Democrat, Connecticut, resolution for the repeal of the prohibition amendment.

By Representative Victor Berger, Socialist, Wisconsin, bill repealing the anti-trust act, and proposing government ownership of concerns controlling more than 50 per cent of the output of any commodity.

By Representative Oliver, Democrat, New York, legislation reducing the tariff on farm implements and essentials.

By Representative Sweet, Republican, New York, bill authorizing the Treasury to coin seven-and-a-half-cent pieces in commemoration of President Harding.

Passed by the House

Naval construction bill providing for eight scout cruisers and other minor craft.

Joint resolution for the adjournment of Congress *sine die* on June 7.

Legislation increasing postal salaries, carrying an expenditure of \$64,000,000, and eliminating the amendment by Senator Borah requiring the reporting of campaign expenditures.

Bill for the codification of all laws relating to the Veterans' Bureau.

Bill already passed by the Senate for additional hospital facilities for service men, and appropriating about \$6,500,000.

Conference report on the tax reduction bill, by a vote of 376 to 9.

Bill directing the Secretary of War to sell military reservations no longer needed.

Bill authorizing the transfer of \$12,000,000 worth of army trucks and tractors to the Agricultural Department for use on public highways.

Bill of Representative Rogers, amended by the Senate, for the reorganization of the diplomatic service.

elevation of the Vice-President to the Presidency—is of paramount interest. And the platform makers have parallel troubles, for they must have Shakespearean adroitness with the King's English in order to make pleasant and vote-getting reading out of the developments of the last year in the whole political field.

President Coolidge has taken to packing up his work and taking it down the bay on the *Mayflower*. He uses the Presidential yacht more than some other Presidents. Officers of the ship are liable for sea duty almost any moment—and the *Mayflower* steams off down the old Potomac, past the little wharves and fishing villages to the Chesapeake. The Potomac, from Washington to Mount Vernon and beyond, is a winding stream of great quaintness, sufficiently unfrequented and untouched still to harbor the atmosphere of the Old South and colonial days. From the banks can be seen the white and old brick mansions with their high Southern galleries and supporting pillars. Farms and fishermen fringe the shores, and at the tumbled-down docks along the way some old dinky will hang around all day with a few lines and a long bamboo pole content in the sun with a bite or two. This scene furnishes the President's relaxation—if relaxation could be had with a load in his brief-case, a stenographer at his elbow, and a Congress and country waiting for an important message.

Button, Button, Who Reduced Taxes?

That was his course with the decision on the tax reduction bill, upon which he reported favorably this week by affixing his signature. The President, by declaring the bill better than nothing but not what the Administration desired, left the question of who should claim the credit, if any, up in the air. The fact that the bill was based upon the tax schedules formulated by the ranking Democrat on the Senate Finance Committee, Senator Simmons, instead of those proposed by Secretary Mellon, creates an anomalous situation in which it might seem that the Democrats had a better claim to the victory. Apparently, the platforms of both parties will contain counter assertions as to just which organization presented the country with tax reduction, and anybody with a sense of humor can get pleasant reading out of a comparison of the final output of the platform committees of the two conventions. Democrats now assert that they are willing to go to the country with their accomplishments in tax revision as an issue—and at the same time the President says, in effect, that he looks forward to the next Congress so that he can get a bill of which he really can be proud.

So with the tax bill signed and out of the way, the Congress could not tol-

(Continued on page 27)

The Democratic Riddle

Some Possible Answers

Senator Underwood

By Catherine I. Hackett



SENATOR OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD will enter the lists for the presidential nomination in the Democratic convention with a record of twenty-nine years of public service. No one questions that he is of presidential calibre.

Nor can it be denied that he knows the machinery of government and the business end of its administration. If the country wants a sound business administration, say his backers, Underwood is the man, by training and natural bent, to put in the White House. If tariff agitation grows, he will have a strong card in his tariff record—as author of the Underwood tariff he is the outstanding exponent of the Democratic theory of a revenue versus a protective tariff, and he can put up a strong argument for low tariff as a potential cure for agricultural and other economic ills.

A brief outline of his career is considered one of the best arguments for the Democratic contention that Senator Underwood "knows government":

Born at Louisville, Ky., in 1862, educated at the University of Virginia.

Practised law for a short time in St. Paul, then moved back to Alabama and opened his law office at Birmingham.

Elected a Representative in Congress in 1894, and served in the House for twenty years; a member of the Judiciary Committee, Chairman of Ways and Means, member of the Appropriations and Irrigation committees.

Chosen floor leader of the House by the Democrats in 1911, the first to hold that position, assuming the difficult job of whipping into shape a large Democratic majority which had very little previous legislative experience. Re-elected majority leader in 1913.

Candidate for Democratic nomination in 1912; defeated.

Drew up Underwood tariff bill in 1913; passed and approved by President Wilson. Democrats urge the soundness of his tariff principles by pointing to the fact that during the nine years the law was in operation the United States enjoyed a favorable balance of trade of over twenty billions of dollars. Republicans retort that during that period conditions were so disrupted that the figures prove nothing at all. Tariff experts say that, in the last analysis, Mr. Underwood's idea of the tariff and the

For some weeks the CITIZEN has been publishing in each issue the record of a presidential candidate. Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes presented President Coolidge April 19th, William G. McAdoo May 3rd, Senator Carter Glass May 17th, and in the issue of May 31st summed up the prospects of insurgency, centering around Senator La Follette. Meantime, the number of prominent Democratic possibilities grew into a list too long to be covered. So we are catching up by offering this time a group of three who, with McAdoo and Glass, are now much talked about.

To judge by newspaper reports, there are still enough candidates left for another magazine or two, and it may well be that some one of the men shown in a row on the opposite page—or some one else altogether—may be the winner. There is Senator Ralston, for instance, who doesn't want the nomination but is being much discussed. He is serving his first term in the Senate, to which he came by way of the governorship of Indiana. Senator Ralston voted for the bonus, both in the original vote and over the President's veto; voted for the child labor amendment, and favors the World Court with the Harding-Hughes reservations. His record in state politics places him among the "drys" and he voted for the anti-smuggling treaty with Great Britain.

Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas, as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, is one of the minority which has urged adoption of the Harding-Hughes World Court plan. He introduced the resolution to have the World Court proposal taken off the shelf. He is a prohibitionist; voted for the bonus; was an ardent supporter of child labor legislation.

James M. Cox, former governor of Ohio, is well known as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1920 who stood for the League of Nations. Albert C. Ritchie, the only man elected to a second term as Governor of Maryland, and prominent in law and Democratic politics, is a defender of states' rights and therefore opposes the prohibition law.

Republican idea are a matter of degree rather than of fundamental philosophy. No loyal Democrat would admit that. What they do say, through Mr. Underwood as their chief spokesman on such matters, is that they want a competitive rather than a protective tariff. Give the foreign manufacturer an equal opportunity with the domestic manufacturer on our markets; let the home manufacturer fight for his place, and the consumer profit by the struggle.

In 1914 Underwood was elected to the Senate, re-elected in 1920. He has had important committee appointments here, too: Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Interstate Commerce, Rules, Cuban Relations, Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

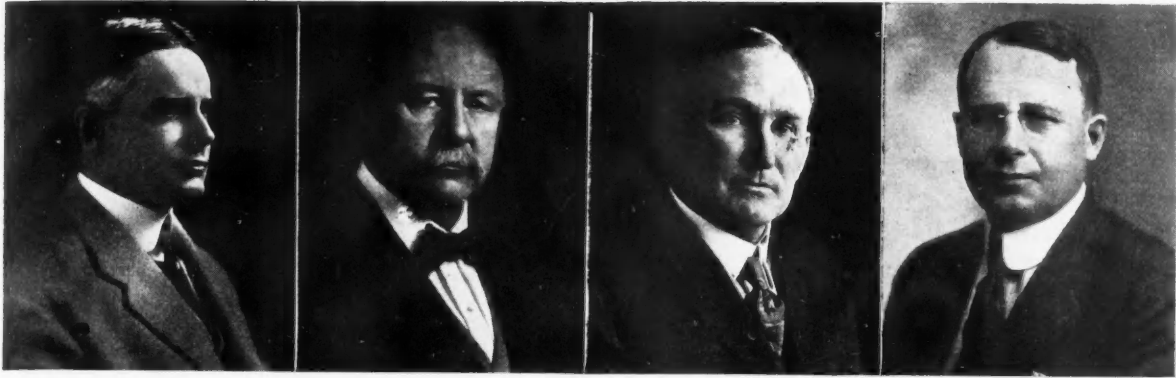
Elected minority leader of the Senate.

Appointed by President Harding to represent the minority party on the American delegation to the Conference on Limitation of Armament, 1921.

Spent four months in Europe early in 1923, and shortly after his return let it be known that he would accept the Democratic nomination for President. Outlined his stand on various issues before the Alabama state legislature in July, and was acclaimed Alabama's candidate for President.

It is generally admitted that among Senator Underwood's greatest assets are the more intangible qualities which he has exhibited consistently throughout his long service in Congress—calmness in times of stress, lack of acerbity, absence of personal hostilities and petty bickerings and a patient steadiness which is not at all akin to stolidity. There is a reassuring quality about him; his colleagues say he gives one that "leave it to George" feeling; he has opponents, but no enemies. His hair—that sleek, precisely parted, never ruffled Underwood hair—goes with his temperament. Senator Underwood does not often rise to the heights, but he has the compensating quality of not reaching the depths. He goes along on an even keel, and every one knows what he stands for.

While Senator Underwood is entirely "regular" as to party affiliation and makes it his boast that his actions rest solidly on the underlying principles of Democracy, there are elements within his party who point to his record during the old Wilson struggle as evidence that he did not support Wilson with the strict partisanship of the Glass-Harrison-Robinson type, and who still bear resentment. He voted for the ratification of the Versailles treaty, but indicated willingness to compromise on the League



Governor Ritchie

Senator Ralston

Senator Robinson

Ex-Governor Cox

More possibilities, with Senator Ralston, the leading "dark horse." Besides, one might add Senator Copeland, New York; Governor Sweet, Colorado; Governor Silzer, New Jersey, and even others.

of Nations, and to accept modifications which were anathema to President Wilson.

Though he stands solidly against the tendency toward eradication of party lines, he is not the type to follow the rulings of the political arbiters, either as nominee or as President. The Democratic gods of the machine realize, political gossip goes, that if they put him in the White House they would be giving themselves a master who, like Wilson, would never truckle to politicians to retain favor.

Not to be overlooked is the negative virtue that he is untouched by the oil scandals. Senator Underwood roundly but with his usual lack of oratorical effects denounced the naval oil leases, and no partisan opponent has in revenge been able to trace the remotest connection between him and any oil interests. He is well outside that smeary mess.

As to general policies: he has always opposed "centralization" of government functions, and so-called bureaucracy. He is as ardent an advocate of states' rights as was Jefferson, and considers "overproduction of bureaucracy in the city of Washington" one of the main difficulties confronting the nation. It was on this general basis that he opposed the woman suffrage amendment, contending that it was "a surrender to the Federal government of the power to control franchise in the states," though there is no doubt that the racial question was also partly responsible for his attitude.

On the same ground, "infringement of states' rights," he is opposed to Federal child labor laws. He voted for the 1916 bill only that it might be brought before the Supreme Court. He voted against the 1919 measure. In the recent Senate vote on the amendment he opposed it, announcing a pair with Senator Dill of Washington and Wheeler of Montana, who favored it. But, on the other hand, he supported the Shepard-Towner law and worked for establishment of the Children's Bureau—

both desired by women's organizations.

He took a stand courageous and firm against the bonus, branding it as "unnecessary and unfair to the soldier himself." His opposition was dictated in part by his desire to see taxes reduced and his belief that the bonus would preclude this, and partly by his sincere belief that the payment of a bonus was "an insult to the patriotism of the soldier."

He has definitely stated his ideas on all current issues except foreign policy. In this field he has contented himself with a denunciation of what he terms the "do-nothing" policy of the present Administration. Although he stands as the advocate of a strong foreign policy, and criticizes the present alleged "lack of incisiveness and definite policy," he has so far been unwilling to commit himself on a definite program. He contends, for example, that it is impossible for him to say whether the United States should join the League of Nations in 1925 because no one knows whether conditions then would justify it. He is definitely opposed to aloofness from foreign affairs on the part of this country, and he blames this unwillingness to help Europe

back to normal for the present agricultural depression.

Senator Underwood is an advocate of the Harding-Hughes plan for the World Court, having voted with other Democratic members of the Foreign Relations Committee against the Pepper substitute.

On his record on both state prohibition and the Volstead act, Senator Underwood classifies as a "wet." But, on the other hand, his own statements since prohibition became the law of the land place him with the "drys" in the matter of enforcement and modification of the Volstead act. While the Anti-Saloon League of Alabama is opposing him because of his record on the amendment, the fact that he has voted consistently for every enforcement appropriation and has taken an open stand for strict enforcement in his keynote speeches, has led many prohibitionists to favor his candidacy. In prohibition he is generally accepted as about midway between McAdoo and "Al" Smith of New York. Those who believe in his other planks are not holding up his prohibition record against him; voters who place prohibition in the very front ranks of national issues would be expected to line up in opposition.

In line with his law and order stand, is his open and avowed opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, which cannot in the South be disregarded as a political factor. He refused to sidestep the question, and as a result he is apt to lose Southern support he might otherwise have had. It is even suggested that in some of the border states and in doubtful states like Ohio and Indiana his anti-Klan stand might prove a decisive factor.

The farmer vote, it is said, would not be favorable to this Senator, who believes not in Government legislation directly aiding the farmer, but in the more roundabout method of reducing the tariff and restoring foreign markets. As for labor, he has the reputation of being a conservative of conservatives; but

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Senator Underwood
From the Far South

Governor "Al" Smith

By Emma H. de Zouche

IN his own person, Alfred E. Smith, Governor of the State of New York, native son of the "big city," represents the extremes of those diversities of conviction which are the rocks men and nations have split upon. In more senses than one he is the epitome of the struggle social and political as we see it here in America.

He is a Catholic. He is a "wet." He is a product, politically, of an organization which has supplied the traditional argument for reform. His loyalty to his political associates in Tammany Hall and to its leader, the late Charles Francis Murphy, his closest friend, has never been questioned. Equally, in his long acquaintance with public office, in city, county and state—a broadly informing equivalent for the college education he lacked—Alfred Emanuel Smith, to give him his full title, has contrived to escape the intimation of subjection to a boss.

In his race for the Democratic presidential nomination he is equipped with two invaluable assets. Like Lowden of Illinois, whose chief appeal for the highest office, in 1920, was legislative experience, Smith's remarkable knowledge of the mechanics of government has been acquired at first hand by a shrewd observer. The second qualification, peculiarly his own, is his intimate relation to the people from whom he springs. Roosevelt's magnetism for the masses grew out of an overwhelming interest in the human animal in all its phases. Lacking the Colonel's extraordinary versatility, Smith's influence lies in his comprehension of what moves that animal's emotions.

When the Governor of the State of New York steps into a public gathering the orchestra automatically drifts into "The Sidewalks of New York." He is referred to as "Al" Smith; and "East Side, West Side, All Around the Town" is his unique salutation. It is part of the personal popularity legend which has grown up about Smith, and made his followers believe him unbeatable, as he was in politics until Miller, the Republican candidate, beat him overwhelmingly at the polls in his campaign for re-election as Governor in 1920. Smith returned the compliment in 1922, with a plurality over Miller which is said to be the record for any state or local election in the Union.

That plurality is held up by his supporters as a vindication of his policies, so largely defeated by a Republican legislature in his first term and since pushed through to whole or partial success in sufficient percentage to demon-

strate the claim that what the Governor wants he goes after. In that hard-fought battle the Miller adherents bitterly hurled the "wet" issue as the deciding factor at the exultant Democrats. There can be no doubt of its strength. But thousands of men and women, whose independent votes helped roll up that dizzy total for the "wet" Governor are ready to testify that over and above all other considerations the issue which sent Smith back to the Executive Mansion was his repudiation of William Randolph Hearst.

The future governor of the state had



Alfred E. Smith
New York's Favorite Son

his first try-out as a financier as a newsboy on the streets of New York City. Born on the East Side in December, 1873, he was the son of an Irish American truckman (the original Alfred E.) and Catherine Mulvihill, his hardworking wife—the mother so recently dead. At thirteen, on his father's death, the boy left school to help support the little family, which included a younger sister. He drove a truck, and, little by little, through various employments, he fought his way up the ladder. His election to the legislature did not come until 1903, three years after his marriage to Catherine A. Dunn. It was the contribution of the Second Assembly District which had known him, man and boy. Continuously re-elected, he became Democratic leader in the legislature in 1911, and Speaker of the Assembly in 1913. But it was in 1915, as delegate to the Constitutional Convention, that Smith began to get into his stride as a dominant figure in Democratic politics. Elihu Root said of him, that of all men at the Constitutional Convention Smith was the best informed on the business of the State of New York. He served as sheriff of New York County in 1917, as president

of the Board of Aldermen in New York City in 1918, and when in the same year he was elected governor of the state it was the fifteenth time he had run for public office without a single defeat.

If the pros and cons of his religious faith have created a ripple during his tenure of office as chief executive of the richest state in the Union there are no external evidences of that fact. The explanation has been offered by his friends that the Governor's own attitude is responsible. That he fulfills his religious duties as part of his private life and administers the state for the people of all creeds. The more logical inference is that New York has not concerned itself with the Catholic in public office as a problem. As in Boston, the Catholic element in New York is numerous. A large proportion of the mayors in New York City of the past generation have been Catholics. Catholics in every political office, and even in the governor's chair, have preceded Governor Smith. At least in its home affairs the religious issue does not obtain in New York state.

There is strong, more or less impersonal, opposition to Governor Smith's candidacy on the ground that a Catholic in the White House would raise up an army of Ku Klux to override the country, to which the bitter-enders among the anti-Catholics have added the traditional threat that a Catholic will subordinate the state to the Church. To the Klan menace Smith's supporters advance the contention that no forces of disorder will be tolerated as dictator in a free country; to the anti-Catholics they oppose the record of the two-times Governor as proof of his independence of outside interference, religious or other, and name the Protestants appointed by him to positions of trust. Protestants and Catholics in the Smith following, who deprecate the religious issue, instance among the Catholics in recent memory who have served the country with distinction in federal office the late Chief Justice White.

In his attitude toward prohibition Governor Smith has been consistent. His record as a legislator shows repeated votes against local option and various forms of liquor regulation. Since the passage of the Volstead Act he has favored beers and light wines, polling many Republican votes for that reason alone. He also stands for law enforcement.

On the other hand, in the face of furious criticism, he signed the Mullen-Gage repeal, which removes responsibility for that enforcement from state authorities, leaving the violations of the Volstead Act to the Federal authorities.

It is also true that while the state statute has been expunged, police of the state still act with Federal agents in such cases.

So much for the major items against his candidacy!

The Governor has made his administration strictly a business one. He will be remembered for two conspicuous services by a post-war constituency. His recommendation, and work for that recommendation, put through a twenty-five per cent reduction in the state income tax, and a twenty-five per cent reduction in the direct tax, with a saving of almost seventeen millions to the taxpayers. The Emergency Rent Laws, to prevent rent profiteering, passed first in 1920 by a Legislature called in special session for the purpose, relieved a tense situation, and were the beginning of a wide reform. Governor Smith likewise obtained the passage of a law exempting certain classes of housing from taxation for a certain period. The State Housing Commission established in his second term was the logical outcome. The so-called Welfare Laws for the protection of women and children, undertaken while he was in the Assembly serving as vice-chairman of the Factory Investigation Commission, resulted in the Widows' Pension Act, enabling them to keep their children in their homes; regulation of child labor; limiting hours of labor of women and children; prohibiting night work for women, and other measures. Smith put the Workmen's

Compensation Act on the statute books. On the floor of the Constitutional Convention in 1915 Smith first fought for the appointment of a Minimum Wage Commission to fix living wages for women and children, and urged state control of state water-power resources.

The reorganization of the government on a plan proposed by his Reconstruction Commission has been an achievement of Governor Smith's second term. Through it one hundred and eighty-seven boards, commissions, bureaus, etc., were amalgamated in twenty major state departments. He has put through a fifty-million-dollar bond issue for the construction of safe and sanitary state institutions, has made prison industries efficient, and created a state council of parks, awaiting the next election for the authorization of a fund to develop them. Peculiarly vital to New York City is the law secured by the Governor requiring the licensing of all motor vehicle operators.

A believer in political equality, the Governor in 1919 called a special session of the Legislature for the ratification of the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

A feature of Governor Smith's administration is his belief in personal knowledge of his subject. When he wanted to investigate the prisons he appointed himself on the committee. An instance of his characteristic methods is shown in his exercise of the pardoning power. Of all his executive duties he takes his pardons hardest. Where a par-

don is asked he grants a hearing to members of the family and reads every shred of the evidence himself; but he will have absolutely nothing to do with lawyers in the case. His fear that a lawyer, particularly if he is personally known to the Governor, may have accepted a fee on the assumption that he could obtain a pardon, has made Smith adamant. His decision rests on his own judgment of the facts.

A shot had been fired in a certain case and the plea for pardon hinged upon the prisoner's escape from the premises before the gun spoke—and did the damage. The Governor studied the details of escape, as related by the prisoner, and the time involved, then decided to try it himself. At night and alone he went to an old building in New York City to climb through a window, drop to an adjacent roof and disappear down a scuttle in a given period. He found it could not be done, and refused the pardon.

In Albany Governor Smith makes few visits, but receives many at the Executive Mansion, where after office hours he spends most of his time with his wife and their five children, three sons and two daughters. The Governor is at his best in his home. A great lover of animals, his menagerie rivals that of the White House.

Just how moist the "Wet" plank may be which is finally incorporated into the National Democratic platform is prob-

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John W. Davis

By E. H. de Zouche

JOHAN W. DAVIS, of West Virginia and New York, former Solicitor General of the United States, and more recently Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, has been called the unknown quantity in the Democratic presidential situation.

With manifest qualifications for the position of Chief Executive, with legislative experience, local, state and national, with the prestige of a distinguished legal career, he has caused a flutter among the politicians as one of the foremost attorneys for what are known as The Interests. He has represented J. P. Morgan and the Morgan firm, and as his latest court triumph (almost on the eve of the Democratic Convention) argued the case for the New York Telephone Company, which, with a profit on its stock of eight to nine per cent, demanded increased rates to balance the expense of installing a new automatic exchange—and won a temporary decision. The increase was awarded on the theory that the automatic device was a public benefit for which the public should pay.



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John W. Davis

Big business lawyer, unashamed

In vain, friends of Mr. Davis urged that others of his law firm might conduct so unpopular a proposition as higher telephone bills through its day in court. Mr. Davis insists, regardless of his clients, on regarding the law as an honorable profession, and declines to be an apologist.

The now famous letter of John W. Davis to an unnamed correspondent (thought to be Senator Neely of West Virginia), which was affixed to the Press Bulletin Board of the Senate, defines Mr. Davis's attitude toward the presidential nomination with amazing clarity.

He writes:

"You offer me a chance to be the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, which carries with it in this year of grace more than a fair prospect of becoming President of the United States. In exchange I am to abandon forthwith and immediately a law practice which is both pleasant, and, within modest bounds, profitable; to throw over honorable clients, who offer me honest employment, and desert a group of professional colleagues who are able, upright and loyal. If this were all I would think your figure pretty stiff, but you are really asking still more.

The only limitation upon a right-thinking lawyer's independence is the duty which he owes to his clients, once selected, to serve them without the slightest thought of the effect such a service would have upon his own personal popularity or political future.

Any lawyer who surrenders this independence or shirks this duty by trimming his professional course to fit the gestures of popular opinion, in my judgment not only dishonors himself but disparages and degrades the great profession to which he should be proud

to belong. You must not think me either indifferent or unappreciative if I tell you in candor that I would not pay this price for any honor in the gift of man.

At the bar for thirty years, with the exception of ten years in public life, Davis adds this light on his clients:

At no time have I confined myself to a single client, and in consequence I have been called upon to serve a great many different kinds of men; some of them were good; some of them indifferently good; and others over whose character we will draw the veil of charity. Since the law, however, is a profession and not a trade I conceive it to be the duty of a lawyer just as it is the duty of a priest or a surgeon to serve those who call on him unless indeed there be some insuperable obstacle.

No one in all this list of clients has ever controlled or even fancied that he could control my personal or my professional conscience. I am vain enough to imagine that no one ever will.

While the Davis letter thus discounts any cry of "Wall Street" at the outset, he can point during his tenure of office as Solicitor General to the great anti-trust cases he argued in the United States Supreme Court in behalf of the Government against the International Harvester Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the Lehigh Valley Railroad and the Reading Railroad Company. The so-called Pipe Line cases, which sustained the statute making oil pipe lines subject to the International Commerce Commission; and the case of the Mid-West Oil Company against the United States, in which the validity of President Taft's order withdrawing the oil lands of the West from preemption and settlement was sustained, were the

oil record of John W. Davis during this period. Income tax cases, interpreting and applying the sixteenth amendment, cases sustaining the Adamson eight-hour law and the selective draft law, as well as the overthrow of the so-called "grandfather's clause" in the Oklahoma Constitution, were likewise argued by the Solicitor General.

It was after his return from Great Britain, where he succeeded Walter Hines Page as ambassador, that Mr. Davis entered the law firm of Stetson, Jennings, Russell & Davis, of New York. Great Britain accorded the departing ambassador the unusual honor of an escort of nine British destroyers, flying the American flag, from Southampton beyond the limit of British waters.

Five economic principles, cited by Mr. Davis in an address to the Democratic women of the Middle Atlantic States in Philadelphia last January, are a suggestion of what his policies would be as President:

(1) To cut expenses of government generally; (2) To avoid increase in taxation by avoiding new expenses of government—no matter under what pleasant form or name; (3) To support the budget-making power of the government; (4) To revise the tariff on a competitive basis; (5) To reduce income taxes for the benefit of all classes.

JOHN W. DAVIS

Born in Clarksburg, West Virginia, April 13, 1873. Only son of John J. Davis and Anna Kennedy, the former born in Clarksburg, then Virginia, and

the latter in Baltimore, Maryland. The elder Davis practiced law at Clarksburg for more than fifty years; served in the West Virginia Legislature and in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses.

John W. Davis was educated in the schools of his native town; afterward Pantops Academy, Charlottesville, Virginia; entered Washington and Lee University, 1889; graduated with a degree of A.B. in 1892; taught school one year; read law one year in his father's office; returned to Washington and Lee in 1894, taking a two years' course in one, graduating with the degree of B.L. in June, 1895. Admitted to the bar in September, 1895.

He returned to Washington and Lee as associate professor of law, 1896-1897, but withdrew in order to practice law with his father, under the name of Davis & Davis, in which he continued until he became Solicitor General of the United States in 1913.

He was elected in 1898 to the House of Delegates of the West Virginia Legislature which assembled in January, 1899. Was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House and floor leader of the Democrats, then in the majority in that body.

He was active in Democratic politics, serving as chairman of the County Committee of Harrison County, member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, candidate for presidential elector in the campaign of 1900, delegate to the Democratic National Convention in

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"The Wonderful Visit"



Margaret Mower as the Angel, and Robert Le Sueur, as the vicar

IT is only men's dreams that move the world forward—so says the Angel in the final scene of "The Wonderful Visit." They dream of an end to war—poverty—hatred—injustice, and try to make their dreams come true. They are inspiration and motive power.

The world that the Angel of this play (written by H. G. Wells and St. John Ervine on the basis of Wells's long-ago book of the same name) drops into when he is shot, needs much dreaming. He finds here pain, killing, war, ugliness, uncharitableness, caste, disbelief in angels, and a strange reluctance on the part of human beings to answer his innocently searching questions. Beauty he finds only in the kindness of the vicar who shelters him—and in the devotion of Delia, the housemaid, to her lover, dead in the war. The vicar—weak where personal comfort is involved—is made the voice of the new will against war, as well as a dreamer of justice and mercy.

Bit by bit the Angel loses the radiance of his other world—he's a very fallible angel—until at last he knows a passion of human anger against a brutal war profiteer, and thrashes him. He becomes a radical Angel in his failure to realize the divine right of class, and only death saves him from being turned out of the village as "dangerous."

The view of our social system that one gets from the Angel's comments and the reactions of the vicar, the curate, the doctor, the maid, the squire, and the aristocratic old lady, is arresting and challenging. One cares for the play for what it says and means; but perhaps after all less for the Angel story, which leaves one laboring heavily at times, than for the sharp, tart, humorous self-revelation of the village characters.

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Friend to the Stars

By Kate M. Tucker



Annie Jump Cannon

"Light seeking light doth light of light beguile."

PEACE broods through Cambridge. A vibrant peace—in which great personalities work in accord, one day as another, toward, not a great end for themselves, but for each day's seeking. So much in tune are they with their work that it is impossible to speak of the one without the other, impossible to say how much the work is of the worker's personality, or how much the personality of the worker has reflected from the work. And Annie Jump Cannon is of these.

The traffic policeman on Harvard Square does not recognize her name. The brass bands and parades are missing. She steps into no polished limousine at the end of the day's session to be driven by liveried chauffeur to a marble mansion. Astronomy is her vehicle, her home is the farthest star. The Harvard Observatory and she are one.

Annie Jump Cannon has been listed among the twelve great women of the world. It is difficult to discover if this listing has pleased her or overwhelmed her. That it has made an impression, one realizes merely because she speaks of the League of Women Voters, which collected the votes that named the twelve, as one refers to a familiar face—a friend. But she has not taken the



Harvard Observatory Branch at Arequipa, Peru, where Miss Cannon photographed the Southern sky

compliment personally; rather as a recognition of the work which she believes has merely carried her along on its tide of progress.

Curator of Astronomical Photographs is the title she has acquired in this progress. Her great work of cataloging the stars in the entire sky has been finished. *Who's Who* records her work as follows:

Has made regular visual observations of variable stars of long period with six-inch equatorial telescope, and has completed a bibliography of variable stars comprising about 50,000 references; in the course of photographic work has discovered 200 variable stars, three new stars, one spectroscopic binary and numerous stars having bright lines or variable spectra; has completed catalog of 220,000 stellar spectra which will fill nine quarto volumes, seven of which are now published. Author of various Harvard College Observatory Annals, also short papers and notes on stellar spectra.

In this brief space, less than fifty words, a woman's life has been summed up. "I have been at Harvard Observatory twenty-five years," Annie Jump Cannon smiled. "Time passes swiftly, doesn't it—when one stops to remember!" She turned away, the remainder of the thought unspoken, and pointed to one of the illuminated photographic plates upon the wall. "This," she said, "is the constellation popularly known as the Southern Cross. The pointer of the Southern Cross, this star, is the nearest one to us. It takes four and a half years for its light to reach us."

Before we are through, we mean to introduce our readers to all of those "Twelve Greatest Women," of whom Annie Jump Cannon is one, as well as to many other famous women besides—always trying to find out how they came to be what they are, and to show the range of women's activities.

Mrs. Catt is scheduled for the next issue.

The majority of stars with which she comes into daily contact are from five to ten thousand light years away. And what are twenty-five years in comparison, even though they be the span of a normal working life!

On top of her work desk the printer's proof sheets of the last of her catalog are neatly piled.

"We number the stars," she said. "We cannot name them."

One hundred stars to a page—nine volumes in all. The work was begun in 1911 and finished in 1923—225,217 stars reached for and touched across an infinity of space, classified by means of a spectrum into their component chemical parts, listed as to hydrogen, sodium, helium—identified with words which the normal brain may comprehend.

"It is," she said, "comforting [a homely, earthy word] to know that in the farthest spaces our instruments can reach and record the fact that the same chemicals exist which compose our own bodies."

Annie Jump Cannon was born in Dover, Delaware, December 11, 1863. She graduated from Wellesley College with a B.S. degree. She is the only one of her immediate family to be interested in astronomy, although the love of the stars may have been instilled into her heart by her earlier associations. Her father was a shipbuilder by trade and knew the stars; her mother taught her the simpler constellations in those days when our practical struggle for existence had not superseded the beautiful in our lives.

She entered the Harvard Observatory under the régime of Professor Edward C. Pickering, and her association with the work was materially aided by his belief in women as scientists. In the eighties he had a force of women who had the privilege of doing original work. In most observatories they were doing

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Editorially Speaking

A Responsible Cabinet

Fourth in a series of articles by Mrs. Catt on interferences with good government.

DURING the past eight years a bill has been introduced into each Congress which has been promptly referred to its Committee and there it has slept in the same bed with hundreds of other bills. Nevertheless, the Washington investigations have thrown a spotlight upon this particular bill and the folks at home are talking about it with a new interest and zeal. It will certainly become a law ere long. A decent sense of efficiency will put it through. This bill will make all members of the Cabinet members of Senate and House, without votes, but with the right of discussion and with the obligation to answer questions put by any member.

When the Constitution was made, it was designed to separate completely the three departments of the Government—Executive, Legislative and Judicial. The Executive and Legislative departments have been in continual and rasping conflict since the day when George Washington walked from the Senate chamber blankety-blanking the Senators individually and collectively. This was one thing he did besides warning his country against "entangling alliances." After observing the unfailing recurrence of this irritation with each succeeding administration, an efficient nation will inquire whether this condition is due to a universally jealous belligerency of men in general, or whether there is something wrong with the system. We believe the fault lies with the system.

The administration of the executive part of our nation, which in the beginning had a population of five millions and had three Cabinet posts, has become a very different proposition when there are one hundred and ten millions of people, and ten Cabinet members, several of whom have many bureaus and commissions under them. Some of these bureaus do a total of business equal to that of the entire government in Washington's day.

A new president, when elected, finds himself at the head of a gigantic official machine, with many thousands of men and women on the payroll. He appoints his ten Cabinet members, each to be placed in charge of a great section of this enormous machine. He is obliged to select them on political grounds. The Chairman of his National Campaign Committee is usually given the Department of the Post-office. There he can hand out post-offices promised the faithful during the campaign. Two or more big contributors, the leader of a section of the party a bit too independent, a rival candidate with a big following, etc., are probably selected for the other posts. They are all honorable men with more or less experience in large affairs and although confirmed by the Senate they are practically responsible only to the President who has appointed them.

The President has no time to examine the management of their departments, even had he the inclination, and each man has nearly as absolute a control of his department as if it were his private business. For example, imagine a Cabinet Secretary converting by specious argument a tired, absorbed but amiable President into consent to transfer lands to his department in order that he might lease them without competition to a huge contributor to the party funds. Should such a thing happen, what redress have the people? The Congress can impeach the Cabinet officer and it can ask the President to remove him. The people can do nothing and proofs are difficult to secure. Bribers do not hand bribes to bribees in

a street-car, nor are black satchels full of money carried around promiscuously.

Behind the doors of each department the business of our nation, our business carried on with our money, is locked securely. Only the most superficial of information is obtainable. Perfectly proper appeals for facts have been made of late by highly placed persons to the Departments of the Army, the Navy, Justice, State and the Treasury, and the answer returned was that the public welfare demanded that such information should not be given out! The Senate has complained that its effort to get facts from the departments has been blocked, yet the Senate had almost an equal part with the President in appointing the department chiefs. This is not a new situation—it has always been so.

Therefore, the proposal to give the Cabinet Chief seats in Congress. In England any citizen desiring information concerning any matter in any part of the Empire may send his question to his M. P. and be sure that on next Question Day it will be publicly put to the Minister whose department deals with that particular matter. We need that system here for our protection and our instruction. The advantages are twofold. An ex-Cabinet officer said the other day, "There were times when I would have given all I possessed to be able to walk into Congress and set them right in details that concerned my Department."

The Executive Department will still be distinct from the Legislative when this is done, but the two will be on speaking terms and not on the edge of a row all the time because they do not understand each other. Had this been the system, no money in a black satchel would have been carried to Washington. The suspicion, long ago aroused, would have checked any plan for crooked dealing with public questions.

What has been must be, the reactionaries will plead, but the people should demand that the light be let in upon every corner and every transaction of every department. No self-governing nation, when it knows itself, will tolerate the suppression and the concealment of details of its own business. The Cabinet is responsible to no one now; make it responsible to the people by putting it into Congress, where it may speak to the people and be spoken to by them. Let us know our own government.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



Next Time—for the World Court

CONGRESS has locked its doors and gone home, or to the conventions. Without detailing its record here, it may be said that it left undone one thing that women greatly wanted—for peace, and did one thing they greatly desired—for children. In addition, it passed a measure to provide a prison for Federal women offenders, and two of the Indian bills for which women have worked.

It did nothing to carry this country into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Pepper plan, trotted out at the last minute from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, feebly expired, not having real vitality to begin with. Though the friends of the World Court, with the Harding-Hughes reservations, fought right along to the end, they knew well enough they were witnessing a dumb show, in this exhibition of substitutes, and not a real struggle to get us into the World Court. But, however disappointed, they are not quitting. All of the agencies—women's organizations, churches, all the rest—will be sitting right on the doorstep when the Senate comes back.

Besides, President Coolidge has at last become a strong force against them. In his speech at Arlington on Memorial Day he took a positive stand for the World Court and America's share in "bearing our part of the burdens of the world." It is by far the most advanced position he has taken, and at this moment is being followed up by a demand for a World Court plank. At this rate, there's hope ahead.



A Big Score Against Child Labor

DESPITE prolonged opposition, the Child Labor Amendment passed the Senate, during the last week, with five votes to spare. Most of the opposition on the floor came from Senators Wadsworth and Moses (New Hampshire) on the Republican side, and on the Democratic, from Senators Reed of Missouri, Bayard of Delaware, Dial of South Carolina, and Fletcher of Florida. The resolution won out, nevertheless, with the twenty-three senators named on page 5 voting against, and twelve others not voting, and a pair. Now it is up to the states, and every woman who wants it passed has a duty to fulfill in her own state. First of all she must be sure she herself understands the proposed amendment, and then carry on a campaign of education. Constitutional amendments involve so much emotion that their advocates must be very sure of their ground.

It will be remembered that two child labor bills have been passed by Congress, and that both have been declared illegal by Supreme Court decision. Those who had labored long to deny profiteering manufacturers the right to employ little children during school age, then concluded that the abolition of child labor could only be secured when authority had been granted to Congress through constitutional amendment. The amendment now before the states, therefore, is not a proposed law. It is proposed power. It provides that Congress shall have power to regulate the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. The legislation will come later.

Objections have been made in the name of states' rights; other opponents actually defended factory work and beet field bondage for children—but the wolf of self-interest shows through those particular sheepskins. Some senators, even, managed to see back of the support for the amendment "sinister influences," dragging in the well-known Bolshevik blight. Doubtless all these points of view will come up again in the states, and men and women who are confident child labor and civilization can't exist together, must be ready.



The Price of Bread

WHEN you pay eight to fifteen cents for a loaf of bread, do you ever think how important a factor in the prosperity of the country is the price of that loaf of bread? Every housekeeper knows that she is paying about the same for bread now that she paid during the war, but how many know that the farmer is getting less than half for his wheat now than he got during the war, and while she is paying war-time prices, wheat is almost as low as it was during the depression of 1913?

The situation is far more serious than these figures show on their face. Because of the high price of bread, less is eaten, and the consumption of flour has fallen off. From figures of the Department of Agriculture, it is estimated that every man, woman and child in the United States eats forty-four loaves a year less than twenty years ago. This means that the poorer people, for whom bread is literally the staff of life, are substituting something less nutritive, and that the wheat grower is suffering for want of a market. The extent of the disaster to the farmer is shown in a recent bulletin of the Secretary of Agriculture which says that 26 per cent of all farmers in fifteen wheat-growing states are virtually bank-

rupt, and that in five per cent of these states the percentage is from 40 to 62.

A report on the cost of bread issued by the People's Legislative Service, from which these figures are taken, lays the responsibility for this condition largely on the millers and the big bakers. It gives a startling array of figures taken from government and financial reports, showing their colossal profits and huge stock dividends. It adds the retailer as a partner in the disproportionate cost. The retailer's share of the price of a single loaf is said to be from 2 to 4 cents, while, on the basis of this year's prices, the farmer's share is 1.35 cents. That is, for all his work of ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, and marketing, plus his investment in money, the farmer gets less than the man who handles the loaf and gives it storeroom for a few hours.

According to a formula of the American Relief Administration issued during the war, the price of bread per pound should not exceed the price of flour per pound. While the average price of a pound loaf of bread in 1923 was 8.7 cents, flour was only 4.6 cents. In England the price of the loaf was 3.9 cents, made from the same American flour, plus transportation charges. The following figures show the price of flour and bread in the United States:

Year	Price of Wheat, per Bushel	Lb. Loaf
1913	\$.794	5.6c
1917	2.10	9.2c
1923	.923	8.7c

The subject means much to the entire country and the woman citizen wants to know more about it.



Harriet Taylor Upton

SOME people are valued for what they do, and some for what they are—and some for both. Harriet Taylor Upton, who has just resigned from her post on the National Republican Executive Committee, belongs to the "both" class. She has given to the cause of women, in the suffrage campaign and in the Republican party, not only splendid service, but the rich gifts of a personality that cheers and reassures—a tonic personality in the most appreciative sense of the word. She has shown the fine power of differing with people and working cooperatively with them at the same time—a power not traditionally supposed to be feminine. We salute Mrs. Upton in the name of all the women who love her and wish her a still greater usefulness in her next phase.

Perhaps the best immediate wish for any Republican woman leader is that this convention time may witness the realization of Republican women's hopes for full recognition in their party—for absolutely equal representation with men. They deserve it. We hope by the time these lines are in print they will have it.



Raising the Quality

WOMEN'S lives are becoming happier and freer in a measure scarcely realized even by themselves, because of the diminishing birth rate which accompanies advancing civilization. No one can estimate the unnecessary suffering of women in the past, occasioned by prolific child bearing with its inevitable high infant death rate.

It has not been unusual for the woman who bore ten or twelve or more children to lose a number of them before they reached maturity. Today a mother can reasonably expect to have the joy of seeing her two or three babies grow up to bless her old age. In England, the birth rate last year was 19.7 per thousand—the lowest on record, with the exception of the last year of the war. But the infant death rate at the same time dropped from 77 per thousand in 1922 to 69 in 1923. Even with the low birth rate population is increasing. Is not our problem now to raise not the quantity but the quality of coming generations?

What the American Woman Thinks

Give Women Time

An Interview With

Emily Newell Blair

Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee

AS one of the "high ups" in Democratic councils, and as director of activities among the women voters of the party, Mrs. Blair from her office headquarters here has a watchful eye on women all over the country. She speaks from the viewpoint of the woman trained in politics—"practical politics," if you like—and yet with an enthusiastic idealism as to what women can and should accomplish.

"Woman suffrage a failure?" she said. "Why should a man, such as the writer who recently charged that woman's suffrage is already a failure, expect women, who have been mothers to men, wives to men and daughters to men, to change men over night, or to change men's political methods over night? Perhaps revolutionists could do it, but not evolutionists, and women are primarily evolutionists."

"In 1920 women got the vote too late; 1922 was only a by-election. How could you expect women, in one election, without organization or preparation, automatically to change conditions men have brought about in centuries? No suffragist ever claimed such a world revolution. No one ever expected the woman vote to produce a revolution of man-made society. Not in four years nor in eight years can one cite great changes, but in twenty years one may compare a Congressional output with that of 1916, and see a change, an improvement; one may look over Congress and see an improvement in personnel."

"There is, however, this for the next four years: The President, if a Democrat, will listen more to women than did Mr. Harding or will Mr. Coolidge."

"Why have not more women been elected to Congress and to important executive positions? The prejudice against women holding office, which Mrs. Catt calls 'the superiority complex of men and the inferiority complex of women,' and the fact that numbers of women have not had a long apprenticeship in politics, are the main reasons holding down the numbers of women in Congress and executive offices."

"Men come to Congress after years of service in state legislatures, and in county

and state offices. Women now sitting in state legislatures will come later into Congress. Then, too, men candidates control party organizations that work for nominations and elections; women have been in partisan politics so short a time they do not even know which women are Democrats and which are Republicans. It will take time to build up personal and partisan women organizations."

"This is the first Congress the election of which was affected by women's votes."



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It is of interest to watch the outcome on the child labor amendment, the educational department bill, World Court proposals, prohibition enforcement appropriations and similar questions in which women in the mass are interested.

"A survey of what has been done by states shows many laws urged by women. In several states, notably Missouri and Virginia, children's codes have been passed which have covered many laws governing women and children; mothers' pension acts have been sponsored by women; laws safeguarding women in industry have been passed with the woman voter's aid."

(Interviewed by Catherine I. Hackett)

Making Work Safe

By Mollie Ray Carroll

Chairman Department of Social Science,
Goucher College

THE Women in Industry Committee of the National League of Women Voters recently recommended, at the Buffalo Convention, the study of industrial accidents to women and methods of their prevention. The Convention by adopting the new "red ink" recommendations of the committee has signified its desire to follow that program. The Federal Women's Bureau is at present

making a study of industrial accidents to women. During this year, therefore, we should be able largely to increase our knowledge of this problem, fraught with deep interest to all.

The movement for prevention of industrial accidents is a little over a decade old; yet in that time we have made great strides. Distinguished service has been rendered in the field of control of industrial accidents by some industries, by safety engineers, and by such organizations as the American Association for Labor Legislation and the National Safety Council. Much has been accomplished through invention of safety devices; though in some industries it is still cheaper to pay compensation even for loss of life than to install the latest safety equipment.

The problem now remains to put into practice throughout the country the knowledge gained concerning prevention of industrial accidents and to utilize these gains for the benefit of women in industry to an equal degree with men. To this end attention should be focused upon safety devices and safeguarded machinery, efficient safety inspection, safety education and workmen's compensation.

Workmen's compensation is a real preventive of industrial accidents, not simply a measure to redress the injured worker. It lays upon industry part of the costs of accidents. We must not be misled into thinking that it places all cost of accidents upon the industry. Its rates are for the most part too low even to repay the actual financial loss to the worker; and we can never measure pain and disfigurement in dollars and cents. However, by making specific payment for various accidents part of the operating expenses of industry, a workmen's compensation law forces attention upon elimination of accidents as an efficiency measure.

Although forty-two states have accepted the principle of workmen's compensation in whole or in part, there are still many unsettled problems. The first one concerns the amount of compensation. In the main, payment is inadequate to cover actual expenses of the injury, hospital, surgical and nursing expenses, to say nothing of additional help needed at home; or to make up the difference between earning power before and after the injury. A few hundred dollars' payment for the loss of a hand or an eye often represents only a small part of the worker's actual financial loss.

Again, the law frequently requires a

waiting period of from three days to two weeks before compensation begins to be paid. This represents frequently the time of greatest financial need of the family or the individual, shocked by the accident and turning all resources to meet it. Some states, moreover, do not require the employer to carry insurance to cover payment of compensation. Such payment, therefore, is contingent upon his solvency.

Still another problem concerns following up the injured worker. Many times she does not know to what she is legally entitled and does not claim compensa-



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tion. Many times she is unable to return to the old job and needs vocational rehabilitation and industrial placement.

These demands logically turn attention to greater efficiency in our system of recording accidents, better support of Federal and state vocational rehabilitation service, and demand for adequate state and Federal employment service.

Why Is the Electoral College?

By Ellis Meredith

THE average first voter in a presidential campaign resents the fact that instead of voting for the President of the United States she must vote for a committee. Why a simple, easy thing in a bungling, indirect way? What is the Electoral College anyhow?

To begin with, it isn't! It has a name but no local habitation, no buildings, no faculty, no students, no commencement, no campus, no common meeting place. It is three things—a tradition, an anachronism, and an expense. Yea, it is a fourth. It is a vestigial remnant, persisting through all these years, of the Great Fear of the Future which hung like a pall over the Constitutional Convention.

Considering the awe and reverence in which we hold the Fathers of our country, it is humiliating to find how little respect they had for us, how confidently

they expected the worst of posterity. They were far more afraid that government of and by the people would begin than Lincoln ever was that it would perish from the earth. They were willing to provide a government "for" the people, but they wanted to safeguard it from interference which might and probably would prove fatal. If the people should actually take a hand no one could foresee the devastating results!

"Our country is too big for union, too sordid for patriotism, too democratic for liberty!" wailed Fisher Ames, and since they could not have the limited monarchy many would have preferred, they decided to place what limits they could on the Republic. The Electoral College was one of them; it began to go to pieces on the third election when a Federal President and a Republican Vice-President were elected, and it failed completely in the fourth election, which went to the House to be decided at the end of a five weeks' wrangle by the influence of Hamilton which was thrown to Jefferson, just as the influence of La Follette may determine the next President in case the Electoral College fails of a clear majority for any candidate. That is really too much power for one man to possess.

Then the Twelfth Amendment was adopted, still clinging to the idea of deputized power, and we vote for electors who meet on the second Monday of the ensuing January, cast their vote for their candidate and solemnly send a messenger to Washington at an expense of twenty-five cents a mile to deliver a sealed packet to the President of the Senate, containing the sixty-some days old news of how the election went in their state. Plain graft and "bunk," for this country wastes syrup at the spigot as well as oil at the bung.

If the electors met together and considered the whole state of the country and decided that the welfare of the nation demanded a change, and used the authority vested in them to elect some honest-to-God patriot, there would be some justification for their existence. There being no hope of any such intelligent action on their part, there is no reason why this electoral college wart on the body politic should not be forthwith abolished by the nitrate of common sense.

There are four bills for this purpose now pending in the House. I find myself halting between H. J. Res. 88 by Mr. Lozier and H. J. Res. 29 by Mr. Schall. The latter affords immediate relief; it has but two sections and starts out with the heartening declaration that the electors of President and Vice-President "shall be the people of the United States" and the nominees for those offices "receiving the greatest number of votes" shall be President and Vice-President. The second section gives Congress "power to regulate and control elections for President, Vice-President, Senators and

Representatives in Congress," and also methods of nomination, and it is aimed at such abuses as arose in the Newberry case. The Lozier resolution has but one section, which reads:

"Section 1. That the Congress shall have power, by general law, to regulate the nomination and election of President, Vice-President, and members of the Senate and House of Representatives."

Mr. Lineberger has a resolution limiting the presidency to one six-year term, the election to be by direct vote; and Mr. Woodruff of Michigan has one doing away with the electoral college but retaining the electoral quota.

As a rule, it seems to me, it is better to embody principles in the constitution and leave the mechanics by which they are to be worked out to statutory enactment. Some of us do not want the primary as we know it written into our organic law. The Lozier resolution is direct and flexible; it would take a little longer to get action than that of Mr. Schall, but under its provisions the needs of the present and the future can both be met. Either of those resolutions is, I fear, much "too good to come true" in the present session.

What are the advantages of a popular vote? The answer is obvious. If it is not desirable that everyone should vote, why all the lamentation when the Census Bureau told us that less than fifty per cent of our electorate vote? But what encouragement is there for a Democrat in Vermont or Pennsylvania to vote? Why should the lone Republican in Oconee County, South Carolina,



make herself conspicuous? What is the use of voting when your vote, even if counted, does not count?

The Census figures are misleading. They assume that anyone of legal age can vote anywhere, and make no allowance for the legal restrictions in the way of residence, registration and a dozen other things. Moreover, the returns cited were those of the "regular" election. In one-party states the real contest is in the primary. Arkansas, for instance, cast 181,269 votes in the Democratic primary in 1920 and only 175,525 for both parties in November. In 1922 Governor Pinchot was elected in Penn-

(Continued on page 24)

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

WOMEN'S long-waged fight for Congressional approval of a child labor constitutional amendment has triumphed with passage by the Senate on June 2 of H. J. Res. 184, as introduced by Representative Foster, of Ohio. The vote was 61 to 23, or five more than the necessary two-thirds. The House already had passed the amendment on April 26, and it now goes to the states for ratification.

The amendment which must be ratified by thirty-six states is as follows: "Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

In its passage the National League has been successful in its campaign for one of the major measures in its legislative program. It is also gratifying to report that the Curtis bill (S. 790) known as the Federal women-prisoners' bill unanimously passed the House June 2. The Senate approved the measure early in January. At present there are no Federal prisons for women, and those sentenced to imprisonment have been apportioned among the states, but the state prisons have become so overcrowded that they are refusing to accept more Federal prisoners.

At this writing, four days before probable adjournment, there is no change to report in the status of other measures supported by the League. The House Education Committee had its last hearing June 4 on the Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education with its head a member of the Cabinet. The hearings extended over a period of three months.

President Coolidge signed the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 195) on May 15, authorizing an appropriation not exceeding \$40,000 for the participation of the United States in two international conferences this year for the control of the traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs.—ANNE WILLIAMS.

THE Worcester, Massachusetts, League has re-elected Mrs. Samuel B. Woodward president.

MISS LAVINIA ENGLE, manager of the Maryland League, and Miss Florence Harrison, secretary of the second region, addressed the luncheon conference of the Delaware League in Wilmington, May 9.

League Planks

THE planks which the National League has presented to the platform committee of the Republican Party and will present to the similar committee of the Democratic Party, for inclusion, the League hopes, in the campaign platforms of both parties, give first place to international co-operation to prevent war. The plank under this head reads:

"We support the proposal for the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice, and urge on members of the Senate the action necessary to such entry as an important step in substituting law for force in the settlement of international disputes.

"We heartily advocate a policy of participation in international conferences and of co-operation with international agencies both for the elimination of the causes of war and for humanitarian purposes. We urge that such co-operation, already begun, be made official."

Under the heading, "Public Welfare in Government," the suggested plank is: "We favor the prompt enactment of Federal laws for the protection of children in industry following the passage and ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

"We favor adequate appropriations for the Bureau of Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture, for the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

"We commend the results secured under the operation of the Maternity and Infancy Act and urge the continuance by the Federal government of this co-operation with the states for the protection of maternity and infancy.

"We favor recognition of the immediate need of an equalization of educational opportunity throughout the nation, and favor action in conformity with this American ideal.

"We favor the removal of legal discriminations against women by specific measures not prejudicial to women's labor laws or to social welfare legislation.

"We believe that any legislation for equal rights between men and women should be drawn with most careful consideration of each specific type of law involved, instead of attempting to deal with the subject by blanket legislation such as the so-called 'equal rights' amendment. Otherwise, the complexities of the subject may cause inequalities instead of the desired equality."

Under "Efficiency in Government" the planks read:

"We support the principles of the merit system of appointment to office and of promotion in office, and urge its extension to all the agencies of the executive branch of government.

"We advocate the enforcement of the merit system, through legislation providing for the adoption of sound methods of personnel administration, through adequate financial support of the agencies responsible for the application of the merit system."

League Publications

THE Program of Work adopted at the Buffalo convention is now ready for sale at five cents the copy. Page 6 is of special interest for its list of the active legislative work throughout the states in 1925, recommended by the post-convention council. Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment comes first and is followed by removal of legal discriminations against women (choice of one in the following order, according to whether or not already enacted in state): (a) Establishment of equal guardianship. (b) Establishment of

jury service for women. (c) Support of a model marriage and divorce law (in preparation), support of the direct primary, and equalization of educational opportunity. Until the model marriage and divorce law is prepared by the committee authorized by the convention, the Committee on the Legal Status of Women recommends support of a uniform marriage-evasion bill, copies of which will be furnished upon application to the committee.

Another point of interest is the note at the end of the program of the Department of Efficiency in Government, which reminds League members that the department was authorized to appoint a committee for the study of Indian affairs.

Resolutions endorsing once more the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice, calling on all citizens to unite in support of constructive efforts toward world organization for peace, and urging the League to present international co-operation planks for inclusion in all political party platforms, are included. No League member can afford to be without the compact and comprehensive plan, for understanding of League work is almost impossible without it.

The tool-kit for money raising has been sent to state League presidents with the compliments of the National League's finance department. It is a smart-looking brown envelope with something like a "gore" at each end to give more space inside, tied about with brown tape. "Every member a money-raiser" is printed on the outside, and inside are "A Few Important Opinions on the Work of the League" (leaflet), the League program and purpose in another leaflet, printed points to use in raising money, the 1924-25 financial plan and budget, and various other printed matter which makes the whole interesting not only as a fitted pilgrim's scrip for the money raiser but as an explanation of League intents and methods, as well.

The Department of Efficiency in Government has issued a double-fold leaflet which gives a clear explanation of the ten points in the efficiency program. The five points recommended for study are: the presidential primary; legislative bodies (national, state, and local); the manager plan for local government; the simplifications of state administration, and county administration. Suggestions for reading to amplify the explanation of each point are given with these five as well as with the five recommendations for legislation, which include: shorter ballot; the direct primary; the merit system in civil service; the budget system, and District of Columbia suffrage.

The Cranston unit of the United League of Rhode Island has issued a single sheet appeal to Italian women to attend League meetings and become League members. It has an explanation in Italian of what the League is, in one column, and an English translation in the other, and in the simplicity of its presentation offers valuable suggestions to other Leagues with opportunities to enlist women who do not speak English well.

League Work and League Friends

IN the second annual citizenship essay contest carried on by the Jefferson County (Alabama) League this year, county as well as city high school seniors were asked to compete and business firms of Birmingham gave three handsome silver cups, in addition to the one provided last year, as prizes. For the city, Miss Helen Beggs won first prize and the cup will be treasured at Woodlawn High School until a senior of some other school in Birmingham succeeds in taking it away. Miss Andrea Hays, of Jones Valley High School, won the first prize for the county high schools. Plans for the contest were made late in March when the education and citizenship committees of the League, Miss Rosa Strickland and Mrs. C. P. Beddow, chairmen, entertained all the heads of the English departments in city and county high schools at a luncheon, and secured their help in drawing up contest rules.

THE United League of Rhode Island ended its recent membership drive with a copy in miniature of a national

presidential convention. "The United Party of the United States" convened with all the familiar furnishings—"sparkling speeches, cheery cheers, stirring songs, baffling balloons, and beguiling band" the advance notice promised—and the "Ins" and the "Outs" were routed by a "dark horse" faction which brought in Mrs. James E. Cheesman as the successful nominee. Prayers and nomination of vice-president were omitted for "lack of time" and nominating speeches were limited to two seconds. Events were made to move so rapidly that although the convention opened at 2:30 in the afternoon, it finished its fourth day and adjourned that same afternoon. Mrs. Ray Cox Flint was chairman and a more deliberately unfair chairman never presided, nor did any other convention ever have a chairman who was so successful in pleasing. Every biased ruling was the signal for tremendous applause and her decision that every speaker whose speech was not in the printed program was out of order brought cheers. Lloyd George, who looked exactly like Miss Alice Hunt; Mussolini, who bore as great a resemblance to Mrs. Will J. Ward, and Chauncey Depew, who was disguised as Mrs. James Hanchett, were allowed to make short and entertaining speeches.

THE League of Leonia, New Jersey, of which Mrs. Margaret Porch Hamilton is chairman, stirred up interest in its own activities and at the same time prepared its members to follow intelligently the proceedings of the great party conventions, by holding mock national conventions, a Democratic convention at the regular April meeting, and a Republican convention in May, as a climax of the year's study.

The members made a serious attempt to familiarize themselves with the order of procedure in a national convention, to set forth in carefully prepared platforms their convictions on various issues and to learn the important facts about candidates. Hon. John W. Davis, presented in a very splendid speech, was nominated on the second ballot in the Democratic convention; President Coolidge was lauded and nominated in the Republican; Mrs. Catt was nominated by a Democratic admirer, and Senator La Follette had the distinction of being listed in both conventions.

Both meetings were enlivened by guests in the galleries, press tables, pages, posters, party insignia and forests of state banners. Also there was fun a-plenty. Much applause greeted supporters of other candidates in a speech made up entirely of sentences taken "fifty-fifty" from Republican and Democratic nominations in historic national conventions.

ONE of the interesting recent visitors to headquarters was Mrs. Robert Gadd, of Hartford, Connecticut. Mrs. Gadd is a native of the "Eastern Shore" of Maryland and a graduate of Goucher College. Her zest for civic usefulness may be gauged from the fact that she is president of the Hartford Council of Women's Clubs; chairman of civics in the Hartford League; chairman of citizenship in the Hartford Women's Club; chairman of international relations in the Connecticut Federation of Women's Clubs; secretary of the Hartford Food Commission; president of the Friday Club; president of the Delphian Club; vice-president of the Housewives' League; vice-chairman of the Democratic Town Committee and, since April 1, a member of the Hartford Board of Education.

IN explaining the League at the recent chamber of commerce luncheon in Kansas City (Kansas) the president of the state League, Mrs. W. H. Thompson, said that the League idea is "in the nature of an extension course, including instruction in good citizenship, political economy, efficiency in government, parliamentary law," etc., adding that it works to bring about better conditions for women and children and a new understanding of internationalism. Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, of Wichita, who was chairman of the section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which bore the name "League of Women Voters" before 1920, was

another speaker at the luncheon, and after her address conducted a forum, answering innumerable questions from her interested audience.

FIVE candidates for governor addressed the banquet session of the West Virginia League's annual convention, which was held in Clarksburg, May 15-16. Miss Emily Kneubuhl, of Minneapolis, closed the program with a talk, "Man's Political Extremity Women's Golden Opportunity." At the mass meeting on international affairs, Miss Ruth Morgan and candidates for the United States Senate were speakers. Miss Florence Harrison, secretary of the second region, made an admirable talk on League finance plans at a morning session, and Mrs. George Robnett, of Illinois, discussed the work of Leagues in other states. Officers elected at the convention are: president, Mrs. G. P. Boomsliet, of Morgantown; vice-presidents, Mrs. J. A. Meredith, Mrs. Morris Jacobs and Mrs. N. R. C. Morrow; treasurer, Mrs. C. B. Holliday; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Ethel Carl McBee; recording secretary, Miss Mary E. Wilson; auditor, Mrs. Frank Mann.

MISS BELLE SHERWIN'S first official visit as National League president was paid to the New Jersey League in convention, at Newark, May 13 and 14, and the convention closed with a tea and reception in her honor. Governor Silzer was chief speaker at the convention banquet and took "The Education Survey" as his subject. Mrs. York Allen, of South Orange, gave an account of the National League convention in Buffalo, and the response to the mayor's greetings was made by Mrs. Harriman Simmons, of Elizabeth, state president. Miss Sherwin's own subject was the League work for efficient citizenship and getting out the vote.

DOÑA SARA CASAL v. DE QUIROS, of San José, Costa Rica, who attended the Pan-American Conference of Women in Baltimore two years ago, writes to the social hygiene chairman of the National League, Mrs. Ann Webster, that the president of Costa Rica has presented, and the Costa Rica senate has passed, a bill for a new reformatory for women. The press of San José gives Doña Sara all the credit for originating the bill and pushing it to victory. She is working now for a juvenile court and hopes soon to have a working League of Women Voters in Costa Rica.

MADAME JELENA KOLIN, one of the friends the woman-to-woman European commission of last year made for the League, writes from Zagreb that when the League of Nations asked Czechoslovakia, recently, to send a delegate to represent that country on a commission of physicians appointed to visit different health institutions in England, Holland and Belgium, the Czechoslovakian government chose Dr. Desanka Ristic, a woman physician, the only woman member of the commission.

WITHIN one month after its April meeting, the Galveston (Texas) League increased its membership from sixty to 207, and is now the largest League in the state. The twenty-one members of the "Merrie Wives" voted to come in all in a bunch and the rest of the increase in membership is due to a drive carried on in each precinct under the direction of Mrs. C. S. Peek, membership chairman. Mrs. Walter F. Ayers is League chairman.

WISELY planning a long way ahead, the Philadelphia League has already rented from the state League all available space in the League house, 1725 Spruce Street, for an all-day bazaar, which is to be held December 6. The list of suggested contributions for League members contains every imaginable article that any bazaar ever sold and the Philadelphia League expects to raise its yearly budget by the one huge event.

THE Louisville (Kentucky) League held its annual meeting in the Louisville Public Library on the second of May. Mrs. R. P. Halleck reported on the League's legislative work and Mrs. Fred J. Corl, on the Buffalo convention. Mrs. George T. Settle retains the presidency for another year and the new officers are: Mrs. Lawrence Leopold, first vice-president; Mrs. J. C. Voelcker, second vice-president, and Mrs. Fred Corl, recording secretary.

VANCE COUNTY (North Carolina) has a new league organized recently at a meeting in Henderson. Mrs. W. D. Burwell is president; Mrs. R. G. S. Davis, first vice-president; Miss Aline Hughes, second vice-president; Mrs. B. G. Allen, secretary, and Mrs. J. H. Brodie, treasurer.

EDUCATION was the paramount subject discussed at the dinner which was an especially interesting feature of the California League's annual convention held in Los Angeles May 23 and 24. The state superintendent of public instruction made an address on the abolition of illiteracy in the state through giving all adults opportunities for education and through proper supervision of the schooling of children of migratory families. Adequate support of public schools is one of the legislative measures to which the League will devote its energies, and equalization of the age of majority, increased appropriation for the Bureau of Child Hygiene for infancy and maternity work, adequate appropriation for the Sonoma State Farm, and ratification of the Child Labor Amendment make up the five the convention chose from the list of sixteen suggested. There was no change of presidency. Miss Marion Delany heads the League for another term.

MISSOURI now has four college Leagues, one at Washington University with Miss Bernadine Edom at its head, one at Stephens College headed by Miss Temperance Stocker, one at the State University of Missouri, directed by Miss Frances Pethick, and a fourth at Christian College, which, like Stephens College, is in Columbia.

THE Saginaw, Michigan, League, has lost its extremely efficient executive secretary, Miss Edna Wright, who was also organizing secretary for the Michigan State League. Miss Wright felt that she was needed at her home, which is in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and returned there as secretary of the Wisconsin League. Mrs. Mabel K. Spencer succeeds her as editor of the Michigan League's *Bulletin*.

MRS. HARRY E. THOMAS, who was unanimously elected president of the Wisconsin League, is a native of Waterloo, Iowa, but has lived in Sheboygan since her childhood. She is a former state president of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, is president of the Sheboygan League, and last year headed the state League work of education.

THE Montgomery County (Alabama) League recently sent a petition to the governor of the state respectfully urging that in the appointment of a juvenile court judge the principle that "the conservation of child life is fundamental and that the interest pertaining thereto can and should be kept out of politics in the common acceptance of the term," be followed.

MISS SYBIL BURTON, of Zanesville, who was unanimously elected president of the Ohio League at the annual convention which ended its five-day session at Columbus on May 16, took office June 1 and will continue the successes of her predecessor, Miss Juliette Sessions, who after two terms in office felt herself physically unable to undertake another.

THE Brockton, Massachusetts, League has elected Mrs. C. F. Garniss president for a third term.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

The Campaign Text-Book

GET OUT THE VOTE, the campaign text-book ordered by the National League convention, is ready for distribution. The booklet outlines a practical plan of work which can be undertaken by any League. A complete review will be given in the next issue of the *Woman Voter*.

The Post-Convention Council

IN the campaign to get out the vote in 1924, the League of Women Voters is pledged to the greatest adventure in politics this country has ever seen undertaken," the suggested calendar of concerted activities recommended by the post-convention general council of the National League declares. "From the close of this convention until the last vote is polled on election night, every League should count that day lost which does not see some advancement toward making that pledge good. The eyes of America are upon us!"

Work suggested for May was the getting out of the vote in the remaining primaries and elections and making arrangements for delegations to present League planks to delegates elected to party conventions. It was suggested that during June, Leagues prepare for candidates' meetings and questionnaires. The study of party platforms is the work for July.

August is given over to study and work on a program of international co-operation to prevent war and to the organization of citizenship schools as starting points of demonstration classes for getting out the vote. In September, Leagues are advised to "perfect the organization to get out the vote in the smallest political unit." October's work is to "wage unremitting campaign to increase vote by 25 per cent on November 4." November has the suggestion in black letters opposite its name, "Get Out the Vote" and, in addition, "Interest and utilize campaign organizations at once in permanent League work; prepare for co-operation in Education Week."

Maryland League Plans

MARYLAND League women will travel through the state with paint brushes and paint tins, and print in large letters on barn roofs and other convenient places in each county, the number of voters that county must get out to bring registration up to the League quota. Maryland is working according to a calendar which outlines the specific activity for each month. The general plan follows:

ORGANIZATION

State committee, consisting of the congressional district directors.

County committee, consisting of a general chairman and a committee from each legislative district, the legislative district committee to form ward and precinct committees as the work progresses.

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

Organization file. Each city or county should complete a file of all organizations of women, or of women and men. This should include women's clubs, fraternal organizations, educational groups, church societies, social clubs, etc.

Registration Roll Call. A special letter should be sent all organizations, asking that they have a registration roll call, to find out how many of their members are voters. A card for return information enclosed. The organization is also asked to appoint a registration chairman and to make an effort to register the entire membership next fall. A final letter sent in the fall and a request for the number still unregistered.

COLLECTION OF DATA

Information sheets for data on registration and voting efficiency are being sent to every county. When complete, these will form the basis of the work. The information is required by election districts or in cities, by wards and precincts.

FILE OF NON-REGISTERED

Baltimore City. The police census is being copied and will be checked with the poll books. This will give a list of the unregistered women.

Counties. As a census list is not available, each district is asked to make a list of unregistered women. This will have to be done by small groups after a study of the registration books.

PUBLICITY

Publicity will be furnished from state headquarters. The facts concerning a local situation are the best publicity. It is therefore important that data be reported as soon as possible. Material for newspapers will be sent out at regular intervals. All local activities should be reported to local and city papers.

Literature. Flyers and posters will be furnished from both national and state headquarters.

Speakers. Local speakers must be trained. A five-minute speech on the need for registration should be made before every organization, in the month preceding the registration. A small speakers' bureau will be developed by headquarters.

DIRECT CAMPAIGN

House to House Canvass. This is the most effective work to be undertaken. It requires organization and numbers of workers. In the long run it is the one sure way to increase registration.

Motor Units. Motor units for work on registration days will mean thousands of new registrations.

The National Cup

THE National League announces that a silver cup will be awarded the state League in the state with the highest percentage of increase in votes in 1924, over the vote cast in 1920. The cup is not offered because it was felt that an incentive was needed to stimulate interest in the campaign—surely no Leagues have ever set themselves to a task with greater interest and enthusiasm—but to add zest to the campaign; to inject a bit of competition, a bit of state rivalry, into the work, and as evidence of National League appreciation if a state has gone over the top, the cup will be awarded. In the next issue of the *Woman Voter* the rules governing the competition will be published.

AT its annual convention in Warrensburg, May 8-9, the Missouri League offered a prize of twenty-five dollars to the local League which shall submit the best get-out-the-vote plan. The prize-winning League's name and the details of the plan are expected to be made public this month.

ONE single shingle missing
And the roof lets water through.
Do you want a streaked ceiling?
Do you want the plaster down?
If you don't, nail on your shingle.
It's your vote, and you mean YOU.
Town government's the ceiling.
Nail your vote on: save your town.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The Democratic Convention

PLANs for the Democratic convention in Madison Square Garden, New York, in June are going forward by leaps and bounds. A glance over the program of entertainment makes one wonder whether there will be any time to choose a nominee. The National Democratic Club, the Women's Committee of Nine, headed by Miss Elisabeth Marbury, and the Women's Committee of the Mayor's Committee, headed by Mrs. Hylan, have a long program. Subcommittees for the different states, for sightseeing, for theatres and restaurants, for every want, have been formed.

The National Committee's headquarters for women will be located at the Madison Square Galleries, across from Madison Square Garden, and Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, will be in charge.

While reports have not come in from all the states as yet, something like five hundred women delegates and alternates are expected. Of course, outstanding at the convention will be Mrs. Blair; Miss Marbury, chairman of the committee on arrangements, and her corps of nine able helpers; Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, chairman of the advisory committee on women's legislation, and women prominent in politics from all over the country—the list is much too long to publish.

"Political Action"

THE Woman's Committee for Political Action, founded in March, 1924, held a conference in Washington, May 8-11, with an immediate program of sharing in a possible progressive campaign after the coming conference for Progressive Political Action on July 4.

The object of the Committee, which is national in scope, is to form a medium through which women can join in the development of a liberal movement. Endorsement of its statement of principles constitutes membership. These are: Public control and conservation of natural resources—public ownership of transportation—public control of the nation's money and credit—the abolition of political patronage—civil liberties—removal of judicial abuses—international agreement for peace.

At the recent conference the Committee decided on organization in every state, and affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Calendar

NINTH Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America—June 16-21, New York City.

Labor Institute—June 21-28, Katonah, New York. The Institute will be held by the National Women's Trade Union League in cooperation with the Brookwood Labor Institute. Twenty dollars covers the expense of lodging, board and tuition. Further information may be obtained from Miss Rose Schneiderman, 247 Lexington avenue, New York City.

The 'Sconset Summer School—July 13 to September 21, at Siasconset, on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts. This is the third season for the School of Opinion, under the direction of Frederic C. Howe, former Commissioner of the Port of New York. It combines lectures and discussions on history, politics, science, literature, with outdoors and all the vacation joys of a Nantucket beach. Among the speakers are Everett Dean Martin, Director of the People's Institute; Heywood Brown, Gutzon Borglum, James G. MacDonald, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, and Carl Van Doren.

Meeting of the International Medical Women's Association—July 13-18, London.

Third conference of the International Federation of University Women—July 28 to August 1, Christiania, Norway.

Annual conference of the American Prison Association—August 15-22, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Third Women's Activities Exhibit—September 22-27, Hotel Commodore, New York. The Exhibit is held under the auspices of the New York League of Business and Professional Women.

tion, and it was voted to send a representative to the Farmer-Labor Convention in St. Paul, June 17.

Resolutions were passed, urging the release of political prisoners and a strong peace plank was adopted calling for "the abolition by international agreement of war as a means of settling differences between nations and substitution of judicial settlements of disputes and a democratically controlled world organization." It was also voted to sustain the Committee in not endorsing a resolution recommending immediate and complete disarmament by the United States.

Mrs. Sally H. Burch is chairman, and Isabelle Kendig executive secretary of this new organization.

The "Student-in-Industry"

THIS summer ushers in the fourth year of an interesting experiment under the auspices of the National Student Council of the Young Women's Christian Association. It is known as "the Student-in-Industry" movement. Eighty college students, coming from all over the country, are to devote six weeks of their vacations, beginning July 7, in working in factories, restaurants, do-

mestic service and other trades. They are to find their own positions and live as nearly like their fellow workers as possible. Three nights a week, after working hours, groups will meet for seminar discussions of their experiences. Employers, labor leaders, social workers and association staff members will attend these seminars.

The qualifications are good health, membership in the junior or senior class or recent graduation, elementary knowledge of sociology and economics, and seriousness of purpose.

Mrs. Upton Resigns

MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, has submitted her resignation. This did not come as a great surprise, for Mrs. Upton's term expires following the National Convention, and there have been rumors afoot that she will run as candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress from the Nineteenth District of Ohio.

Mrs. A. T. Hert, of Louisville, widow of the late National Committeeman from Kentucky, will be recommended for the vice-chairmanship. She expects to be with Mrs. Upton at the National Convention, so that the reins may slip easily into her hands.

A Higher Appeal

BECAUSE of the adverse decision in mandamus proceedings of their own Supreme Court, the women of Porto Rico are planning to carry the fight for the ballot in November to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Farm and Garden Work

THE Women's National Farm and Garden Association recently held its annual meeting in Washington. Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace welcomed the Association. Charles W. Moore, chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, spoke to the women, urging them to demand the removal of certain buildings put up during the war and the planting of five thousand trees in the city.

The objects of the Association, as set forth at the meeting, are: To stimulate and encourage farming and gardening activities among women; to act as a bureau of information; to prepare women for agricultural work through scholarships; to help women secure positions for farm and garden work; to furnish means for the marketing of women's products, and to furnish lec-

tures for garden clubs and club meetings at a nominal cost. Mrs. Frances King, of Alma, Michigan, is honorary president; Mrs. Russell Tyson, of Chicago, is president, and Mrs. George U. Crocker, of Boston, vice-president.

That Half Vote

WE are told that our introduction to Mrs. Emily Newell Blair's editorial in the April 19th CITIZEN may have given a wrong impression. The point is those half votes of extra Democratic delegates-at-large. Here, then, is the true situation: This year the delegations-at-large have been increased from four to eight members, with a recommendation that half be women. Each of the added four—whether man or woman—has a half vote. The principle of equal representation for women, which prevails in the Democratic national organization, was carried out.

Any Others?

A NOTE published in the CITIZEN saying that Newport, Rhode Island, has a woman city treasurer brings word from Florida that Gulfport has had a woman treasurer for three years, and that the present tax assessor is a woman.

N. M.'s Lieutenant Governor

NEW MEXICO broke another barrier when Mrs. Soledad C. Chacon automatically assumed the duties of Lieutenant Governor. Mrs. Chacon, of an old Spanish-American family, was Secretary of State when the Lieutenant Governorship was left vacant. Should the Governor be called away between now and January 1, when new officers go in, Mrs. Chacon will take his place. Or should a special session of the legislature be called, she would preside over the State Senate.

An Unintentional Oversight

IN the May 17 CITIZEN, the statement that the Young Women's Christian Association's endorsement of the League of Nations made it the first national organization of women to take this step, did an injustice to the American Association of University Women, which has endorsed the League at its last three conventions—1922, 1923, 1924. This was quite unintentional and we are glad to make the correction.

Mrs. Bowen Resigns

MRS. JOSEPH T. BOWEN, one of our Contributing Editors and well known to CITIZEN readers, has declined to run again for president of the Woman's City Club of Chicago. Mrs. Bowen has held this office for ten years, while the club has steadily grown. Now she feels that it is time for a change in administration.

Mrs. Bowen will be succeeded by Mrs. Benjamin F. Langworthy, who has been first vice-president of the Club for the past three years.



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Detroit's New Women's City Club

CLUB buildings for women are springing up fast, all over the country. And among the latest and largest is that of the Women's City Club of Detroit, opened April 22, which has 5,164 resident and 157 non-resident members.

The City Club was born at No. 141 Bagley Avenue, and lived there for four years. Like all live things, it grew, until one day the shell which held it seemed much too small. But still it grew. So committees met, discussed and acted, and the new building at 2110 Park Avenue is the result. Six stories of stolid brick proudly proclaim to the world the importance of this women's organization, and inside six busy floors tell of its activities.

Starting at the bottom and working up there is, first, a half story below street level, the swimming pool, locker room and showers, and, adjoining, the hair-dressing parlor. Next above come the six ground-floor stores—a splendid means of income. On the second floor is a broad corridor cutting off ten shops from the huge auditorium which takes up all the remaining space.

The third floor is all for food. First there is a big dining room, casement windows on three sides, finished in rough plastering effect with blue tile window ledges, and terrazzo floor. Across the hall is the cafeteria, also finished in rough-cast and blue tiling. The kitchen, on the same floor, is all white, and has an unusually high ceiling.

Now the club home has really begun, for on the fourth floor are the rooms for club officers, the information room, telephone room, library, living room, the women's dressing room, four private dining rooms, and a glorious roof garden. Forty-two bedrooms, for resident and transient use, take up the space on the fifth floor, and thirty-eight of them have private baths.

On the sixth floor is the laundry.

Such is the building—when one adds the broad stairway and the three elevators—which cost \$475,000.

How was it done? The plan as given to us reads something like this:

Estimated money raised—2,000 new members' fees and dues, \$50,000; first mortgage, taken by the banks, \$375,000; second mortgage, taken by club members, \$425,000; total, \$850,000. Estimated cost—land, \$250,000; building, \$550,000; decorating and furnishing, \$50,000; total, \$850,000. But the building has cost only \$475,000, so there's \$75,000 saved right away.

The club income will come from membership dues, rentals from stores and shops, the ballroom, the auditorium and the forty-two bedrooms. Those who know say that the net income each year will be sufficient to meet the bond retirement and interest, and provide a sinking fund besides.

And here is another thought for ambitious clubs. In order that the old members may not have had to bear all the expense and the new members reap all the advantage, initiation fees have been increased from \$10 to \$25.

W. L. R.

The General Federation

WHILE we are going to press, the General Federation of Women's Clubs is meeting in Los Angeles, California, for its Biennial Convention. It is much too soon for resolutions to be reported. We know that no stone has remained unturned by California women to make the visitors welcome, and to give them all the advantages of that beauty spot. Trips have been planned all up and down the Coast, and pleasure is to be well intermingled with business.

Among the subjects before the Federation for action are the Indian question, prison reform, drug traffic, the abolition of the county jail, immigration, conservation of natural resources. Two bits of news have seeped through to us. A resolution has been passed to admit Jewish Women's Clubs to the Federation. This opens a large new field, as the National Council of Jewish Women has a membership of fifty thousand. The other bit—and we don't consider it such a bit, at that—is that Mary Garrett Hay has been elected Honorary Vice-President of the General Federation.

A Triumph

FOR the first time in the history of four political parties a woman has been selected as chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization of a national convention. And the credit is due to the Republican party. The woman is Mrs. Elizabeth P. Martin, delegate-at-large from Pennsylvania. Mrs. Martin has been closely identified with the women's organization of the Republican party in her state.

This selection was heralded by Republican women as a great step toward getting equal representation with men on the National Committee, a point they have long been fighting for.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.



EDITH WHARTON'S laurels, so badly blighted by some of her recent books, have been watered and mulched into sturdy life by her four new novelettes of "*Old New York*." Totally different inside, the volumes wear the same delightful dress of old print, and live amicably together in an old box house which exactly fits them.

Their separate names are "*False Dawn*," "*The Old Maid*," "*The Spark*" and "*New Year's Day*," and they form a series of pictures of New York from 1840 to 1880. Their common theme is the individual "dumb dramas now and then enacted underground" and barely ruffling the surface of a convention-bound society. It is a society which makes no apparent progress in this forty-year span. Only the location of its homes changes, moving slowly from Canal Street up to Thirty-first and on toward Central Park. Its manners, its code of morals, the conventions which express them, make no such advance. They are set in a mold, solidified and stolid, moved by no breath of disturbing imagination from their colossal belief in their own utter rightness.

The books have no common continuity of character or plot. "*False Dawn*" is the story of the imaginative son of a thoroughly respectable house who is sent on the Grand Tour to bring back Italian Masters for his father's art gallery. Ruskin and Rossetti lead him away from Raphael and his imitators to the true beauty of Italian Primitives. And he is happy for the first time in his life, until he comes back and faces the "artistic judgment" of 1840 New York.

"*The Old Maid*," which comes next in point of time, stands head and shoulders above the others in the power of its telling and eternal quality of its theme. It is a tragedy of mother love for an illegitimate and unacknowledged daughter, and in its profound irony it approaches the old Greek meaning of tragedy, the struggle of Man against Fate. Mrs. Wharton's achievement is doubly fine because with such a powerful underlying current, she has kept the surface of her story so thoroughly human.

"*The Spark*," slight though it is, tells

Old New York, Appleton, 1924. \$5.00 per set. \$1.25 each volume.

Race, Doubleday Page, 1924. \$2.00.

Terassa of Spain, Mitchell Kennerley, 1923. \$2.50.

Red Sand, Harcourt Brace, 1924.

perfectly the reason why a rather stupid man acted in a way utterly foreign to the conventional morality of the society in which he lived.

"*New Year's Day*" is written in the same ironic vein as "*The Old Maid*," but moving as it is, it has not the power of the other tale. It concerns a woman whom nearly everyone considered bad clear through. Told in the person and through the eyes of a much younger boy, its latter half is distinctly reminiscent of Willa Cather's more delicate and haunting "*Lost Lady*."

William McFee has deserted the sea to write a story of "a mingling of blood, a fermenting of strong thoughts into new desire, and the beginning of new races." In outline, "*Race*" is the story of children of a London suburb and their growing up, Hazel to be a popular novelist, Lena who burst out of housework, Francis who put all his dreams of romance into engineering, and the French Louis, poet and friend, exotic in familiar things and practical in strange ways. Through the whole book, as unsaid and unseen as an underground river, runs the sense of that quality which has made England the great colonizer, sending her youth to foreign lands to civilize them for her. The story is told with all McFee's delightful forthrightness and dry humor, and is much better knit than his earlier books.

Two books of Spanish life are full of vivid color. "*Terassa of Spain*" is Horace Fish's group of short stories which cluster around the village of Terassa and its people. Brimming with life and beauty, they carry on the tradition of a Spain which is lavish alike with its color and its emotion.

The other is a story of Venezuela, authentic child of the traditional Spain. "*Red Sand*" is T. S. Stribling's novel of the bull ring and its patrons. He knows his Latin-Americans, and his explanation of their devotion to bull-fighting makes it for the first time an understandable thing. Slight though it is, the book is colorful and exciting, and its people are very real.

Governor Smith

(Continued from page 11)

lematical. If it be more than a bridge across a delicate situation (there are hints that the issue may be side-stepped), the Smith opposition maintains that the anti-Prohibitionists the country over will look to the New York Governor and work for his nomination. Whether the Ku Klux plank which experts prophesy will be practically forced upon the Resolutions Committee at Madison Square Garden may expose the Catholic candidate as a target or elevate him as a hero remains to be seen. Either way, the Governor will meet friend and foe on his native heath, the Sidewalks of New York.

The Electoral College

(Continued from page 17)

sylvania by a vote of 831,696, but he was nominated by a vote of 1,271,622. His election was certain; why bother? At the same time more than half a million Democratic votes were cast mainly as an evidence of good faith and a matter of principle.

Nothing would do more to awaken the interest of the average voter in these one-party states than to make his individual vote an asset to his whole country. Nobody complains that the vote did not get out in Ohio and Indiana and Kentucky and the "doubtful" states that were campaigned to the remotest precinct in 1920. When the Republicans of Iowa join hands with their Arkansas brothers; when the Texas Democrat sends a cheering "Hold the fort, for we are coming" to his forlorn and hopeless party in Maine; when we cease to figure on "electoral votes" and begin to count every citizen as an elector in truth, we shall be on the way to real democracy—

"And strike the key

Of time to be,

When God and man shall speak as one."

Friend to the Stars

(Continued from page 13)

routine. The use of photography in studying the stars opened up the field tremendously for women, as it allowed the work to be carried on during the day. Believing that women had keen senses, keen sight, and, above all, keen, sensitive fingers, he welcomed them in astronomical work and offered them every advantage possible.

The work which Miss Cannon does now is almost entirely with photographs of the stars. The first successful plate was obtained in 1890, and the perfecting of the dry process has materially aided in keeping the plates free from injury. The rays of the star are passed through a prism and the image is piled up upon the plate, which is left exposed for days. From this plate Miss Cannon takes her readings with the aid of a magnifying glass, calling her observations to a recorder who repeats. The width, the intensity, and the distance apart of the bright lines all have a meaning to her which she detects at a glance.

"For one becomes used to the stars," she says. "In this way I have covered the sky. . . . It is quite a problem to cover the sky."

"In astronomy," she continued, "a worker is never allowed to change an observation. All errors must stand and be acknowledged as such. Other astronomers must know the probable error of observation. The stars stay on forever, we are the ones who grow old."

"I often wonder how many mistakes I have made in my catalog. I may have

duplicated some of the stars. It would be difficult not to, for the plates overlap in the sky and the duplicate stars have to be eliminated. Then there are the figures to consider—and the printer makes many errors, which all have to be checked so carefully. I asked a visiting astronomer one day if he thought I could have made mistakes in my recording. 'Of course, you probably have,' he answered. 'But if you have made a mistake in about three or four thousand stars we won't mind.'

"This catalog, you see, is the basis from which the astronomers all over the world start. They take data, figures and observations from it, and on these records build up their theories and, eventually, facts.

"It must be remembered when the work first started here no records existed anywhere. We had nothing to guide us; all our observations had to be duplicated again and again until definitely proved, before they could be accepted. Even in the work of the catalog the sky was drawn off into rectangular squares, each square photographed and each star in each square classified and listed. And each one had to be checked. It has all required much patience." And the vision in her eyes mocked the word patience even as she used it.

"Too few people care about the stars. Sometimes I have wondered if it were possible to popularize astronomy. Old people know the stars and children love them. Working men ask about them. These people are the ones who come to me seeking—when they learn that I know the stars. Astronomy has been given up in our school curriculums for domestic science and stenography. Stars are no longer regarded as useful, therefore, they have been abandoned. A century ago people knew them better. Men were closer to the sea and learned their value in steering ships. Houses were lit by lamps and the stars could be seen by their inhabitants at night. Culture was given precedence in the schools over practicality, and stars all had names to the students. That is why at the receptions here at the Observatory I find the old people can call the stars by name, the young people do not know them.

"Now we have electric lights, and the great cities of Boston and Cambridge are so brilliantly lighted that the stars are hard to see. At sea we hide in luxurious cabins and do not even question the machinery which holds us so steadily to our course.

"Children still love the stars. They grasp the idea of the fairy-tale—the might-be of the star so far away. They are closer to the stars, for all things are possible to them.

"The trouble is not with the American people themselves, for the American observatories and astronomers rank very high. The only other peoples who can

compete with them are the English. English women are very well up on astronomy.

"It is just the difficulty of popularizing real learning. People are too busy just getting on in the world to stop and wonder. Astronomy appeals to the imagination and is interesting most, perhaps, to people who are drawn into daily contact with the stars, those whose work leads them to where the stars are still to be seen. They are vital to the working classes, to gardeners and to chauffeurs. A chauffeur asked me one day: 'At night I have seen a cluster of stars in the East, later at dawn I have seen a cluster in the West that looks the same—why is this?' And when I explained to him that they were the same, and told him the theory of the rotation of the earth on its axis, he was most grateful. He seemed to me like the primitive man—observing and wondering." A free masonry exists with great people—they never stoop to teach those who ask—they merely share.

"Marriage does interfere with this work, especially for women. Like all intensive work it must be carried on in groups to be really successful. Many women here at the Observatory have married, fully intending to keep on—but they rarely do. Their interests become diversified, they have not the instruments, the materials nor the incentive to work on alone. It is work that demands isolation—and, if you would call it so, sacrifice. But the reward is worth it. Perhaps,"—and, again, Miss Cannon's rare humor lighted her face—"the proximity of Harvard with its numberless youths is a bad influence in keeping women astronomers at work here permanently. However, very few women care for research work. They would rather teach or hold executive positions where they come into contact with more people."

For as Annie Jump Cannon says: "It might seem that examining an hourly average of 200 streaks with vertical lines through them would not be interesting work. I know that if my whole heart were not in such a task it would be monstrous. But they aren't just streaks to me—each new spectrum is a gateway to a wonderful new world."

And this is her message to the world which has dubbed her great.

"When first I started I studied the bright stars—and the methods opened up. An old-line astronomer, one who studied the solar system, laughed at my classifying the stars: 'It is a pleasing pastime,' he said, for he thought that it could not be done."

It is done—the world finis is written at the bottom of volume 99. And for each new spectrum Annie Jump Cannon has entered through a gateway into a new world.

"And now," she said, "I am planning an extension to the work. I am start-

ing to classify the variable stars. I am searching for the fainter ones, those farther away in space. I have listed about 3,400 of these, twice as many as are in the bowl of the dipper. The fifth magnitude is the farthest which can be seen with the naked eye. We have discovered stars in the twelfth. Not so long ago I had a European astronomer ask me if I had ever located a star in the fifteenth magnitude."

She smiled and shrugged her shoulders.

"So far, I think we have done very well."

So far. . . .



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Orchard Accidents

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

What every mother needs to know, Dr. Alsop is telling her in this series on first aid at home.

THERE is no one who has not had an overdose of green apples or sweet corn in the fall with a resultant painful experience. Corn and apples are both healthful foods, but may be eaten to disastrous excess, on account of the myriads of tiny husks of the corn kernels which irritate the intestines, and of the unripeness of the starch in the green apple. The treatment for this indiscretion is

the same as for the overloading of the stomach and intestines by any other indigestible food.

As soon as food is eaten that overwhelms the digestive tract, nature makes a violent attempt to rid the body of the offending material. This results in a vigorous intestinal activity. The path of medicine nowadays is to follow nature's lead and to assist in the same process. So in treating the diarrhoea resulting from green apples or from any kind of food poisoning, the aim of medicine is to produce more effective diarrhoea more quickly than nature can. Castor oil in a sufficient dose, two to four tablespoonfuls, should be administered at once, and a hot soapuds enema given. Both these devices assist nature in her determination to sweep all the poisoning foods out of the system.

If the first-aider remembers the two essential principles of healing, rest and warmth, she will then logically go on to the next step in the treatment: bed, starvation, a cup of piping hot water to drink and a hot water bottle to the feet if they are cold. Starvation is the only method that will provide rest for the intestines. As, however, complete intestinal rest implies muscular bodily rest as well as starvation, bed is necessary for the first twenty-four hours.

A severe attack of green apples or ptomaine poisoning will prostrate a patient for one to three days. One day spent at perfect rest in bed with a liberal amount of hot water by mouth and no food will usually give the intestines time to empty themselves completely. The alimentary canal is then ready for recuperation and return to health, but still weak and tender and easily irritated. The return to the usual routine of food and exercise must be gradual. During the next three days the patient should make a diminuendo application of the principles of rest and warmth. No violent muscular exercise should be taken. Only easily digested food should be eaten; as:

Breakfast: Juice of one orange, brown bread toasted, with butter, a soft boiled egg. Lunch: A baked potato with butter and salt, a piece of toast, or some boiled rice. Dinner: A lamb chop and a baked apple or a custard or junket.

This emergency diet is absolutely without green vegetables, so essential in the regular diet, and is especially designed not to stimulate the intestines but to let them rest. It should not be followed for more than two or three days. The return to a liberal vegetable and fruit diet should be gradual, taking the best part of a week.

Bee sting and spider bite are other orchard accidents. Both are acid and it is the acid that makes the burning, stinging sensation. If the child is near a kitchen, baking soda moistened with a little water should be applied at once to the sting to neutralize the acid. If it is

out walking, mud from the shore of a creek or brook—usually alkaline—can be patted on to the part in a little cake. With either treatment the burning usually stops within half an hour and is followed by a dull red swelling, which may last a day or so or less. No treatment is necessary for the swelling.

But ivy poison is perhaps the most difficult orchard ailment to handle. It is practically a self-limited disease, like measles or chicken-pox, and runs on imperiously for a week or ten days in a susceptible person. The aim of the treatment is to make the patient as comfortable as possible and to allay the itching. The part should be soaked in hot soda bicarbonate solution, if possible, or cloths soaked in hot soda bicarbonate solution should be applied for twenty or thirty minutes. The part should then be dried, taking care not to break the blisters, painted thoroughly with tincture of iodine, and powdered with any simple talcum powder. A light bandage may be applied for protection and to prevent rubbing and scratching. If the itching is very bad, cloths wet in soda bicarbonate or alcohol should be kept continually on the part.

The old-time remedies of lead water and laudanum or carbolic seem to me not as efficacious as these simpler ones and are more dangerous to use on children. In cases with intolerable itching carbolic must be used, but in all cases where the first simple treatment does not make the patient comfortable a doctor should be called in.

Senator Underwood

(Continued from page 9)

against this is the fact that he has voted for a number of measures demanded by labor—workmen's compensation bills, the District Minimum Wage bill, and the recently passed immigration bill.

Senator Underwood resembles President Coolidge in temperament, and the appeal he would make to a confused electorate in the present chaotic condition of public sentiment would be practically to the same type of mind to which Mr. Coolidge appeals. With Senator Underwood, the Democrats would find it difficult to capitalize to any extent the tenets of liberalism and progressivism which they never fail to inject into a Democratic appeal to the country.

But the country knows just where to find Mr. Underwood—with his feet planted squarely in the middle of the Democratic platform, firm in his belief in party government, but not "political boss" government. He wants tax revision downward, and voted for the tax bill just passed; in other ways he advocates economy to lift the financial burden from the people. "Safe and sane." That is what his supporters claim for Oscar Underwood; and his opponents do not deny it.

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A Line on the Movies

BY LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

THE GREATEST LOVE OF ALL—George Beban, the Italian character actor, has written and directed this play, which is less sentimental than its name. It is a story of the childish-heroic East Side in an excited encounter with the law, and is full of a homely humor that has not been stereotyped. Its cast is animated by sensitive direction into honest characterizations. George Beban is *Joe*, the ice-man, everybody's friend and irrepressibly dramatizing that fact. An interesting rôle is the Italian mother, played by an Italian more than seventy years old. Any age's picture, and more than usually interesting. A George Beban Productions picture.

NELLIE, THE BEAUTIFUL CLOAK MODEL—A thriller of "ten, twenty and thirty" days brought down to date under its own title. The helpless heroine is laid across the tracks of the elevated in the good old-fashioned way, but a curtain and reappearance of all the actors at the close of the play tell the audience, "This is all a joke, and thank you for playing with us." A Goldwyn-Cosmopolitan picture, from the stage play by Owen Davis, and directed by Emmett J. Flynn.

A MORAL SINNER—Another melodrama of twenty-odd years ago, with no excuse at all for the name. This is the "Leah Kleschna" of the stage, in which Mrs. Fiske starred. On the screen it is the usual sort of crook play in which fires, rescues, robberies and pursuits take the place of character collisions, making a harmless tale of commonplace excitement. The cast includes Dorothy Dalton and James Rennie. A Paramount picture, from the play by C. M. S. McLellan, and directed by Ralph Ince.

THE DAWN OF A TOMORROW—Frances Hodgson Burnett's popular heroine, *Glad*, is a little London slums girl with an insatiable appetite for happiness and plenty of ways of finding it in dingy places. A wealthy old man who is at the end of his silken rope and this little vagrant who knows no ropes at all meet by the Thames and more or less swap philosophy for circumstances. Jacqueline Logan is the honestly girlish little girl; children should like her and her story. A Paramount picture, from the novel of the same name, and directed by George Melford.

THE YANKEE CONSUL—A farce comedy with a musical comedy ancestry, a musical comedy plot and a musical comedy manner. It has a confident comedian, Douglas MacLean, with a light and sure hand upon a docile plot of mistaken identity, conspiracy and damsel in distress. Patsy Ruth Miller is in the cast. An Associated Exhibitors picture, from the musical comedy by Henry Blossom, Jr., and Alfred G. Ro-

byn, and directed by James W. Horne. **SPORTING YOUTH**—An adolescents' tale of youth and achievement and romance, with youth in terms of smart clothes, achievement in terms of a racer's qualities, and romance in terms of high-powered automobiles, disguises and outwittings. A furious automobile race and some fair acting are the only adult realism. A Universal picture, directed by Harry Pollard.

John W. Davis

(Continued from page 12)

1904; participated actively in all political campaigns. He was nominated over his protest for Congress in the year 1910 for the First District of West Virginia, and was elected, being the first Democrat to carry the district since the year 1892; served on the Judiciary Committee of the House. Re-elected to the Sixty-third Congress and reappointed to the Judiciary Committee, resigning in August, 1913, to accept the position of Solicitor General.

In August, 1918, he was appointed with three others—the Hon. John W. Garrett, Major General Kernan and Captain Hough—on a commission to negotiate with the Imperial German and Austrian Governments in regard to the treatment and exchange of prisoners of war. This commission met with the German representatives in the city of Berne, Switzerland, during the months of September and October, 1918, and concluded on the 11th of November, 1918, a convention on the subject. This, however, was superseded by the terms of the Armistice under which American prisoners of war were released.

While en route to Switzerland, he was tendered and accepted by cable the post of Ambassador to Great Britain, which had become vacant upon the resignation of Walter H. Page. Returning to America, he sailed, after five days, with President Wilson on the *George Washington*. He was President of the American Bar Association during the year 1922-23; has received numerous honorary college degrees; is a Mason, thirty-second degree; Elk, life member; Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity. He wrote the Injunction and Contempt clauses which are now in the Clayton Act.

Mr. Davis was the childhood friend of Nancy Langhorne, now Lady Astor, the British M.P. He married Ellen G. Bassel in 1912, twelve years after the death of his first wife, who was Julia T. McDonald.

The next number will contain impressions of the Republican convention; and a sketch of the Republican nominee for vice-president. And the issue for July 12 will do the same for the Democratic convention and nominees.

Washington

(Continued from page 7)

enate Senator La Follette's amendment to the House adjournment resolution, that the upper house should recess for a few weeks, in order to provide opportunity to attend the nominating conventions, then return in July and finish the program of farm relief and other progressive legislation. The insurgents stood together on this, but the support of the Democratic contingent, or sufficient part of it, was not forthcoming, and the vote stands to adjourn the Congress on June 7. So the insurgents go into the campaign with a sizable bundle of grievances, perhaps more useful to them than such legislation as they might otherwise have been able to obtain.

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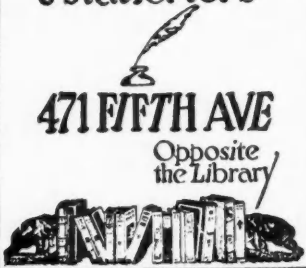
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In these few remaining days no one thinks anything will happen to the inspiration of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—the proposition for American membership in the World Court. It will serve as a prominent plank in the Republican platform, undoubtedly—that the great humanitarian committee of the upper house tried to enact legislation assuring the United States a place in the world tribunal. And some people will have to believe it, for the mere statement in the platform will be all the information at hand upon which to base opinions. As for the rest—the move was the laughing stock of the capital. But it loses its humor when men make such attempts at foolery over the bodies of President Harding, President Wilson and the Unknown Dead at Arlington.

President Coolidge, when he went to Arlington on Memorial Day—a glorious morning of brilliance on the hillside of the Potomac—was temperate and reverent in his utterances of hope for American participation in world affairs. There was no hint of political cunning. He stood up there divested of any semblance of playing any game, and spoke with sincerity and feeling, with veterans sitting in front of him, and ambassadors and high officials of the government by his side. The littleness of election intrigue faded away in the Potomac blue. Men who would conjure with world relations for the sake of a platform plank or the possession of a high-sounding phrase were reduced to a mirage of pygmies—and the President in his address seemed to precipitate the illusion.

The President wants membership in the Court on the basis of the Harding proposal endorsed by him last December, and not upon any finicky basis of creating a new court and then inviting the member nations to drop their present affiliations and come along with us. If the President, for the last two months, has held the strong convictions voiced by him on Memorial Day, he has withheld them from a starving country. He was simple, direct, humane, almost using the language of temperate League of Nations adherents. For instance, this:

We are not going to be able to avoid meeting the world and bearing our part of the burdens of the world. We must meet those burdens and overcome them, or they will meet us and overcome us. For my part, I desire my country to meet them without evasion, without fear, in an upright, down-right, square American way. . . . While there are those who think we would be exposed to peril in adhering to this Court, I am unable to attach great weight to their arguments. Whatever differences, whatever perils exist for us in the world will come anyway, whether we oppose or support the Court. I am one of those who believe we would be safer, and that we would be meeting our duties better, by supporting it and making every possible use of it.

This is the simple declaration which has enlisted the support of both Demo-

crats and Republicans—but curiously enough not the influential members of the President's own party in the Senate Committee having to do with the actual progress of legislation which would embody such American participation, namely, Senators Lodge and Pepper of the Foreign Relations Committee, each with complicated plans of his own involving highly controversial details.

Part of the heritage from the League of Nations struggle is this division, in both parties, into factions which vary a shade in their views on foreign relations. Just now it shows up disadvantageously in the Republican party because of the desirability of coming together for a campaign drive. If the Democrats were in power, the same factional differences would be apparent, though not with so many shades of opinion and with more possibility of compromise. The irreconcilable element in Democratic ranks is not nearly as strong as the Brandegee isolationist group on the other side.

Republicans are now having to decide which faction shall lead in the campaign. If the President is to be the fully recognized leader and he continues to court the company of Elihu Root and others of the so-called high-brow element, then the party must be prepared to take that keynote and go to the country with that factor dominant. This, political observers say, would be the easiest procedure. Dr. Burton, formerly President of Smith College, Northampton, now head of the University of Michigan, is to place the President in nomination. He belongs to the intellectual group—and so far President Coolidge has shown a leaning toward this faction in his party. However, trained politicians who have been rounding up votes for the last ten years are not impressed with the wisdom of this course. The high-brow element does not represent the majority of votes in the Republican party, they assert, and will not help a great deal in obtaining the approval of the ordinary voter. What they want in the coming campaign is the leadership of good old campaign pounders who will sway the people and not attempt to explain the unexplainable to the masses.

The President is pictured in the capital press as having one pleasant thing to do as Congress departs—that is, sign the resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution regulating child labor, which now goes to the states for ratification by legislatures. Senator Wadsworth, New York, stated it as his opinion that the matter might well be left to states to control, and Senator Fletcher, of Florida, was flatly against the proposition, but the Congress, as a whole, generously supported the resolution, which action is taken as a decidedly favorable omen for the ultimate result. . . . In a recent letter your corre-

spondent wrote of the probable reaction to the new bonus legislation, and this fortnight's record contains note of a bill introduced by Senator Walsh, Democrat, Massachusetts, already proposing to amend the bonus act by changing the insurance certificate feature to a cash basis. This is the sort of thing the country will face for years to come, according to past experience.

Prohibition will undoubtedly be a feature of the next Congress. As a fore-runner, the House Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, which has been quiescent for years, recently met and appointed a subcommittee which will undertake a wide investigation of the liquor situation. All phases of the present problem will be looked into, particularly smuggling, and the operation of the liquor permit system and its abuse. Federal and state officials will be asked to cooperate. If this investigation follows its avowed scope, a highly valuable and constructive report ought to result, containing information which will help the House next year in the consideration of the flood of bills proposing to amend the enforcement act. Likewise, one may expect railroad legislation, and the propositions of the progressives to do away with the present Railroad Labor Board, to figure prominently next year, whether or not the insurgents again hold the balance of power, for these two subjects have been seething now for some time and have only been held down by the greater pressure of campaign politics.

New York sent one patriotic man to Congress. On Memorial Day Representative Bloom, Democrat, became incensed at the lack of respect shown the flag. Thereupon the next day he introduced a bill in the lower house punishing by a fine of \$100, or imprisonment for thirty days, persons who wilfully fail to salute the flag with the usual military salute, or by removing or tipping the hat, when the flag, standard, colors or ensign pass in review in a public parade. Such legislation has more the smack of the closing days of a Congress than an outsider might guess—or perhaps more of the flavor of the last up-to-midnight session of a state legislature when bills almost come flying through the air and legislation is found proposing to permanent-wave pigs' tails. The jails of most cities, certainly of the capital, are not large enough to hold all the old ladies who cannot unpin their bonnets fast enough or drop their cash-and-carry parcels with sufficient dexterity to permit of the usual military salute. However, there is considerable to be said throughout the country on the side of the bill, but at the capital the last ten years has seen considerable change. The war strengthened patriotic conventions and passers-by and audiences here are more alert at the sound of the national anthems.

So goes out the last of this session of

the Sixty-eighth Congress. At least, it tried to be constructive and leave a monument behind, proposing that the United States Treasury should coin at once a batch of seven-and-a-half-cent pieces in commemoration of President Harding. All the trolley companies in the country would in turn commemorate

with seven-and-a-half-cent fares, and every little ice cream cone and other five-cent luxury of the back country would put on the new dignity in commemoration of a man who wanted to take life with equanimity but was pestered by the unescapable difficulties of a harassed world.

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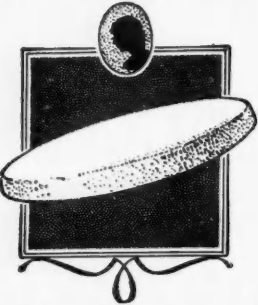
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Our Readers Say—

IN the main, the article concerning Senator Glass in a recent WOMAN CITIZEN seems fair if not enthusiastic. It is a pity the author did not confer with some Democratic woman who could have furnished a little further information on points likely to be of special interest to women.

It is true that Senator Glass voted against the Suffrage amendment, but it is also true that he gave its opponents no assistance. He is one of the few men who can change votes by a speech, but he kept silence. Some day, when more time has passed, and no one is trying to make capital out of this subject, it will be acknowledged that Southern men had a reason for opposing a national suffrage amendment. No suffragist considered it a very good, let alone a sufficient, reason for voting against the amendment, but nevertheless it was a reason, not a subterfuge or an excuse like those put forward by the New England opponents.

Anyone who wants to study the senatorial roll-call on the Nineteenth Amendment will find that it was adopted by the votes of transplanted sons of Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and other Southern states.

And no one who was at the San Francisco Convention will ever forget the report of Carter Glass, chairman of the Platform Committee, and how, when he had finished reading the planks asked for by the women, he leaned forward and said, "And if there is anything else the women want, we are for it!" Incidentally, he recently voted for something else the women want—the child labor amendment.

It was not an empty phrase with him. In his own state, and as a member of the Democratic National Committee, he has stood for the most generous recognition of women. He and I are in entire accord as to our first choice for the Democratic nominee; if we come to a second choice, while I suspect that he would be a most reluctant candidate, I am one pioneer suffragist who would be an ardent supporter of this Virginian.

ELLIS MEREDITH.

Washington, D. C.

IT is with much interest that I have read Margaret Sanger's views on birth control. This is a subject on which I have felt very strongly for years. As a matron in a charitable institution for children, I am every day forcibly reminded that birth control should be made known and rightfully used for the betterment of the world in general—though the chances are that the ones who should profit by such knowledge would be the ones who would still blindly continue to follow their animal instincts regardless of consequences. Our institutions are filled with poor little unwanted children who ought never to have been born. Many of them are mentally deficient because they came from diseased, degenerate parents. There is nothing back of them, nothing ahead of them.

Then, too, among the respectable working people, how many times does one see the mother broken down, all the joy of living gone from her, the father harassed by an ever-increasing family which they are not able, however willing, to rear and educate as they should be. It is not fair to the children themselves to be thrust into the world under such circumstances. By all means let us have birth control as a step forward. Let us use as much forethought in calling our children into existence as we would in breeding a fine horse or a dog, for the destiny of the world depends on the quality of our future citizens.

FRANCES HILL.

Franklin, N. H.

OUR OWN DINGBATS

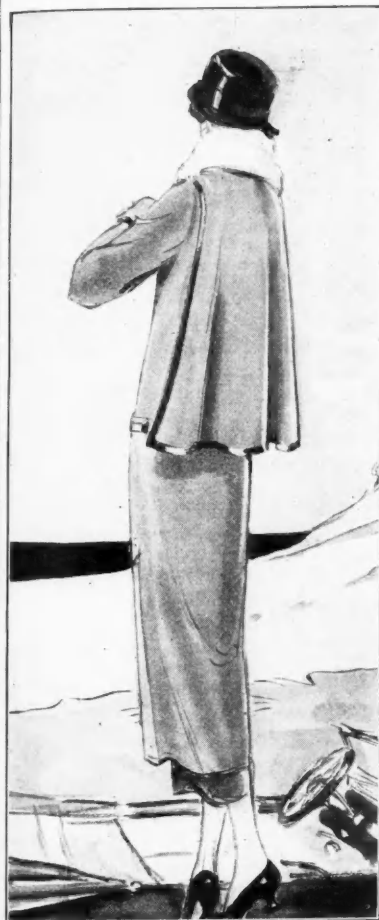
WELL, we've seen that robin and at least a score of his brothers, red-breasted and earnest. ♦ ♦ ♦ And what he said was, "What fools you mortals be for living between tall walls of metal and brick when the real world is made of sunshine sifted through elm, and maple, and beech, of lilacs tossing purple and white blossoms in the scented breeze, of green grass, and red tulips, and pansy beds." ♦ ♦ ♦ And we went away sorrowful, because we had no answer ♦ ♦ ♦ and also because we had to go away. ♦ ♦ ♦ The longer we live, the less excuse we see for cities. ♦ ♦ ♦ We were steeped, if two days can steep one, in a combination of Revolutionary imaginings (we can even do Indians) and the peace of that long, tree-shaded street. ♦ ♦ ♦ Up there, it made singularly little difference to us who is going to be nominated for President on any or all tickets. ♦ ♦ ♦ But coming back we have joined the great guessing game again, with zeal. ♦ ♦ ♦ "Does your wife always have the last word?" asked one husband of another (in "Judge"). "Oh, no, I do," was the answer. "It's 'yes'." ♦ ♦ ♦ We'll let you in on a secret. ♦ ♦ ♦ The Citizen has some mysterious control over events at Washington. ♦ ♦ ♦ No sooner do we send our news pages and editorials to press than the President and Congress being to do things, no matter how quiescent they may have been for days. ♦ ♦ ♦ Things that upset everything. ♦ ♦ ♦ It gives us a great responsibility. ♦ ♦ ♦ And that's why we are glad Congress, at least, has stopped. ♦ ♦ ♦ We hear Leap Year has lost all its ginger—not needed any more. ♦ ♦ ♦ But the kind of girl "Jack o' Lantern" tells about never needed it anyhow. ♦ ♦ ♦ "If wishes came true, what would be your first?" she asked, and when he murmured, "If only I dared tell you—" she said, "Go on, go on. What do you think I brought you wishing for?" ♦ ♦ ♦ Are you a schizoid or a syntonic? We ask you that, and promise to respect your confidence. ♦ ♦ ♦ If you're the former, you don't go with the current, you struggle—as the consonants indicate. ♦ ♦ ♦ While a syntonic is plainly a harmonious being. ♦ ♦ ♦ As for that, while we're using language, we will ask if any of you have ever been guilty of incivism? ♦ ♦ ♦ No, we don't read the dictionary. ♦ ♦ ♦ It was an accident. ♦ ♦ ♦ You just ought to see the way this town is shining itself up for the Democrats. ♦ ♦ ♦ Colored lights in loops ♦ ♦ ♦ solid gold front look all along Fifth Avenue ♦ ♦ ♦ goodness knows what all. ♦ ♦ ♦ Carpets on the sidewalks, maybe. ♦ ♦ ♦ In our opinion offices ought to close ♦ ♦ ♦ or maybe keep open house and serve tea. ♦ ♦ ♦ Which reminds us how the boy students in an Illinois high school have got the right idea. ♦ ♦ ♦ They've formed a home economics class, where they learn to cook, sew and darn, and every boy has to make a suit of pajamas before he can graduate. ♦ ♦ ♦ Anyhow, we read it in the paper.

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Managing Director Editor
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Advertising Manager Associate Editor
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART WINIFRED L. RICH

The *Woman Citizen* is published bi-weekly September to June and monthly July and August (twenty-four issues) by the *Woman Citizen Corporation*, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City, Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City.

By subscription, \$2.00 a year, postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. LIII Old Style.

Vol. IX New Style

No. 3

The May 31 *CITIZEN* should have been numbered Vol. IX New Style, No. 1, and the June 14, Vol. IX, No. 2.

OUR OWN (CONVENTION) DING-BATS

WELL, we went to that convention ♦ ♦ ♦ and we enjoyed it hugely—sometimes with it and sometimes at it. ♦ ♦ ♦ We're panting for the next one. ♦ ♦ ♦ And rather sorry we missed the conventions of the Single Taxers and the Prohibitionists already held. ♦ ♦ ♦ We don't dare say we'd have liked a look at the St. Paul Reds and Pinks, lest someone Fear the Worst. ♦ ♦ ♦ Having a convention in your own home town has two sides. ♦ ♦ ♦ On the one hand you get the fun of seeing it come on, bit by bit, and on the other you don't get cared for as Visiting Press. ♦ ♦ ♦ But we're going to try to look and sound like a visitor just to see if our policemen can be as nice as Cleveland's were. ♦ ♦ ♦ Several habits of conventions puzzle us, though. ♦ ♦ ♦ For instance, women begin convention sessions on time and end on time, in our experience. ♦ ♦ ♦ That more-men-than-women gathering at Cleveland didn't, often. The gavel lay peacefully looking at the clock for a half hour or so after it was announced to bang; even lunchtime cut no ice. ♦ ♦ ♦ Does this prove that men are less concerned about food when great matters are afoot, or does it merely prove they are less orderly? ♦ ♦ ♦ Or neither? ♦ ♦ ♦ One thing we know: if certain little things that happened at Cleveland had happened at a women's convention we should have heard of it from Dan to Beersheba and back. ♦ ♦ ♦ For instance, they make a rule that no one shall second for more than five minutes, but when various and sundry gentlemen go orating right on, does the gavel fall or the coat tail get a pull? By no means. ♦ ♦ ♦ The audience has to do it. ♦ ♦ ♦ Why, at a women's convention we've seen speakers have to bite a word in two. ♦ ♦ ♦ We shudder to think what will happen in our erstwhile swimming pool when all the Democrats get going. ♦ ♦ ♦ And, again, if things must be predetermined, why can't they keep it secret? ♦ ♦ ♦ It's awfully distressing to be told well in advance who will be who and do what, and then find out that the convention has to vote to let 'em, and pretend it means something. ♦ ♦ ♦ On the other hand, why keep the nominees in the dark for a month before we tell them they're nominated? ♦ ♦ ♦ Just think of the suspense. ♦ ♦ ♦ Maybe by the time you get this, New York will have helped the Democrats pick out a group of people for their nominee. ♦ ♦ ♦ If they haven't, it's going to rush us terribly to get out the next issue. ♦ ♦ ♦ We shall take it very unkind of them if they pick out people we've never mentioned at all. ♦ ♦ ♦ We believe the weather isn't going to be partisan. ♦ ♦ ♦ It has rained on a Republican and a Democratic party, each, so far. ♦ ♦ ♦ This whole business of "tickets for husbands" will have to be looked into. ♦ ♦ ♦ Why should the mere husband of a committeewoman get a ticket and a delegate's husband have to buy a radio set? ♦ ♦ ♦ We must get up an inquiry.



Mrs. Beverley H. Mumford

MRS. BEVERLEY H. MUMFORD, committeewoman from Virginia, among the prominent women at the Democratic convention.

MARY GARRETT HAY belongs with two articles in this issue of the magazine. The General Federation of Women's Clubs at the recent convention made her their Honorary President, for one thing, and the Republican women won the equality she started fighting for in 1920, as head of the Women's Division of the Party.



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Mary Garrett Hay

ON page eleven is the story of the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, June 2-13, and below is the Philharmonic auditorium in Los Angeles, where the sessions were held. Almost 2,500 delegates were at this convention. Los Angeles, in fact the whole state, climate included, extended the heartiest welcome to the visiting clubwomen.



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Mrs. D. A. McDougal and Mrs. Emily Newell Blair

TO the left are Mrs. D. A. McDougal, national committeewoman from Oklahoma, and Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the two women on the arrangements committee for the Democratic National Convention, which, as we write, gives promise of still being in session when you get this magazine. A convention city is certainly mighty exciting.



Courtesy of Southern Pacific R. R.

Philharmonic Auditorium, Los Angeles

MRS. ALBERT N. CONNETT, JR., (right) is president of the American Women's Club of Paris, which has a membership of two thousand of the most important women in America and France. The club is now unusually busy making special plans for looking after Americans in Paris during the Olympic Games.



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Mrs. Albert Connnett, Jr.

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

JUNE 28, 1924

Number 3

News Notes of the Fortnight

Politics to the Fore

NEWS of the world at large is likely to get only a reading of headlines these days, while the papers are filled with endless entertaining detail about the great party conventions, the second one of which, by all signs, will still be in session and at white heat when this is read. New York is a-buzz with excitement, with delegates arriving fresh every hour and the speculation about the long list of candidates changing between newspaper editions; the great hotels strewn with state pennants and filled with candidates' headquarters. Badges are growing thicker on the streets and Fifth Avenue is decked out from end to end. It took one ballot to nominate the Republican candidate for president, three to secure a vice-president, but the prospects are for enough roll-calls in Madison Square Garden to make all the tellers hoarse.

Meantime, the Republican campaign personnel has been picked, and the opening of the campaign awaits the formal notification to the candidates, which will take place by the middle of next month. A tense situation developed between Mr. William Butler, of Massachusetts, the new National Committee Chairman, and Mr. C. Bascom Slep, the President's secretary—or at least the situation got tenser. Mr. Slep and Mr. Butler worked at cross purposes at Cleveland, and after the convention Mr. Coolidge appointed an advisory committee to the campaign committee, with Mr. Slep on it. Mr. Slep indicated that this committee was really going to control the campaign. Mr. Coolidge politely said the contrary. But the differences are to be smoothed over, one hears, in the interest of party harmony.

The Radicals' Convention

AS for the third party possibilities, Senator La Follette is waiting, according to his earlier statements, the outcome of the Democratic Convention. Certainly the convention of the Farmer-Labor and other groups at St. Paul got as hard knocks from Senator La Follette as he got from the Republicans at Cleve-

land. He had denounced them for plans to admit Communists, and warned all liberals against taking any part with them. Even in spite of that there was consideration of some plan by which he could be endorsed as a presidential candidate, because of the publicity values of his name—and the absence of any one else. It was evident, however, that Senator La Follette would have no part nor lot with them, and they ended by choosing provisional candidates—Duncan Macdonald, of Illinois, former president of the Illinois State Miners Union, for president, and William Bouck, of Washington, a fruit grower and farmers' or-

ganizer, for vice-president. They are to withdraw if the Cleveland Convention for Progressive Political Action, which will meet in Cleveland July 4, nominates La Follette—in case that body will have the St. Paul group.

It was a question which faction would win out in the convention, the Farmer-Labor group or the Communists. It seems to have been the latter.

The organizer and chief spirit of the convention in its early stages was from the Farmer-Labor side: William Mahoney, of St. Paul, who was the temporary chairman and defeated for permanent chairman—no steam roller there, it seems, as it took something like an hour and a half for the convention to vote State Senator Charles E. Taylor, of Montana, into the place. He had the support of the Communist leader, William Z. Foster, who walked away with the convention. An organization was formed, with a National Committee, which has authority to make other nominations. Considerable denunciation was showered on the candidate whom the convention would have nominated if there had been any chance of his acceptance, and one of the Workers Party officials invented a new phrase for him, the "representative of little business," as contrasted with the old parties' alliance with big business.

France's New President

NOW for a glance at French politics. President Millerand, who resisted the demand of the legislative bodies for his resignation, was forced to surrender. The Francois-Marsal Ministry submitted his case to the Chamber and the Senate, in the usual form of asking for a vote of confidence, and the vote of the left parties defeated him. It was then supposed that the same group would control the election of the new president, and that Paul Painlevé, recently elected president of the Chamber of Deputies, would be chosen. But the Left was defeated this time, and Painlevé's more conservative opponent, Gaston Doumergue, president of the Senate, was elected, 515 to 307. M. Doumergue is said to be the first Protestant presi-



Carlo Leonetti, N. Y.

Rosalind Abramson is so young it hardly seems possible that she can be a recognized artist with a list of exhibits behind her—as she is. Born in Virginia, she studied under Robert Henri, George Bellows and John Sloan at the Art Student's League in New York. Her first marked success was the winning of the Wanamaker prize for portrait painting in 1917 against twenty-five hundred entries. Since then, she has shown at the National Academy of Design, the Philadelphia Water Color Club, the Brooklyn and Chicago Society of Etchers, the Print Makers of California and the National Arts Club.

Miss Abramson's chief interest is portrait studies of types, which she now portrays almost exclusively with the delicate line of the etcher.

dent of France, and he is a bachelor. He has been in several Cabinets and was premier for a time during Poincaré's presidency.

He at once asked M. Herriot, head of the majority in the Chamber, to form a Ministry. It will be remembered that M. Herriot had refused the Ministry under Millerand, owing to party pressure. He accepted, and all the new government is already installed—so different is their system from ours. The term of the president is seven years, but of the eleven presidents before Doumergue since the establishment of the Republic, six have had to retire by resignation. It was on the constitutional right and duty to remain in office for seven years and not to submit to electoral changes that Millerand based his refusal to resign until every means had been tried.

The new French Premier and the Premier of Great Britain have just had a week-end conference in England, which was satisfactory. The outcome was a proposal for an allied conference in London next month to settle the procedure to be adopted for putting the Dawes report into execution. There is a chance that Secretary Hughes, who is to make an English visit at about that time, may be drawn into the conference.

Mr. Hughes Writes Japan

SECRETARY of State Hughes last week sent a reply to the note of protest from Japan against our exclusion measure. It was firm in its insistence on the right of the United States to change from the method of international agreement in determining its immigration to that of legislative enactment, if it wanted to. But it was very friendly in tone, and its friendliness seems to have been recognized and accepted. Mr. Hughes said that it is believed Japan herself exercises the same right to exclude, but the Japanese press denies this, and says that even Chinese laborers are not excluded, though they are subject to certain police regulations. There are indications that, for the present, the "grave consequences" expected are not to develop, but Japan reserves the right to reply to the note some time later. With July 1 she will be free of her promise not to send laborers into our neighbor countries, and it is a question whether we may not have more, rather than less, Japanese immigration.

Mexico and MacDonald

A SITUATION has arisen between Great Britain and Mexico, of which the rights and wrongs are hard to estimate. A Mr. and Mrs. Evans, British subjects, had acquired a hacienda in Mexico apparently in accordance with the Mexican law. The property, after Mr. Evans's death, was requisitioned by the government, and efforts were also made by private persons to seize it.

The British Chargé des Archives in Mexico City, H. A. C. Cummins, undertook to defend Mrs. Evans. He seems not to have been popular with the Mexicans, and he had been complained of to Lord Curzon two years ago. Now offense was taken at his letters of protest in the Evans case. They were considered insulting.

Premier MacDonald had decided to send a mission to Mexico, and on its arrival Cummins would have withdrawn. The Mexican Government would not wait, however. They demanded his removal, and finally threatened to break into the legation. Mr. MacDonald then directed Mr. Cummins to leave and asked the United States to take over the archives temporarily. He read before the Commons all the letters from Cummins which were in question, and upheld him. The adverse criticism that has been made is that if almost any other country had found a British diplomatic representative unacceptable, there would have been no hesitation about his withdrawal.

The Cost of the League of Nations

SIR HERBERT AMES, treasurer and financial director of the League of Nations, is here, ready to tell all about its finances. The budget for each of the last four years has been slightly over \$4,500,000, of which half the amount goes to the central organization, a quarter to the Labor Office and a twelfth to the Court. The rest goes to building, into a reserve fund and for miscellaneous uses. At first, he says, the apportionment of cost to the member nations was unequal; but it has been adjusted on a fair basis. The British Empire, for instance, pays 9½ per cent of the whole, while Liberia pays 1/90 of Great Britain's amount. Great Britain's amount this year was \$423,288, Panama's \$4,000.

Sir Herbert adds another figure—the nations are spending \$2,600,000,000 for armament.

The budget is carefully made by his department, then revised by an estimating committee, and finally submitted to the Assembly.

The Rhode Island Senate

THE Rhode Island Senate appears to have been giving an excellent illustration of how not to act. A Democratic filibuster began last January—all about a refusal by Republicans to adopt a referendum for a constitutional convention. For six months the deadlock has been maintained, with various ugly incidents. The climax came a few days ago when a forty-two-hour session was interrupted by an attack of chlorine gas, which drove the Senators from the chamber, four collapsing. Suspected Republicans were arrested, and a number

have exiled themselves to Massachusetts, but the filibuster goes on.

Fascism in Trouble

NOT long ago the Fascist Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs engaged in some sort of oil deal with our own Harry F. Sinclair. Aldo Finzi, his name is. A member of the Chamber of Deputies, a Socialist, one Matteotti, thought he knew some very detrimental things about Aldo along the line of his speculations, and that he could prove them.

And shortly after that he was kidnapped and, probably, murdered. Thereupon an assorted lot of ugly graft charges against Finzi came to the surface. Mussolini forced his resignation. He also promised a thorough clean-up. The scandal spread—several prominent Fascists were arrested for trying to kidnap Matteotti. A third was imprisoned for complicity in his murder. It came out that there is a gang of terrorists within the Fascists which has been committing many crimes of violence, probably including the sacking of Nitti's house some time ago. At last one of the suspects confessed, after new evidence had been found, that he and others had kidnapped the Socialist and had killed him when he had resisted and refused to give information they wanted.

There has been talk of Mussolini's resignation, but this is not at all expected. The Fascist effort has been to establish their claim that the offenders are only a small group, and not representative of Fascist practice and policy. But Fascism is admittedly at a crisis.

Early Primaries

AT the primaries on June 16, Maine Republicans voted the Ku Klux Klan down in nominating for Governor Frank G. Farrington instead of Ralph O. Brewster. During the campaign the Klan had announced its support of Brewster.

Both the Iowa radical, Smith W. Brookhart, and Magnus Johnson, of North Dakota, have secured their renominations to the Senate in early primaries. This was something of a surprise, in Brookhart's case at least, and not reassuring for the Cleveland convention which so heartily called down "blocs".

New Cooperation?

FIVE large cash grain concerns of Chicago have offered to the American Farm Bureau Federation a plan proposing the consolidation of these firms with the 5,000 cooperative elevators, into an organization to be owned and controlled by the growers themselves. Officers of the Farm Bureau, said to be friendly to the plan, will investigate and study at length.

June 24, 1924.

The Republicans at Cleveland

Convention Impressions



HERE is no use in trying to talk about the Republican national convention as if we were a seasoned political reporter, familiar with the ropes, equipped with memories as basis for comparisons, and maybe a bit blasé. It was our first political convention, and every happening had the tingly flavor of a "first time." Our eyes were sticking out with eager interest all three days, even when we were only marveling at the way the wheels went round. We are not going to apologize for this amateurish keenness either. For, though women have appeared in national political conventions before, the first national political convention since women became nationwide voters is a beginning, a pioneering enterprise, and one need not deny the thrill of a pioneer witness.

Things happened at Cleveland that concern women in their big, new job of being citizens. First of all, they were there in force. They colored up the convention. We got our first impression of that from a seat high up in the rear balcony, overlooking the giant gathering on the opening day. All the background was light gray—the gray of cement floors and gray-toned walls and of men's gray business suits. But vivid color was sprinkled through everywhere—National Committee, delegates and alternates (425 of them), visitors, press. Color from frocks and color from hats, which—strangely to an eye trained in women's conventions—so generally stayed on. That still puzzles us.

Let's leave the women there, to look at the rest of the color of the convention. Here is the finest of auditoriums, with



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Calvin Coolidge
President of the United States, just nominated by the Republican party to succeed himself

no pillars anywhere—slow, gentle curves in ceiling and proscenium—perfection of proportion—an auditorium so large that from that first-day lofty perch one's eyes could hardly pick out the speaker unless by grace of his shining baldness. On either side of the long tongue of platform that projected, prow-like, were massed the newspaper press, facing in—including luminaries from every part of the country and abroad. A great, deep gallery, tier on tier, is carried around three sides of the vast arena. At one side of the back stage wall a sort of huge bracket held up Sousa's glittering band. Across the middle of that wall stretched a great flag behind portraits of Lincoln, Harding, Roosevelt—the only decorations save for the magic of colored lights flooding the hall from some charmed ceiling margin—turning the whole scene rose, lavender, blue, a myriad shades as the band and a splendid hidden organ played. And through the colors, when something special was happening on the prow platform, cut the golden glare of huge spotlights ranged along the gallery.

This was the beautiful setting for the convention at which Republican women won the prize of equal representation with men in their party councils, which was granted to their Democratic sisters in 1920. ("Now the Democratic women have lost their best talking point," said a delegate.) It's quite a story, if you push back to 1920, when Mary

Garrett Hay, of New York, head of the Women's Division of the Republican Party, led the charge in the Rules Committee, asking for full equality for women. The men said an emphatic No, and offered them instead seven members on the National Executive Committee, one of them a vice-chairman. Miss Hay isn't given to surrender, and she fought to the last ditch. But the men wouldn't budge. The Democratic men did, though, and there has been a sore spot in Republican women's minds ever since. About a year ago the Republican National Committee, under Mr. Harding, conceded an "associate" woman member of the National Committee from each state. But still these women couldn't vote, and they weren't elected, but appointed—by a man. Now all that is fixed. The word "associate" is no more; and a committeeman and a committeewoman were selected, in exactly the same way, by every state delegation. We women stood and applauded in enthusiastic treble, and the men clapped very prettily.

Much credit for the victory belongs—among others—to Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, who, as that promised vice-chairman of the executive committee, has been the chief woman of the party since 1920. Now she has resigned, and filed her papers as a candidate for Congress from the district in Ohio in which Garfield and her own father ran. Her successor is Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, head of the Republican women's forces in Kentucky. Mrs. Hert got her training as an adviser and helper to her husband, Republican leader of his state, and when he died not very long ago she took up the



Witzel

Mrs. Florence C. Porter, of California, who made the first speech seconding the nomination of President Coolidge



Photo-Crafters

Mrs. Elizabeth J. Martin, of Pennsylvania. She was chairman of Permanent Organization—first time for a woman

reins—in the field of politics, in the big creosote company of which he was president, and as manager of their great Kentucky farm.

Score Number Two for Republican women was their presence on the program. Mrs. Elizabeth P. Martin, prominent in Pennsylvania politics, was chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization—the first woman ever to be chairman of a “permanent” convention committee in either major party.

From that jutting platform she capably introduced Mr. Frank Mondell as permanent chairman of the convention—a choice not at all determined by her, of course, but at least as much so as it would have been in any man’s case. Mrs. Florence C. Porter, of California, a pleasant-faced, gray-haired lady, made the first of the eight seconding speeches considered necessary to put Mr. Coolidge in nomination. A delegate in 1912, she is said to be the first woman ever to vote in such a convention.

Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead, preacher and legislator of Kansas, came fifth—a big, buoyant woman in a red dress, the first syllables of whose rich, booming voice brought a roar of delight from the audience. (Incidentally, two men had to be called down for exceeding their time, but the women snapped it short.) Women were chairmen of delegations; made motions and announced the votes; were on all convention committees except that on resolutions—and, what’s more, were heeded; were chosen to help notify the candidates of their nominations.

Eight women were named on the executive committee of the National Committee: Mrs. A. J. Hert, of Kentucky, vice-chairman; Mrs. John Gordon Battelle, of Ohio; Mrs. Jeannette Hyde, of Utah; Mrs. George Orvis, of Vermont; Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, of New York; Mrs. Barclay Warburton, of Pennsylvania; Miss Bina M. West, of Michigan; Mrs. Bryan Brooks, of Wyoming. And after the convention, when the country was divided up for the campaign, Mrs. Sabin had the honor of being put in charge of the women in the Eastern states. As a member of the sub-committee on rules, Mrs. Sabin was the lady who did much of the strategic letter-writing before the convention that clinched the fifty-fifty victory.

There was an efficient woman’s headquarters a block away from the auditorium, and as for the Cleveland women—a committee of them, headed by Mrs. Nettie Clapp, an Ohio state legislator, turned Cleveland into one big party—teas, luncheons, dinners, rides on land and lake, and endless aid and comfort. Besides, women’s organizations maintained campaign headquarters—the National League of Women Voters, the Law Enforcement Committee, the Woman’s Party; and delegations of many kinds appeared before the resolu-



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Standing, Mrs. Upton, outgoing (toward Congress), vice-chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee. Seated, Mrs. Hert, her successor

tions committee to ask for, or argue against, platform planks. Here, at these public hearings, women of pre-suffrage days used to come with their plea for votes. And it is said by those who ought to know that the manner of the men is *very, VERY* different these days. And so are the results.

Some of the women got the planks they wanted in the platform. The National League of Women Voters did (see the *Woman Voter* in this number.) The dries—men and women—won at least a clear law-enforcement affirmation. Outstanding in the platform for the interest of CITIZEN readers are: Downright endorsement of adherence to the World Court with the Harding-Hughes reservations—one of the many places where Mr. Coolidge got what he ordered, and the opposition got punishment; the law and order plank, which, though it says nothing about prohibition, is emphatic for enforcement of all law; improvement in the merit system,



Mary Dale Clarke

Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, of New York—in charge of the women in the Eastern States for the campaign

including placing prohibition under civil service; a Federal anti-lynching law; approval of a Cabinet post of Education and Relief; and mobilization of resources as well as men in war-time. It did not mention the Ku Klux Klan. Though it contained a stout conservation plank, it did not call for the restoration of the leased oil lands. Every reference to the punishment of the guilty was carefully balanced with “protection of the innocent,” and no names were named. More than one loyal Republican would have welcomed—and found more pride in—a more frank and forthright statement.

Like all political platforms, this one is long and much occupied—again like others past and no doubt to come—with self-praise for the party. What if sometime a platform were made of short, terse planks—short enough and clear enough to be read and even remembered by the voters? and with no planks that said far more than they mean, or meant far more than they say? How about an ambition like that for women?

With the World Court plank, so welcome to most women, the convention punished Senator Lodge and his adherents, as it did in other ways besides for failure to support the President. The Old Guard, politically speaking, was stood in the corner, and neither temporary chairman, permanent chairman nor the President’s nominator missed a chance to spank Congress—including not only the radicals but the others who had failed to follow-the-leader—nor to proclaim the solid truth that the President would get on better with a Congress that supported him. William M. Butler, John T. Adams’s successor as chairman of the National Committee, was running the convention—except when it broke loose over the Vice-President—and this type of discipline was clearly on the program.

Please note we said the Old Guard—politically speaking—was subdued; that is, they hadn’t much place in the operation of the convention. A new generation was in power—a group characterized sometimes as belonging more to the genus business man than to the senatorial class; but not a group any more sympathetic than the others with the left wing of the party. There was a conspicuous absence of the prominent liberals—Borah, for instance. Both the temporary chairman, Theodore Burton, and the permanent chairman, Frank Mondell, classify as all-wool conservative. And then there was, of course, Wisconsin—Wisconsin at which every speaker gave sharp thrusts, and which was a constant irritant, though it gave the convention one of its best occasions for suspense and thrill.

The Wisconsin rebellion—quite as definitely laid out in advance as the other features of the program—must be

familiar; but perhaps you will care to see it as it looked to your correspondent, descended to a seat in the arena, from which, since she had no previous experience of Wisconsin as permanent minority, it looked like a situation of deadly

menace. From beginning to end speakers dwelt on "Republicans not in name only," and always the audience sizzled "Wisconsin!" craning necks to see how Wisconsin was taking it. Wisconsin always took it sitting, except when "The

Star Spangled Banner" was run in just to see if they would stand. Smiling and firm, they sat when Mr. Mondell was introduced; when the platform was applauded; when the name of Calvin

(Continued on page 26)

The Republican Platform

By Carrie Chapman Catt

"P LATFORMS" in the familiar story of the Negro porter, "are made to get in on." Therefore, there is much "pointing with pride" at the party's achievements, and much "viewing with alarm" the nation-wrecking behavior of the rival party. The actual declarations of what the country may hope or expect from the party if put in power are what count. In a page and more of newspaper print, the real platform of Republican policies and promises is as follows:

Taxes

We demand rigid economy in government, and to this end

1. We pledge ourselves to the progressive reduction of taxes.

2. We endorse the plan of President Coolidge to call in November a national conference of Federal and state officials for the development of effective methods of lightening tax burdens and adjusting questions of taxation between national and state government.

3. We favor a nonpartisan Federal Commission to make and report upon tax systems of state and Federal government.

4. We favor the reorganization of the executive departments and bureaus, along the lines of the plan submitted by the joint committee of the Congress.

Commerce

1. We pledge continued cooperation with the states in highway building.

2. We favor construction of waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic and to the Gulf of Mexico; a survey of possibilities for utilizing flood waters of the Colorado River, and the fullest development of rivers, harbors and waterways.

3. We favor an American Merchant Marine and believe the ships now owned by the Government should be operated until placed on sound basis, when they should be sold to American citizens.

4. We favor a readjustment of railroad rate schedules.

Business

1. We stand for settlements with all debtor countries similar in

character to our debt arrangement with Great Britain.

2. We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff.

Relief for Farmers

1. "We pledge the party to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor, which was destroyed by the Democratic party through an unfortunate administration of legislation passed as war measures."

2. We promise assistance in the reorganization of the market system and "the establishment of a Federal system of organization for cooperative marketing of farm products."

3. We favor tariff protection to such agricultural products as are threatened by competition.

Labor

1. "We declare our faith in the principle of the eight-hour day."

2. We favor a better system of vocational education and of Federal free employment agencies.

3. We pledge continuation of work for rehabilitating workers in industry as conducted by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

4. "We urge the prompt consideration of the Child Labor Amendment by the Legislatures."

War

1. We pledge continued solicitude for disabled war veterans and to meet the problems of the future in a spirit of liberality.

2. In time of war the President should be empowered to draft such material resources and such service as may be required, whether in actual warfare or private activities.

3. We advocate the early enactment of such legislation and the taking of such steps by the government as will tend to promote commercial aviation.

4. There must be no further weakening of our Regular Army and we advocate appropriations sufficient to provide for the training of all members of the National Guard, the Citizens' Military Training Camps, the Reserve Officers' Training Camps and the re-

serves who may offer themselves for service. We pledge to round out and to maintain the Navy to the full strength provided by the letter of the Limitation of Armament Conference.

Peace

1. We indorse the Permanent Court of International Justice and favor adherence to this Tribunal as recommended by President Coolidge.

2. We advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas as proposed by President Coolidge.

3. The Party "reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace."

Education

We approve the creating of a Cabinet post of Education and Relief.

Prohibition

1. The Party pledges the full strength of the government for the enforcement of the Constitution and of all laws.

2. We favor placing prohibition enforcement forces within the classified Civil Service.

Miscellaneous

1. We favor an anti-lynching law.

2. We favor conservation of national resources.

3. We favor helpful influences among the foreign-born, their education in our language, ideals, etc., and we favor improvement in our naturalization laws.

Negatives

1. The time for Philippine independence has not yet come.

2. We are firmly opposed to the nationalization or government ownership of public utilities.

3. "There is no success great enough to justify the employment of women in labor under conditions which will impair their natural functions." (Perhaps a strike against the blanket amendment.)

4. "This government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the covenant of the League. On this we stand."

The Nominee With a Nickname

By Catherine I. Hackett

JUST wait till Dawes gets started!"

That succinct sentence, heard wherever political wisecracks get together at the capital, and uttered with the expression of a small boy waiting for a pie to come out of the oven, sums up the factor which the Republicans injected into the political situation when they nominated Charles Gates Dawes as running mate for President Coolidge. In many ways this Dawes is an anomaly, politically speaking. The newspapers are having a beautiful time speculating on just what will be the effect of the nomination on various groups, and almost any guess can be justified by examination of his record. But one thing is certain—the former banker, soldier, Director of the Budget—"Hell-Maria" Dawes, about whose name there is already a well-defined legend, will give the campaign a colorful aspect which the present occupant of the White House is unable to supply. Dawes will do the "broadcasting" for the Republicans as perhaps few others could have done it.

The Busy End of the Convention

It isn't often, as Will Rogers pointed out, that a national convention is held to nominate a Vice-President. Several factors combine to make the Republican choice of General Dawes an unprecedented situation. Where, ordinarily, the so-called "running mate" is chosen in the closing hours of the convention, with the delegates scanning their time-tables and leaving the real decision to a small group, interest and enthusiasm at Cleveland were concentrated on the tail of the ticket. The 1924 quest for a Vice-President led to late night caucuses in the hotels, arriving at conclusions only to be routed by the succeeding floor action in Convention Hall. The leaders planned, but the delegates chose the candidate. After trying the thin ice of progressivism, typified by Judge Kenyon and Senator Borah, the G. O. P. decided to swallow straight Republican conservatism, bait, hook and sinker—to stop worrying about the progressive or "liberal" vote, which is the X in the coming election. Hence the Coolidge-Dawes ticket. Further, it is claimed that the La Follette insurgency factor, which may throw the election into the Senate, doubles the ordinary one-to-eight chances of the vice-presidential nominee to succeed to the presidency.

The first time General Dawes—he prefers to be called plain "Mr." but the war-time appellation sticks—flashed across the political horizon in Washington was back in 1898, when he was appointed Comptroller of the Currency in



© Underwood & Underwood
Charles Gates Dawes

return for his services in delivering a solid McKinley delegation from Illinois in the campaign of 1896. Followed an interim of private activity as head of the Central Trust Company in Illinois, which he now serves as chairman of the Board of Directors, service as head of the supply division of the A. E. F. attached to General Pershing's staff in Paris, and, when he next appeared in Washington, it was to tell an august Senate Committee investigating the conduct of the war just what he thought of "pin-headed Congressmen" who quibbled over the dollars spent to put the American army over the top. That was when he won his sobriquet of "Hell-Maria" Dawes, and when the public began to notice this colorful personality.

He came back to Washington in June, 1921, as director of the newly organized budget system. Finding that Congress had appropriated \$225,000 for the first year of one of the most significant gov-

The Republican nominee for President led our series of non-partisan sketches of candidates, in the April 19th CITIZEN. Here is the first nominee to be introduced.

ernmental experiments ever authorized, he complained caustically that "Congress might as well have given me a toothpick to tunnel Pikes Peak," peeled off his coat (literally) and got to work; at the end of his year as director (he had given notice that he would serve only for that long) he showed a saving of \$582,000,000 in Government expenditures.

There are those who will always think of Dawes as they saw him on that hot July day in 1921, when he commanded to appear before him all the officials of the Government, from President Harding down, heads of bureaus, and all the persons upon whose cooperation in the budget operation depended largely the success of the new system. They gathered in the auditorium of the Interior Department, stolid and skeptical. The meeting ended in a riot of enthusiasm. A New York correspondent wrote to his paper the next day that it resembled "a political mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, a college class room, a football rally and a Salvation Army street corner gathering all rolled into one." Dawes, Budget Director, staged a one-man show which is talked about to this day. He made it plain that his word in expenditures by departments was to go over that of every other official except the President, and that he expected cooperation. He got it; partly by sheer force of a dynamic personality, partly by business acumen and ability.

His achievement as one of the Americans who made the report on reparations and restoration of Germany is too well known to need recounting. It has given him a standing in foreign circles which cannot but affect his campaign favorably. It is claimed that this report will win for the Republican party support from two groups for its author—that of the German-Americans, who feel that the report was fair to Germany—of course, not all of them, and that of the farmers, who will be told many times during the campaign that the restoration of European markets, a logical outcome of the Dawes plan, is the only sure relief for agriculture.

Lawyer, Soldier, Banker

A short chronology of General Dawes' career up to this, his fifty-ninth year, will give some idea of his abilities, qualifications and tendencies:

Born at Marietta, Ohio, of New England stock, graduated from Marietta College as a "fair second-rate civil engi-

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Mrs. Edward Franklin White
Elected first vice-president

California, Hostess

By Mrs. Raymond Brown



SMILING blue skies tempered by cool breezes, comfort and well-being at every turn, friendliness beaming from every face and a pervading good-will and hospitality made the Seventeenth Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Los Angeles, June 2-13, something never to be forgotten by those fortunate enough to attend.

Both in size and in its expression of hospitality the convention has never been surpassed. There were 2,407 delegates and 4,965 visitors, making a total of 7,372 women registered, and each one was made to feel especially welcome by California women.

Like Commencement Week

In what other country in the world could several thousand women leave their families and homes for from two to three weeks, travel some of them hundreds and some of them thousands of miles, and, dropping all personal cares and responsibilities, devote themselves for many days to the consideration of problems of public welfare? Back of it all lies a material prosperity, a freedom of action and a breadth of outlook that are literally amazing.

The convention reminded one of nothing so much as of Commencement Week, the festivities of a commencement week of middle-aged women—their beautiful frocks, the profusion of flowers with which they were loaded, the speeches, the toasting and fêting. A keen sense of humor they had, for no one enjoyed as much as they did the *mot*



Mrs. John D. Sherman, new president of
the General Federation of Women's
Clubs—in an informal moment

of a bell-boy that went the rounds which called them "the Follies of 1776."

Naturally at such a convention the delegates are not young married women with babies at home and with husbands just starting out in life. Most of them are white-haired, with children away at school or grown up and married and with husbands who have won a certain measure of success. They represent handsome homes, established position in life, but they also represent those to whom leisure means opportunity for service, and back at home are the younger women who are also active in club life but whose family cares tie them while children are little and fortunes are in the making. In every city, town and nearly every village in the country there are these club groups banded together, sometimes for amusement and personal culture, more frequently to improve conditions in the communities in which they live. Their value is being increasingly realized by business men. It has been the experience of more than one club recently that the bankers of the home city have willingly made the necessary loans for building a club house because they have recognized that the club was a force for the welfare and prosperity of the community, and it seemed good business to encourage the club's work.

These club women represent with few exceptions a cross-section of native-born, Protestant America—prosperous, conservative, patriotic. That this should be one of the organizations listed among those given in the *Dearborn Independent* as taking instructions from Moscow is so far-fetched as to be weirdly ridiculous. In spite of the absurdity of the accusation the convention took note of this misrepresentation and one of its



Mrs. Gilbert Davis, new
chairman of legislation

resolutions declared for a policy of national defense while working for universal disarmament. It sent telegrams to the conventions of the political parties petitioning them to include the World Court in their platforms.

With all their diversity of work and shades of opinion, on certain principles the convention was a unit. It spoke enthusiastically and with one voice in favor of the resolution declaring for law enforcement and opposition to any change in the Volstead Act. The greatest burst of applause of the entire convention greeted the statement by Mrs. Edward Franklin White, "We shall kill any man who runs for any office in any place in the Union on a platform of light wine and beer." That is practically the unanimous voice of American mothers.

Resolutions urging civil service for prohibition enforcement officials, for postmasters of the first, second and third classes and the transfer of the Personnel Classification Board to the Civil Service Commission passed unanimously. The convention went on record also against the Blanket Amendment of the National Woman's Party and this resolution was sent to the political conventions. It asked for a presidential commission of inquiry into Indian affairs looking toward a reorganization of the Indian Bureau.

Concerning Censorship

The subject of a federal censorship for motion pictures aroused some controversy. The resolution which passed asked that the United States Bureau of Education cooperate with the Federation in making a thorough investigation and submit recommendations as to the advisability of censorship. Meanwhile the convention voted to work for legislation to "strengthen the penal law in its relation to public morals so that the provisions for the punishment of violators will be severe enough to prevent the production, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures which are an offense to accepted standards of decency and morality."

The lack of controversy over resolu-

tions was striking. Most of the resolutions were put through without debate. Undoubtedly it is confidence in their leaders which is responsible for the willingness of club women to accept without debate resolutions on controversial subjects. As time passes and more experience is gained it is likely that those with differences of opinion will be more ready to express themselves and that future sessions of the Federation will be enlivened with more debate.

During her four years of leadership Mrs. Thomas G. Winter has won the loyal affection of club women all over the country in a remarkable degree. Not only has membership in the General Federation increased rapidly, but the beautiful headquarters in Washington in large measure is due to her efforts. As a presiding officer Mrs. Winter has few equals—with a voice adequate to any demand, a ready wit and a fine human quality tempering her business-like control of a great crowd. It is not an easy task to hold together in a cohesive body the two million club women of the country with all their shades of intellectual and political development and all their diversity of purpose, and the outgoing board has made an outstanding success of it.

The campaign of the three contestants to succeed Mrs. Winter was picturesque with teas and receptions, with music and pretty girl attendants. From the first there was little doubt that Mrs. John D. Sherman, of Colorado, would be

chosen president, as she has given the longest service to the Federation. Serving with her for the next two years will be Mrs. Edward Franklin White, of Indiana, first vice-president, and Miss Florence Dibert, of Pennsylvania, second vice-president. Mrs. Gilbert Davis, of Vermont, succeeds Mrs. White as chairman of Legislation and Mrs. William R. Alvord, of Michigan, succeeds Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, of Texas, as chairman of the Department of Citizenship. Mrs. Walter McNabb Miller, of Missouri, is the new chairman of the Department of Public Welfare. The next Biennial, in 1926, will be in Atlantic City and the Council meeting next year in Oklahoma City.

Delegates were present from the women's clubs of many foreign countries belonging to the Federation—Shanghai, China; the Paris and London American Women's Clubs; Lima, Peru, and Buenos Aires. Mrs. Ione Van Gorder represented the one American woman's club in Cuba and the Hawaiian Woman's Club presented a native entertainment of song and dancing.

As expected, California club women set a unique standard of hospitality. Thirteen hundred and fifty-five women served on local committees under the chairmanship of Mrs. Sartori. Luncheons of a thousand or twelve hundred women, as many as three at a time, were held on the dot. Flowers in profusion such as Eastern women have never seen decorated every table and meeting place,

baskets of native fruits were given to every delegate. On Saturday, June 7, pleasure tours were arranged which included sightseeing trips to the most famous points of interest, and every woman's clubhouse within a radius of a hundred miles was thrown open to visiting club women.

Let no one imagine, however, that it was a convention of luncheons, teas and receptions. There were three sessions a day, at 9:30, at 2:30 and at 8 o'clock, and every officer was in her seat at every one. Every morning at nine the Board of Directors met for business and state delegations had their meetings still earlier. No convention of men ever works half as hard as a convention of women.

The growth in interest in public affairs and in activity along political lines during the years since women have had the suffrage is marked. Music, painting and literature have their place on the program, but it is the use of the arts to enrich community life which particularly interests club women today and nearly every report and every discussion dealt with the responsibility of the woman citizen for happy, prosperous conditions in local, state and national affairs. There is a quickening sense of responsibility and an eagerness to assume the full burden of citizenship.

One could not sit through the Biennial sessions without feeling that here is a force for stability, for better conditions of health and normal living for everybody, and for peace and prosperity.

FROKEN FANNY BONN looks as though she might enjoy a good game of tennis. She looks as though she would be at home in the water swimming or in a pink bungalow apron making blueberry pies. She looks like any fresh-colored bright-eyed, alert American girl, a few years out of college—but not too many—being a most efficient secretary or the kind of a teacher the boys all like. But she is none of these things. She is at the head of one of the largest wood-exporting concerns in Finland, and she divides her time between managing sawmills and managing office details. She has to look after the men in the woods and the men in the office. She has to decide how much timber shall be cut and make sure that what is cut is sold. She has to hunt markets in France and in Germany and in every other country to which Finland can sell, which means understanding the present very involved financial affairs of European countries whose depreciated currency makes them an especially difficult market for the merchant who wants to show a credit balance on the ledger.

But Fanny Bonn does all of these

Fanny Bonn, of Finland

By Marjorie Shuler



Feminist and Timber Merchant

things and she does them with a characteristic calmness and surety. One could never imagine her losing her temper with a stubborn foreman in the woods, or losing her head over a bank-

rupt German buyer, or losing her calm, serene poise over any of the countless problems of an office.

Fanny Bonn has other outstanding characteristics, among them a very large and lively endowment of humility. She says that women have not really so much opportunity in Finland that she can feel that her own position has been gained through her own efforts. It is because of an uncle in the offing, she declares, an uncle with large timber interests, that she has her present position. But however Fanny Bonn got her opportunity, certainly she holds her job because she is capable and energetic and well poised, a trio of qualities which have much to do with the success of any woman anywhere.

She is a feminist, one of the group of Finnish women headed by the dean of women in parliament, Miss Annie Furuhjelm, who is now serving her fifth three-year-term in the Finnish Parliament, and who has been an outstanding figure in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Froken Bonn was a delegate to the last Alliance meeting in Rome, Italy, in the summer, and she is taking a prominent part in the Finnish campaign for equal pay for equal work.

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Those Oil Leases

By W. W. Tarbell

WHAT is the truth about the oil scandal? Many comment cynically on the futility of the whole exposé. Others admit that the long columns of small type in the newspapers, the contradictory reports in the magazines, were too bewildering—and they gave it up. To meet some of these doubts we asked Mr. W. W. Tarbell, an independent oil operator, who testified helpfully before the Walsh committee, to explain for CITIZEN readers his opinion, not of the political situation, but of the leases in their relation to conservation. Technical as well as controversial questions are involved, and this is one man's opinion; the opinion of a man who has followed oil all his life, from building pipe lines to establishing markets here and abroad.

The political and personal details have been recorded in the CITIZEN's news columns, but it may be of value to glance at the following chronology of the whole situation before reading the article. Needless to say, the CITIZEN stands for conservation of the nation's resources.

THE Naval Oil Reserves were set aside by Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson for the use of the Navy at some future time of need.

The Act of June 4, 1920, directed the Secretary of the Navy to "conserve, develop and operate" the Reserves, by lease or otherwise, and to handle the oil for the benefit of the United States. Secretary Daniels asked for this authority for the protection of the navy's oil and, having got it, made two small leases.

An executive order of the President, May 31, 1921, transferred the Reserves from the Department of the Navy to that of the Interior. This was a transfer disapproved by important Navy engineers. The order was signed by the President, by Secretaries Fall and Denby.

Teapot Dome, Wyoming, was secretly leased by Secretary Fall to the Mammoth Oil Company (Harry F. Sinclair, president) on April 12, 1922. Later in April Senators Kendrick and La Follette instigated an investigation.

Elk Hills, California, was leased to Edward L. Doheny by Secretary Fall, December, 1922. Doheny later testified that he expected to make a profit of \$100,000,000 out of it.

Secretary Fall left the Cabinet March 4, 1923, having resigned in January.

The oil leases flared up into a scandal when Secretary Fall showed evidences of sudden prosperity, after being in financial stress, and the story of the \$100,000 loan came out—a loan which

he finally admitted was made to him by Doheny. Bribery has not been proved; misrepresentation has.

Secretary of the Navy Denby resigned in February, under pressure of criticism of his signing the transfer order.

Suit for the recovery by the Government of its leased lands has been instituted, and a Senate Committee, with Senator Walsh as prosecutor, for many weeks conducted an inquiry into the situation. The majority report of that committee was made public (but not acted on) just as Congress closed, and the minority report has not been made. The chief claims are: The executive order of May, 1921, was illegal, and ran counter to the well-understood policy of Congress. The \$100,000 loan to Fall was "reprehensible." Secret leasing was condemned, and so was the failure to consult Admiral Griffin, chief of the Bureau of Engineering, about the transfer of the leases from the Navy to the Interior. On the claim that leasing was necessary to prevent loss by drainage, the report says (referring to Elk Hills) that "it is a question of the utmost gravity whether . . . it would not be the wiser policy to suffer some depletion of the reserves through drainage than to realize but 6 per cent of their contents, two-thirds of which is paid out for containers in which to store the other one-third," and "your committee cannot believe that a lease under which the government receives 6 per cent of the oil in the ground and the lessee gets 94, can possibly be just to the former."—EDITOR'S NOTE.



HERE is apparently a tendency on the part of the general public to believe that the Senate Committee's investigation of the naval oil leases has amounted to but little, except political debate and scandal. Further, that it is all over; that no one has been proven at fault, and that the healthy thing to do is to forget it. That there has been an effort to whitewash the findings by propaganda and a suppression of the evidence by some journals is unquestionable. Probably the leaders of the investigation were themselves worn out and tired with the continuous wrangling and petty testimony produced, and no doubt filled with nausea and glad to retire.

A diseased bone cannot be healed with skin lotions, and if there is disease in

the bones of the naval leases, the wise thing to do is to give it the major treatment now, and cure it. No body, not even a political one, can live long without being clean. The investigation seems to have developed some uncleanness in our body politic, and some in oil. A cold analysis indicates a departure by the former from its safe course, both in the lease of the Teapot Dome, or Reserve No. 3 in Wyoming, to the Mammoth Oil Company (Harry F. Sinclair, president), and that of Reserve No. 1, in California (known as Elk Hills), to the Pan American Oil Company—Edwin L. Doheny's, and No. 2 in California to various other interests.

It will be necessary, for this discussion, to lay aside the question of policy in making the leases, as space prohibits it. In doing so, it might be tersely put that the government's policy, not alone in oil, but in all things, seems to be to make conservation a matter of conversation only. Beyond the policy as applied to the leases, we have their *legality* to consider, and besides this, legal or illegal, their *virtues* and their *vices*.

It appears, then, that the leases were granted illegally, first in that they were not subject to "competitive bidding," and, second, in that they covered more acreage than was necessary for protection of the lands from drainage by others. Under the second consideration, we have, as applied to both the contracts, the "graded" royalty basis, which, as we shall see, classifies as a "vice," and we seem to have, in the California reserve, a straight, businesslike agreement, while in the Teapot Dome case we have a loose and unfair one.

As to the legality of the leases: The general Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, which was the result of many years of experience and study, contains, among the features intended to safeguard the government's interests, this clause: "That all unappropriated deposits of oil or gas situate within the known geological structure of a producing oil or gas field—may be leased by the Secretary of the Interior to the highest responsible bidder by *competitive bidding*."

None of the leases we are discussing was granted by competitive bidding. To illustrate, by contrast, what this means—the Department of the Interior, acting as guardian for the Osage Indians in Oklahoma, has received as high as \$10,000 per acre, or \$1,600,000 for a quarter section of 160 acres, in open bidding, and has further so conducted the guid-

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Editorially Speaking

The Feminine Influence at Cleveland

SOME one from the jocular press referred to the Republican Convention at its beginning as a "Chautauqua"—another compared it to a Sunday school. Probably the intention was to indicate the regular routine and peaceful, non-controversial atmosphere that were promised. But there is another implication, which developed in press and hotel-corridor comment. That was the effect of women, in large numbers. People who have been at conventions of the past say that women have affected these big meetings much as they have affected polling places—made them cleaner and softer-spoken, and generally tidied them up.

Another reflection spilling over from our impressions of the convention was that of the general good looks of the women, and their attractive and suitable clothing. If any man still harbors the idea that the woman with political interests is queer or frumpy, a good look at the women in Cleveland would have cured him. And he could take a second treatment from the Democratic women now arriving in New York. Besides good-looking clothes, the high proportion of youth among the delegates at Cleveland was striking. The youngest was only twenty-one, and there were scores who at least looked under thirty. Youthful enthusiasm is a fine quality to add to mature experience in politics-for-women.



Longer (and Calmer) Terms

Fifth in a Series of Articles by Mrs. Catt on Interferences With Good Government.

A SET of political reforms, long ago proposed and slowly gaining advocates through the years, has received a tremendous impetus through the discussions aroused by the senatorial investigations. These proposals have now reached a stage when the people of the country should make so united and persistent a demand that they will be established in law. All are constitutional changes and will require a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the legislatures of the country.

1. Give the President of this nation a term of six years and limit every President to one term.

2. Give members of Congress a three years' term instead of two, thus harmonizing their election with that of the President.

3. Give the Senate its present six years' term, but elect half every third year.

4. Call the new Congress elected in November elections to meet December 1, or at least not later than January 1, thus eliminating the so-called "lame duck" session. At present men rejected in November go on legislating till the following March, and may contribute to the very legislation upon which, as an issue, they were defeated.

5. While amending the Constitution to secure these obviously needed changes, it would be well also to provide a more modern method of electing the President and a more definite manner of succession in case death summons both President and Vice-President.

The advantages to be gained by these changes must be clear to the most superficial observer:

1. The burdensome cost of elections would be reduced because there would be fewer of them.

2. The disturbances of trade, markets and money, which

accompany all national elections, would not occur so often.

3. Any term is too long for an incompetent official and too short for an extraordinarily good one. This average is at least as good as the present and gives M. C.'s more time to show their good or bad qualities.

4. The greatest advantage in these changes lies in the removal or modification of the chief causes which now produce the quadrennial battle in Washington between parties, between candidates, between the President and the Congress, between the Senate and the House.

It is an unwritten rule that the President's party shall give him a nomination to succeed himself unless it wishes to repudiate his administration. The last year of each Congress becomes a never failing partisan conflict, but the session preceding the presidential election is a sad proof that it is still a long, long trail to perfect functioning of democracy.

Each member of the House, one-third of the Senate and the President are never allowed to forget that a critical constituency at home may turn the Ins out and the Outs in at the coming election. Naturally, all the Ins want to stay in and all the Outs want to get in. Elections, at best, are rasping to nerves and tempers of candidates. A biennial election of Congress keeps a representative in perpetual campaign. By patronage, favors, speech-making visits to his district, he builds and repairs his fences. This part of his daily occupation often absorbs so much physical strength, mental anxiety and time, that he approaches the actual duties he came to Washington to perform with jaded faculties. A three years' term would not cure these ills, but it would tremendously modify them.

The President has a campaign manager who moves among the voters and learns what strategy will tend to bring in votes. The candidates of the Outs have their managers too, and they are trying to find what the people want. So it comes about that the Outs try to throw upon the Ins the onus of defeating popular legislation and of passing unpopular legislation. They attempt to discredit and embarrass the President. The Ins reverse the order. Each side accuses the other of insincerity in every action taken. Each chides the other with "playing politics" while declaring the purity and high-mindedness of their own motives.

Take the bonus for example. The Secretary of the Treasury and the President announced that there could be no bonus and a reduction of taxation. The Congress votes both bonus and reduction. The President vetoes the bonus. The House and the Senate promptly pass the bonus by the two-thirds majority over the veto. Then the pro-bonus advocates accuse the President of "playing politics" by throwing responsibility for no tax reduction upon Democrats who quite largely supported the bonus. The anti-bonus supporters accuse both Houses of Congress, especially the Democrats, of throwing responsibility for no tax reduction upon the President. Now they are both proved wrong by the passage of a tax-reduction bill, and the people at home are bewildered, not knowing whether there will be enough money to pay the bonus or whether the taxes will have to be raised next year.

What can the home folks know of the real motives behind these peculiar developments? Who has played politics and who has served conscientious understanding? No one can answer; and the voter finds himself entangled in a mystery that produces abject helplessness of mind. By such tactics all altruism and idealism are effectually squeezed out of politics.

With a limit of one term, the President is relieved from temptation and the aim of discrediting him is absolutely removed. Were such a change to be effected, the President elected in 1928 would go in for a six years' term.

These remedies are not complete in themselves, but when accompanied by the abolition of patronage and the establishment of a responsible Cabinet, the combination would prove nearly a cure-all for our present-day Washington turmoils. There would still remain the constant friction between President and Senate, which has tormented the nation since the days of Washington. There are those who would reduce Congress to one House and do away with the Senate entirely. Others believe there may be a less radical remedy. There would also remain the unfortunate and often recurring possibility of the President and a majority of Congress representing opposing parties.

When a doctor is called to a patient suffering from a combination of maladies, he applies his treatment to those most certain to be correctly diagnosed, and when those are cured he attacks the next and so proceeds until the patient is fully recovered. Thus our nation may sensibly proceed with our national political problems. Our machinery is defective. It's a bit out of date, the cogs have grown rusty and some parts are wholly outworn.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



An Object Lesson in Law Enforcement

THE admitted "dryness" of the Cleveland Convention is a demonstration that should give pause to the people who claim the law can't be enforced. We are in no position to say that there was no liquor anywhere, but the use of one's senses of sight and smell produced no evidence of prohibition flouted; the delegates told tales of dinners with toasts drunk in water; and the more official accounts were of bootlegging halted in all directions, and rigid enforcement. Now New York is trying it. Not yet as dry as Cleveland, they say, but a real effort is being made. If New York is approximately dry for ten days, it will be a master demonstration. What *can* be done for a few days, can be done longer.

Mrs. Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, with the Volstead law enforcement as her special concern, has lately been testifying before the Senate Daugherty Investigating Committee, and in her testimony has stressed again the point so often emphasized in the CITIZEN: "The real trouble," she said, "is the influence of politicians through some Senator or Congressman in aiding or blocking an agent's appointment." If enforcement, with special insistence, is possible now, how much more possible it would be under civil service provisions. This the Republican platform calls for, with reservations. If the Democratic does as well or better, and they both mean what they say, there's hope.



Does She Lean on Uncle Sam?

IN a recent *Atlantic Monthly*, George Madden Martin accuses the newly enfranchised woman of being "paternalistic by nature and habit," and says that as, in the past, woman has looked to some man to provide for her wants, so today she is looking to Uncle Sam, in the shape of the Federal Government, to do for her things which she ought to do for herself through her local government. As evidence, she quotes the WOMAN CITIZEN's account of the Women's Joint Legislative Committee and the program they have sponsored, with which CITIZEN readers are familiar. While she approves in themselves of such things as infancy and maternity care and the protection of our forests, she would have this care given by the states individually, and not by Congress.

Is it true that such things should be handled by each community for itself? It seems rather to the WOMAN CITIZEN that our forests, whether in Oregon or in North Carolina, are a national heritage, that they are the invaluable birthright of us all, whether we live in New York, Illinois, or

Florida. Also, why spend time and money trying to persuade forty-eight different state legislatures to preserve them when action by the Federal Government will accomplish the task? In the same way, the effects of feebleness and disease in the children of one state do not stay there, but move irresistibly across the continent. Moreover, should not strong, rich and progressive states share the burden of raising the standards of health in the entire country?

George Madden Martin gives a picturesque variation of the familiar cry of States' Rights, but instead of women being "paternalistic holdovers," as she calls them, we believe the action advocated by our organized women is due to the instinct of thrift so deeply ingrained in the experience of housekeepers and mothers—to thrift and desire for efficiency.



States' Rights as a Bugaboo

THIS cry of States' Rights is being used on many sides these days, from Republicans and Democrats alike (except that Republicans usually talk of "paternalism"), and women especially are being accused of fostering centralization of government and encouraging large additions to the bureaucracy in Washington. The accusation usually centers on the Sheppard-Towner law.

It is interesting to know just how much this law has added both to Federal taxes and to the number of Government employees. According to recent figures, the exact addition made to the Children's Bureau because of the Sheppard-Towner law is three doctors, one nurse, an auditor of accounts, and two clerks—seven employees. The salary of the chief of the Children's Bureau has not been increased. The 1922 appropriation was \$317,674.84; that of 1923, \$722,852.78. The appropriation for 1924 was \$1,240,000, of which to date \$834,881.11 has been matched by the states. In addition, \$50,000 is allowed the Children's Bureau this year for administrative purposes.

The CITIZEN ventures to assert that there is no department of government that is handled as thriftily or where so small a sum of money is expended with such a gain to so many people. Instead of increasing centralized government women voters seem to have introduced a new kind of cooperation between the states and the Federal Government. Woman's thrift sees the place of the National Government is not to build up a huge bureau to do the work for the states, and thus encourage laziness and incompetence locally, but to use the best and most expert service of the country to set standards, and then to encourage the states to adopt and enforce, not the standards of the poorest and the weakest, but of the most progressive and efficient. The States' Rights doctrine is convenient if one is opposed to a measure. It should not become a bugaboo to intelligent people.



A NATIONAL political convention rubs in on us how little part we have in choosing our national rulers. We everyday citizens get in at the two far ends. One end—for sure, since every citizen has the right to vote. At the other—the choice of delegates—our degree of representation varies. Those who come from states where a convention chooses the delegates can't claim any influence. Those who vote for their delegates, and express presidential preferences as well (even though these primaries do not yet wholly satisfy), have the best of it.

In between these two far ends lies not only the action of the delegates, who may or may not be our representatives, but the dominance of a central political organization, and the complex business influences that are brought to bear on it. The big moral is, of course—not merely everybody voting, important though that is, but a many-sided insistence on making our process of election more truly representative.

What the American Woman Thinks

"A Policewoman's Life"—

By Valeria H. Parker

*Director, Department of Protective Measures,
American Social Hygiene Association*

THE trend of recent public guardianship activities, just as that of public health programs, has been toward prevention. It is better in every way to keep a man well rather than to attempt to cure him when he gets sick. Similarly it is better—socially, morally, and economically—to prevent delinquency rather than to deal with its subjects. Both in medical and police circles it still is necessary to devote a large portion of the time and energy of our health and safety forces to salvage work, but the newer programs recognize more and more the value of preventive measures.

The rapid rise of the policewoman is gratifying evidence of her usefulness in the welfare efforts, as distinguished from the detective and arresting activities, of police departments. Though the policewoman movement is comparatively in its infancy, it already has been recognized as a strong constructive factor in the work of protecting society, not through the bringing of offenders to justice so much as through the adjustment of conditions which promote delinquency and criminality. The policewoman has a keen realization that "the way of the transgressor is hard," but her aim is to keep youth from seeking and finding that way. Through her sympathetic interest and understanding the right kind of policewoman is usually able to do this much more effectively than can her male co-worker.

Much of the lack of success which has been encountered in some cities is due largely to a complete misunderstanding of the policewoman's logical duties, and a failure to provide adequate training for her, or to secure the right type of candidates for the positions. Raymond B. Fosdick, well known as an authority on police systems and methods, tells in this connection of his visit to one city where "the Chief of Police, in great bewilderment, was trying to teach his six new policewomen to shoot pistols—without great success—and to learn the intricacies of handling an eighteen-inch club. . . . When these accomplishments were finally acquired he intended to place the women on beats in precincts

'where conditions were not too rough'." This incident occurred ten years ago, but there are still a number of commissioners and chiefs who hold somewhat similar beliefs.

It is recorded that, in the year 1903, Stuttgart, Germany, appointed a policewoman. Not until seven years later, however, does one appear in the United States—Los Angeles, in 1910, providing a policewoman to aid in safeguarding her public. Protective officers, however, were appointed in 1903 in Portland, Oregon. Since that date the rapid growth of the movement is indicated by



the fact that approximately three hundred municipalities in this country now employ women in the field of public protection.

The problem of securing adequate personnel has been a most perplexing one. In some communities the police officials have selected their policewomen solely from the ranks of the widows of policemen and firemen. Their intentions probably are most laudable, but many persons interested in public welfare have not hesitated to voice their disapproval of this method for qualifying candidates. Unless the woman selected has other qualities which tend to make her capable for the work it seems hardly fair, either to her or to the public, to assume that because her deceased husband happened to be a worthy and well-qualified public servant she will acceptably carry on the difficult and complicated task which is the policewoman's.

It would not be possible, in a short article, to enumerate all the duties of policewomen, but the following may be taken as fair examples:

1. To investigate, aid and, when necessary, make arrests in cases in which minors or women are concerned as victims or offenders. (Investigations of court cases are, however, to be made only where probation officers do not exist.)

2. To prepare evidence, interview witnesses and to present cases in court, as well as to attend court with women and children involved in cases except where juvenile court officers are separately appointed.

3. To investigate cases of missing or runaway women or minors.

4. To patrol special localities frequented by young people.

5. To supervise places of commercial amusement.

6. To secure voluntary medical examinations and bring about mental examinations wherever indicated.

7. To render first aid in accidents or attempted suicides.

8. To maintain law and order wherever laws or ordinances are found to be broken, making arrests when necessary.

Although the duties of policewomen have been largely undefined and vague up to date, there is a general agreement among those close to the work that the best results are obtainable by organizing the women of a given police department in a single unit—a women's bureau or division—under the direction of a woman responsible directly to the chief of police. The woman in charge should be given a rank commensurate with the importance of her responsibilities. A questionnaire sent out in 1920 elicited responses from fifty-six cities having women police and it was learned that the policewomen in these municipalities were responsible to nineteen different authorities.

Tribute to the value and growing importance of the movement is found in the increasing attention given to it by universities and schools of social work. Among these are the University of California, the Boston School for Public Service, and George Washington University, Washington, D. C., which have planned special courses for women in the ranks. A comprehensive course for the training of policewomen executives has been inaugurated in the New York School of Social Work. Here students receive their vocational training in connection with their full diploma from the School of Social Work. A limited number of scholarships for this course have been offered in the hope that women of high educational and social standards may enter the course and qualify to meet the increasing demand for executives fitted to establish women's bureaus in the police departments of large cities.

The American Social Hygiene Association, a national voluntary organization whose program includes protective measures against sex delinquency, and

law enforcement to deal with prostitution and other forms of illicit sex relationship, has cooperated in establishing most of the above courses. Vassar and other colleges have invited lecturers from the Association to summarize for them the salient points in the police-

woman's work and the distinct interest manifested by many of the students in these lectures points to an increased attendance at the institutions specializing in this field.

For the woman who seeks a career of service, who is willing to give the neces-

sary time for adequate preparation, who realizes the difficulties confronting her but also appreciates the many opportunities for benefiting society as a whole, few openings exist which offer greater promise than that of the policewoman executive.

A Defense of the Blanket Amendment

By Anna Harbottle Whittic

The CITIZEN's policy is to present both sides of important questions. So here is an article on the "other side" of the blanket amendment, to which the CITIZEN is opposed. Mrs. Whittic is vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party, in New York, and also a member of the League of Women Voters.

ELBERT HUBBARD has said "There is no devil but fear." Certainly fear is bedeviling the minds of industrial women's welfare societies and the National Woman's Party today.

It is all about the Lucretia Mott Equal Rights Amendment: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

The "welfarers" fear that the amendment will wipe out the long labor of their hands. The Woman's Party fears that insistence on industrial legislation for women only will handicap women in competing with men in earning a livelihood.

An adjustment of industrial policies, then, is the thing.

Unquestionably both forces seek earnestly to promote the interests of women in industry. One protects on a health-and-morals basis—the eight-hour day, forty-eight-hour week, limited night work, no overtime—all for women only. The other protects the woman's right to work, when and where she can find work, and opposes restrictions upon the hours she may offer to her employer, while her male competitors are not so restricted.

Such a policy the Woman's Party believes embodies industrial justice. Such a policy is in keeping with our constitutional guarantee of the right of all free, intelligent adults to contract their labor and services.

No part of the equality program of the Woman's Party is believed to be so important and so far reaching in its effect as the demand for industrial equality.

The Woman's Party platform on this subject reads: "Women shall no longer be barred from any occupation, but every occupation open to men shall be open to women, and any restrictions upon the hours, conditions and remuneration of labor shall apply alike to both sexes."

It is desired that the reader shall understand at once that the Woman's Party does not oppose an industrial welfare program for women. It opposes

the limiting of those benefits to one sex only, and attempts by amending such proposals to extend the advantages to all workers and give all equal opportunity as competitive elements in the labor world. Any arbitrary restrictions upon one group plainly places that group at a disadvantage in the general struggle to make a living. Females thus restricted are not free. They may not direct their own lives.

The Woman's Party is not a labor organization and does not presume to say what is the best method of improving labor conditions—whether by organization, by legislation, or by reconstructing the form of our society. It simply demands that any methods adopted shall not include discriminations based on sex.

There is always the question, however, as to whether industrial improvements

stacles have been laid in her path. The National Consumers' League came to the rescue and offered its assistance during her first difficult steps in the industrial domain. The Women's Trade Union League has followed to safeguard her general welfare.

The war, too, made its vast contribution and today women are enjoying that complete mastering of industry and commerce which their own competitive efforts have merited.

The proof of this statement is in the census. In 1920 women were gainfully employed in all but thirty-three of the occupations in which persons were engaged in the United States. Some women, apparently, are equal to the exactions of practically all lines of occupation or profession.

Now what is the attitude of labor to this assumed usurpation? Read the report of the last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Why, it isn't usurpation at all. There is room in the big expanded commercialism of today for all. Obstruction of women is no longer tenable. In fact, business cannot be conducted at its present scale without women. They are in the trades to stay. But lest they underbid males in the labor market, labor will promote trade organizations among them. Labor will consider taking them into their own unions on common terms. "Labor" isn't masculine, after all.

Here set up the Angel of Hope in place of the Devil of Fear.

A solution of the problem of industrial equality appears at hand. May the women themselves be quick to open the door of opportunity when the invitation comes.

Doctor Alice Hamilton in an article in a recent issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN intimates that women cannot be expected to rise to such an opportunity, that the young seek early relief (?) in marriage and the old are bedrugged with the burden of a double job. If and when the giant force of organized labor shall espouse the woman workers' cause (even though in self-defense) that will be no time for pessimism—industrial

(Continued on page 29)



may better be furthered by legislation or by trade agreements. Men have directed their efforts and improved their working conditions by the latter method. Laws, also, have been enacted by three states, establishing for persons a prescribed working day, and such legislation for public employees is very general.

It is plainly the aim of the "welfare" societies to secure for women by legislation what men have secured by union agreements.

Why do not women organize, then? you ask. Ah, there's the rub! Labor in the past has discouraged their organization. Labor has flaunted woman labor as "scab." A woman at the bench has meant a man displaced. Heavy ob-

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

WOMEN'S legislative wants were better heeded than those of any other group by the first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress, generally criticized as being somewhat unproductive.

The National League particularly fared well at the hands of the Congress, which devoted most of six months of its activities to investigations, rather than to enactment of legislation. Out of its legislative program, the League saw progressed the World Court proposal, the instrument of United States' active participation in international affairs on a parity with others of the major nations. After months of what seemed a determined effort to pigeonhole the World Court proposal in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, public opinion, voiced largely by women, is credited with bringing the proposal before the Senate. In hearings covering three days and conducted by a sub-committee, the League took an active part in advocating favorable disposition of the plan proposed by President Harding with reservations by Secretary Hughes and reapproved by President Coolidge. While the League did not approve the compromise World Court plan, submitted by Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania on May 22, it nevertheless feels that in the committee action advocates of American entry formally into international affairs have made a decided gain.

Another of the principal legislative proposals actively sponsored and fought for, over a period of years, by the League, ultimately proved fruitful in passage of the Child Labor Amendment, which now needs only ratification by two-thirds of the states to insure a way toward a lasting protective barrier against the exploitation of children in industry. While the amendment of itself does not regulate, limit or prohibit child labor, it authorizes, upon ratification, Congressional action beyond the possibility of another adverse action by the United States Supreme Court. Under the amendment, state powers are unimpaired except to the extent that the operation of state laws pertaining to child labor will be suspended, that Federal legislation may supersede. Though there has been some confusion over possible Congressional inhibition of the labor of all persons under eighteen, the consensus is that there is little ground for this belief. It is pointed out that no state has ever enacted laws which arbitrarily prohibit the labor of all persons up to the age of eighteen. Further, the real intent of the proposed amendment is to enable Congress to adopt minimum prohibitory standards of child labor. The states

retain the right to make Federal requirements amenable to their respective necessities. The House approved the amendment on April 26 by a vote of 297 to 69; the Senate on June 2 by a vote of 61 to 23, five more than the necessary two-thirds. The amendment must now be ratified by thirty-six states.

The League gained another legislative triumph in the passage of a bill (S. 790) providing a Federal prison for women. In the presence of Representative Foster, of Ohio, and Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant United States Attorney General, President Coolidge affixed his signature to this bill on June 7. The measure, which was introduced by Senator Curtis, of Kansas, was passed by the Senate on January 9. Republican and Democratic strategists in the House were prevailed upon, in the dying days of the Congress, to place the Federal prison bill on the unanimous-consent calendar, a move which made possible its passage in the hubbub of closing, when otherwise it might have been legislatively neglected.

State institutions to which women convicted in Federal courts were sentenced and apportioned by states are increasingly unable adequately to accommodate the number so apportioned. It was this condition, demanding remedy, which led to initiation of the proposal for a separate institution. The law empowers the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Labor to select a site for the prison which will be built and maintained by the Federal government.

Partial success met the endeavors of the League to have Congress enact the Lehlbach bill, abolishing the Personnel Classification Board and transferring its powers to the Civil Service Commission. This bill passed the House on May 8 by a vote of 172 to 26, but failed of favorable consideration in the Senate. It "died" on the calendar, after being reported to the Senate on May 10 by Senator Stanfield, chairman of the Senate Civil Service Committee.

The Sterling-Reed bill to create a Federal department of education with its head a member of the Cabinet "died" in the Senate and House Education Committees. Hearings were conducted by the House Education Committee for almost three months, the final hearing taking place four days before adjournment.

No action can be reported on the Capper-Bacon bill providing aid to the states for the physical education of children, the Jones amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia, and the Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes Act, increasing appropriations for home economics. These measures also "died" in committee.—
ANNE WILLIAMS

California at Work

THE California League at its third annual convention, held in Los Angeles, May 23, decided to support these four legislative measures at the session of 1925: adequate support of public education; increased appropriation for the Bureau of Child Hygiene; ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and the proper care of women delinquents. The fifth measure permitted for endorsement was left to the choice of the executive board at a later date.

Reaffirming the National League's stand for law enforcement, the California League endorsed its proposal to study Indian welfare and the the World Court as proposed by President Harding, and urged upon President Coolidge the calling of another disarmament conference. Miss Marion

Delany was reelected president of the state League. The other two officers, Mrs. Mollie Bloom Flagg, of Lancaster, recording secretary, and Mrs. Arthur S. Heineman, treasurer (president of the Southern California section), were returned to office. A new committee, that of library service, with Mrs. E. Steffens Suggett, of San Francisco, as chairman, was appointed.

A banquet was attended by several hundred guests in the new Friday Morning Clubhouse. Will C. Wood, state superintendent of public instruction, came from Sacramento to speak on adult education and its relation to citizenship. Miss Ethel Richardson, chairman of education for the League, and Mrs. Frank A. Gibson, formerly of the State Housing and Immigration Commission, directed the program.

An institute of government and politics was held in San Francisco June 23-27, under the direction of the California League, the University of California summer session, Stanford University summer session and the state department of education co-operating. Among the speakers were Chester H. Rowell, A. H. Holcombe, professor of government, Harvard University; Stuart A. Queen, professor of sociology, University of Kansas; Edwin Angell Cottrell, professor of political science, Stanford University; M. Z. Lack, tax expert State Board of Equalization, and Robert Treat Crane, professor of political science, University of Michigan.

The Second Region Conference

IF getting out the vote proves to be as engrossing as the discussion of it was at the conference of the second region held at Miss Ely's home, May 28, the old-time politician is due for a shock next November 4. The second conference of the second region was a great success. There were 125 women present, seventy of whom hold local offices in the League, six were staff workers, sixteen members of state boards and four from the national board. Some fourteen cities from Buffalo to Baltimore, Pittsburgh to New York, and twenty-one towns were represented. Pennsylvania had the largest delegation, with sixty-three present, but even Delaware, the smallest of the states, had sixteen, and West Virginia, from outside the region, was represented by the executive secretary of the Wheeling League.

There was a delightful informality about the whole meeting, and if one were to try to weigh the exact value of such a conference it would be leaving out one of the principal assets if one were to record only an account of the program. The friendliness that characterized it, the sense of co-operation, the opportunity it offered a large number of local officers, who are not always able to attend the national convention, to meet people from outside their own states, and to talk over League problems with the officers of the National League are assets that one can hardly rate too highly.

The program was limited to three subjects: "Membership," led by Miss Ely; "Getting Out the Vote," with Mrs. Cunningham presiding, and a report on the status of the World Court and the work of our Department on International Co-operation to Prevent War, by Miss Morgan. Miss Ludington carried out her threat of introducing finance into every program, with the result that familiarity is breeding the usual consequence, and half our terror of the word is melting away.

Everyone talked. It was a truly everywoman's conference. Membership became the most thrilling of topics, with ramifications that led into every field of League work. How cheering to hear that a finance campaign helps in memberships, that service rendered the community in the form of questionnaires, candidates' meetings, etc., results in memberships, and that membership drives themselves are useful because they train in team work! Then, above everything else, publicity was emphasized. Miss Mills, chairman of publicity of West Chester County, told of the work of her committee of twelve women, in the different towns of the county, who each week determine the publicity program and see that "releases" get to all the papers every Monday morning. She urged that we

systematize our publicity, for publicity would mean membership. It was a most delightful morning. Membership became not an end in itself but the by-product of service, and then we were bidden not to hide our light in a bushel but to advertise it to the world. To add to the general joy of the occasion, the sun came out, luncheon was held on the lawn, and newspaper men came and took our pictures for the sake of publicity.

In the afternoon Mrs. Cunningham led the discussion on getting out the vote, which means convincing nearly half of the adults in the United States that a republican form of government cannot be successful without the intelligent co-operation of the individual. True to our all-party policy, committee women of both parties, members of the League, took active part in the discussion. A note of warning of the absolute necessity that our workers maintain a complete impartiality when working for the League was struck. Mrs. Ingalls, of New Jersey, urged that we go to every organization of women, explain our program and the necessity for this campaign, and that we make every possible effort to supply them with speakers.

During the morning we decided that membership is dependent on service; in the afternoon Mrs. Cunningham pointed the way to our next big job, and then Miss Morgan gave us a bird's-eye view of one of our departments at work in Washington, pushing that part of our program which calls for the entrance of the United States into the World Court. I am sure that those who heard Miss Morgan speak of the work of our committee in Washington this winter left the conference with the feeling that of course we must give to other women the chance to share in this work, that membership in the League of Women Voters is a distinction and an opportunity. I am sure, too, that she gave us an inspiration that however big the task of getting out the vote may seem, it is sure of success in the hands of an organization so dauntless in spirit and so shrewd in judgment as the League has proved itself in working for the great cause of International Co-operation to Prevent War. The conference closed with a unanimous vote to have another in the fall.

FLORENCE HARRISON.

League Planks at Conventions

THE National League proved itself a forceful adjunct to the body politic at Cleveland during the Republican national convention. The forcefulness of the League is best illustrated by the fact that the gist of every one of its suggested planks was included in the Republican platform. The League conducted its convention work from headquarters in the Hollenden Hotel, and members of the Cleveland and Ohio Leagues assisted national representatives in keeping open house.

The official delegation included Miss Julia Lathrop, of Chicago, first vice-president; Mrs. Ann Webster, of New Mexico, social hygiene chairman; Miss Ruth Morgan, of New York, third vice-president; Miss Gladys Pyle, assistant secretary of state of South Dakota; Mrs. James W. Morrisson, of Chicago; Mrs. Sumner T. McKnight, of Minneapolis, and Mrs. Craig Miller, president of the Michigan League and an alternate-at-large to the convention. They presented the League's planks and argued for them before the convention resolutions committee.

One of the memorable events for League members was a luncheon given by the Cleveland League, June 9, when more than 700 women, including many convention delegates and alternates, were guests. At the speakers' table were Miss Belle Sherwin, Miss Lathrop, Miss Morgan, Miss Elizabeth Hauser, Mrs. Morrisson, Miss Pyle, Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Webster, Mrs. McKnight, Miss Gertrude Ely and Miss Sybil Burton, president of the Ohio League. Mrs. Anderson C. Waid, chairman of the Cleveland League, presided.

At this writing, little can be reported of League work at the Democratic convention beyond the statement that headquarters were maintained at the Waldorf-Astoria, the same

planks presented to the Republican Party were given to the Democratic platform-builders, and a special delegation, headed by Mrs. Solon Jacobs, of Alabama, former vice-president and a one-time member of the Democratic National Committee, pleaded for the League's planks. A more detailed account will be given in the next issue.—ANNE WILLIAMS.

Leagues and League Work

BEFORE registration season opened, the Minneapolis League made a survey of a number of residence districts in their city, and, finding too many women ready with excuses for neglect of registration, actually loaded a registration booth on a bright green motor truck and took it to every housewife's door. Miss Emily Child and Mrs. J. T. Needle were the authorized registration clerks in charge of the traveling booth, and a League detachment went along to ring doorbells and tell every woman the booth was waiting at her door. The oldest voter registered by the League squadron was Mrs. Sarah Woolford, who will vote at the age of 97 for the first time. One hundred thousand circulars giving registration information were distributed through public and private school children and settlement houses.

THE Rockland County (New York) League held a most successful afternoon school of politics on June 5 at the home of Mrs. Stephen Smith in Spring Valley. The county leader, Mrs. Paul Clerke, presided and the speakers were the state senator from Rockland and Richmond counties, the Rockland assemblyman, the superintendent of Spring Valley schools and Mrs. Frank Bethel, chairman of the state League's Committee on Citizenship Training. The Rockland League is already working with the county vice-chairmen of both major political parties in preparation for a great get-out-the-vote campaign in the fall, using the plan prepared by the state League.

MRS. J. M. WALLACE, of the Atlanta (Georgia) League, brought in seventy new members in the recent membership drive and won the prize, a little silver loving cup, offered for the largest score made by an individual. As captain of the squad which collectively brought in the largest number of new members, Mrs. R. L. Turman won the large loving cup, which remains the property of the Atlanta League and will be competed for each year. The names of this year's winning squad are engraved on the cup and squads of each succeeding year will be added.

MISS BLANCHE SWAYNE is the new executive secretary of the Delaware League and her appointment is considered an exceptionally happy event, for she knows all parts of the state and is eminently fitted for her new work. For three years she was assistant secretary to the Delaware Consumers' League, for one year in the Federal Employment Bureau (in charge of professional workers), and for two years state investigator for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and she is liked as widely as she is known.

QUARTERLY meeting of the Montgomery County (New York) League brought about one hundred delegates from Little Falls, Canajoharie, Fort Plain, and other towns to St. Johnsville, May 22. Mrs. F. M. Bennett, county leader, presided. Mrs. Joseph Gavit talked on get-out-the-vote work, Mrs. F. A. Vanderlip on the World Court and on the rural school bill, Mr. Carlton Horn on the Near East relief work, and the assistant superintendent of schools in Amsterdam, Miss Springstead, on immigrant education.

MRS. HELEN BROOKS DAVIS has been made chairman of the Saginaw (Michigan) League's get-out-the-vote committee. She will be assisted by Mrs. H. W. Brady and ten chairmen of sub-committees. A get-out-the-vote week is already in the planning for October, and churches, schools, organizations and individuals will be asked to help with it. Saginaw County polled 29,634 votes in 1920 and must get

out 7,409 more than that this year to reach the League quota, 37,043.

THE Elkhart (Indiana) League is twice the size it was this time last year, the May meeting showed, and during the past twelve months, besides doubling, has located in a new League house. The officers—Mrs. A. H. Beardsley, president; Miss Helen Boss and Mrs. A. E. Hanson, secretaries, and Mrs. W. H. Russell, treasurer—have been reelected without a dissenting voice.

ROTATING chairmanship is part of the plan the Minnesota League has adopted in its get-out-the-vote work. Mrs. James Paige was chairman during May and this month Miss Marguerite Wells heads the work. Mrs. J. A. McGuire, of St. Paul, is July chairman; Miss Rosamond Grant, of Faribault, August; Miss Mary Warren, September; Mrs. R. T. Hargreaves, October.

"CONSTRUCTIVE Plans for Peace" was the subject of an informing talk which Mrs. Ben Hooper, of Wisconsin, made at a recent luncheon of the Iowa League in Des Moines. On the same occasion Mrs. Henry Frankel, of Des Moines, made a report on the Buffalo convention and on the World Court hearings which she left Buffalo early to attend in Washington.

AT the organization meeting of the Cattaraugus (New York) Assembly District League, in Olean, June 6, the headliner of the program was Miss Elizabeth Weber with her talk on what women have done with the franchise and her personal reminiscences of Mrs. Maud Wood Park, "the woman Moses of the National League."

THE Utah League held its convention at the Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City, May 13, with Mrs. George H. Dern, acting president, in the chair. Mrs. Walter A. Shockley, director of the seventh region, gave a vivid account of the National League convention. Election of state League officers has been postponed until the meeting in early September.

"ONE good term deserves another," the Montclair (New Jersey) League believes, and, because of that belief, unanimously reelected its board of officers at the annual meeting, May 9. Mrs. E. S. Wiers is president; Mrs. A. J. Steelman, vice-president; Miss Ethel Parsons, corresponding secretary; Mrs. C. B. Spinney, recording secretary, and Mrs. Edmund B. Osborne, treasurer.

TUESDAY, June 3, was the date for the open primary at which the United League of Rhode Island, following its custom, nominated candidates for League offices. The endorsement of fifty members is necessary to give a name place on a ballot and nominees will be voted for at the convention in October.

MISS JULIA LATHROP, national first vice-president, represented the National League at the Conference on Outdoor Recreation held in Washington, May 22-24, and was appointed a member of the resolutions committee and of the committee to deal with outdoor recreation as a factor in child welfare.

MRS. JAMES E. CHEESMAN, president of the United League of Rhode Island and director of the first region, was guest of honor at a fellowship dinner given by the Laconia League, of New Hampshire, May 26, and later was chief speaker at the annual state League convention in Concord.

SEVENTY per cent of the women voters of Neenah (Wisconsin) came out to vote in the spring elections. This is an increase of twenty-two per cent over the vote of 1922.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

Americans, Awake!

Tune:—"Maryland, My Maryland"

AMERICANS, awake and hear,
Come out and vote, come out and vote!
The voice of duty sounding clear,
Come out and vote, come out and vote.
From ev'ry household, far and near,
Let all who liberty revere,
Let all who hold their country dear
Come out and vote, come out and vote.

From Golden Gate to Casco Bay,
Come out and vote, come out and vote.
Why will you throw your right away?
Come out and vote, come out and vote.
The world is watching. Shall it say
Democracy has lost its sway,
Democracy is dead today?
Come out and vote, come out and vote.

Recall how dear our rights were bought,
Come out and vote, come out and vote.
Recall how long the fight was fought,
Come out and vote, come out and vote.
Will you come vote, as vote you ought,
Or has the world right to the thought
That all the battle was for naught?
Come out and vote, come out and vote.

Awake, and hear your country's call,
Come out and vote, come out and vote.
Corruption thrives when polls are small,
Come out and vote, come out and vote.
Corruption's plans come and forestall,
End rule by half, have rule by all.
Democracy, you shall not fall!
We'll come and vote, we'll come and vote!

The Campaign Textbook

THE foregoing lines are only one of the campaign songs in the new textbook which no League woman who expects to help can afford to be without. In addition to the songs, there is Mrs. Cheesman's quotable and brilliant parody on the "Charge of the Light Brigade," called "The Noble Sixty-five," and there are a number of rhymed tags which will not only be useful in themselves, but, like the campaign songs, will suggest others which League members with the rhyme habit may easily supply for local use.

The forty-page booklet begins with the call to the campaign which is Mrs. Park's appeal made at the Des Moines convention. Miss Lathrop's crisp sentences on the Get-Out-the-Vote Game follow. Next comes "Election Day Organization," which, with the "Outline for State Work," the "Outline for Local Work," the "Campaign Calendar," the "Campaign Chart" and the "Figures for Every State" which show low tide in 1920, furnish a complete picture of what may be called the technique of getting out the vote.

Miss Belle Sherwin's fine article, "The Way to Do It," with which the booklet ends, furnishes the inspiration and the spirit, and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser's prize article, "How to Get Out the Vote," is equally compounded of technique and spirit. Especially helpful are the suggestions contained in "Glimpses of State Campaigns" and the full picture given by the Norfolk League in "Norfolk Tells How."

"Let Mother Goose Help You" is a page of rhymes which will set everybody to adding to the list, and "Sample Fliers" is a page of challenges to all League women who can turn out striking advertising copy. A list of co-operating organizations

is given; the joint letter of Mrs. Park, Mrs. Blair and Mrs. Upton, calling on all good Americans to vote, is reprinted, and the rules, or rule, governing the competition for the silver loving cup are printed. The national League requires merely that the state League which wishes to enter the competition file notice to that effect at national headquarters before October 1, with the state plan of campaign. There are no other conditions. The League in the state which shows this year the largest percentage of increase in the vote over the vote of 1920 will hold the cup until some other League takes it away.

A more satisfactory guide to method, with plenty of matter—"Things You Can Say" will be useful to all speakers—could not be compiled, and the editor, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, has every reason to be proud of her job. Ten copies of the book will be sent to each state president and on request twenty-five more will be sent her, all gratis. Additional copies may be obtained at fifteen cents the copy or a dollar and a half the dozen. Everybody is advised to order early, for the first edition is not inexhaustible.

Reports From the Field

MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN is chairman of the St. Louis (Missouri) League's get-out-the-vote committee and "fired her first gun" by having a luncheon with more than three hundred guests at the Hotel Statler, May 23. Men and women representing various local organizations were asked to make three-minute talks and therein suggest plans for the work. Chancellor Hadley, of Washington University, made the principal address, and some of the organizations represented were: Advertising Club; American Legion; Associated Industries; Missouri Bar Association; Board of Religious Organizations; Chamber of Commerce; City Club; Catholic Women's League; College Club; Council of Jewish Women; Convention and Publicity Bureau; Women's Democratic Club; Order of Railroad Conductors' Wives; Elks; St. Louis Safety Council; Women's Chamber of Commerce; W. C. T. U., and the Town Club. A second luncheon on June 3 at the Chamber of Commerce followed, and additional organizations which sent representatives were the American Institute of Banking and the political party committees. The State League's twenty-five-dollar contest for the best plan for getting-out-the-vote closed July 1. Dean Isador Loeb, of the state university; N. T. Gentry, of Columbia, and Thomas Walker, editor of *The School and Community*, are judges.

MINNESOTA is making effective use of the thermometer idea in a flier entitled "The Thermometer of Civic Spirit." The degrees with their numbers are drawn at the left side of the sheet and opposite them the names of counties are arranged according to the vote cast in 1920. Ramsey County, in which is situated the capital of the state, stands at fifty degrees of civic spirit, and Hennepin, with Minneapolis in it, is only a few degrees higher in the scale. The design of the dodger is one readily adaptable to the uses of other states and Minnesota should not be allowed to monopolize it.

VOTERS who live in Newark, New Jersey, will hear a new response when they take down their telephone receivers on election day—and perhaps on an earlier day. Instead of the customary, "Number, please?" the telephone operators of Newark are going to help the get-out-the-vote campaign by saying, "Have you voted?" Mrs. Percy Ingalls is chairman of the state central committee which is in charge of the state League's get-out-the-vote campaign.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

More About the Democrats

LAST time we said that plans for the Democratic convention in New York were going forward. Now, on the twentieth, the convention is almost here. The city is in gala dress—flags flutter from above doorways, or are festooned at windows and arches, and cluster on the electric-light poles. New lights appear every day—first a scaffolding to pique the curiosity, and then a gay string of blue, white and orange bulbs, or a row of huge reflectors. We know, for we've watched them emerge.

Four hundred and seventy-six women in official capacity is the figure published—146 delegates, 38 district delegates, 78 alternates, and 214 district alternates. New York leads the list with 48 women, and Missouri comes second with 30. Massachusetts almost tied with 28. Louisiana and Florida are the "black sheep," for they failed to name a woman delegate. In South Dakota the primaries were held so early in December that no woman had filed. The South is well represented, however. Mrs. Emma Guy Cromwell, secretary of the state of Kentucky, and one of the leading women parliamentarians in the country, will be here. Mrs. Benton McMillin, Democratic national committeewoman from Tennessee; Mrs. Sam Phillips, of Memphis, and Miss Harriet Morehead Berry, of North Carolina, are also on the list of prominent women arrivals.

Headquarters for women will be at the Madison Square Galleries, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair in charge. Miss Elisabeth Marbury and her committee of nine for arrangements have headquarters at the Hotel Astor, and their service sounds limitless.

The next issue will tell the convention story.

Mrs. Upton for Congress

IN the last CITIZEN we reported rumors to the effect that Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, recently vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, would run for Congress. These rumors have now been confirmed, and Mrs. Upton will run in the Republican primaries for nomination to Congress from the Nineteenth District of Ohio.

The League's New Department

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS is to have a new special department to handle all matters concerning the protection of children. Heretofore this

Calendar

FIFTY-FIRST annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work—June 25 to July 2, at Toronto, Canada.

Seventeenth annual convention of the American Home Economics Association—June 30 to July 4, at Buffalo, New York.

The 'Sconset Summer School—July 13 to September 21, at Siasconset, on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, under the direction of Frederic C. Howe.

Meeting of the International Medical Women's Association—July 13-18, London.

Sixth annual convention of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs—July 21-26, at West Baden Springs, Indiana.

Third Conference of the International Federation of University Women—July 28 to August 1, Christiania, Norway.

Annual conference of the American Prison Association—August 15-22, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Third Women's Activities Exhibit—September 22-27, Hotel Commodore, New York. The Exhibit is held under the auspices of the New York League of Business and Professional Women.

work has been done by the International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare, which has been functioning in Brussels under the auspices of thirty governments and various national organizations.

Habit Clinics

"TEMPERS CURED" might be a slogan for the Community Health Association of Boston, which Dr. D. A. Thom, Director, started in 1921. The Association has habit clinics which attempt to correct the undesirable conduct or personality defects of children under their care, and to promote mental health. Only 19 out of 130 children have not responded to treatment for temper tantrums, destructiveness, pugnacity and shyness, delinquency and acute personality changes.

In the Reichstag

THE new Reichstag has returned only nineteen women to its fold, as compared with thirty-five in the old body. Nine of these belong to the Social-Democratic Party, two to the Democratic Party, two to the German People's Party, two to the Communist, two to the Center (Roman Catholic Party), two to the German National Party. Most of these women were members of the old Reichstag.

Prohibition in England

AT the forty-eighth annual meeting of the National British Women's Temperance Association at Kingsway Hall, London, a resolution was passed entreating the government to introduce a measure giving the people of each dis-

trict the power to prevent the sale of intoxicating drink. Lady Lawson presided. Mrs. Wintringham, representing 166 districts, gave her loyal support; Hopkins Morris, promoter of the Welsh Local Option Bill, urged that the resolution be made even stronger, and that the sale of intoxicating drink be prohibited outright.

The Berry Schools

THE Berry School for Girls, at Rome, Georgia, is to have a \$100,000 building in honor of all mothers, to be known as "Mothers' Building." The enterprise is being backed by a group of prominent Atlanta women, who mean to make their gift anonymous. The Berry Schools for boys and girls of the mountains, started by Martha Berry, are doing a wonderful—and well-known—work.

Norway's Citizenship

SINCE we published the status of "Married Women's Citizenship" in the April 19 CITIZEN, a bill has been brought before the Storting, the governing body of Norway. The bill proposes that a Norwegian woman married to an alien shall lose her citizenship only when she moves out of the country. She may thus be a citizen of two countries if the law of her husband's country demands that she take his nationality. American women marrying Norwegians become Norwegians as well as American citizens, but lose their American citizenship after living two years in Norway. Identical bills have been introduced into the parliaments of Sweden and Denmark.

On a College Board

OHIO State University has its first woman member of the board of trustees. She is Mrs. Alma W. Patterson, of Columbus, a graduate of O. S. U. Mrs. Patterson was appointed by Governor Donahey to fill a vacancy on the board.

Christian World Relations

JUNE 14 to June 20 were the dates for the Institute for a Christian Basis of World Relations, held at Vassar College, which, as the name implies, had as its object an intimate understanding of what measures can be taken to place world relationship on a Christian basis. The Institute was attended by many leading experts on international relations from all over the country. Dr. James T. Shotwell, of Columbia; Professor W. Carson Ryan, of Swarthmore; Professor Alfred Sheffield, of Wellesley; James G.

McDonald, of the Foreign Policy Association, are some of the names to be found on the list. Among the organizations represented were: The League of Women Voters, Y. W. C. A., Conference on Economic Factors in International Relations, Council of Women for Home Missions, W. C. T. U., Women's Committee for Law Enforcement, and the American Association of University Women. A novel plan which was worked out by the women directing the Institute eliminated all speeches; sessions were run on the question-and-answer basis, the delegates taking part in all discussions.

American Opera

NEARLY a year ago we told something about the Opera in Our Language Foundation, Inc., of Chicago. At that time it was affiliated with the David Bispham Memorial Fund—a fund to assist American composers and to keep alive the name of David Bispham. Now at the end of three years, the two organizations have combined and are known as the American Opera Society of Chicago. The growth of the American opera has been slow, but Mrs. Archibald Freer, national chairman of the America Opera Society, sees encouragement in its added yearly success.

A Working Women's Convention

THE National Women's Trade Union League of America has just closed its Ninth Biennial Convention—the New York League acting as hostess. Actual dates were from June 16 to 21, and in those six days a great deal of ground was covered. Among the speakers were John Sullivan, president of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council; Bernard L. Shientag, Industrial Commissioner, State of New York; Samuel Gompers; Fannia Cohn, vice-president of the International Garment Workers Union; Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University; Frances Perkins, member of the Industrial Board of the State of New York, and Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers Educational Bureau.

The League was organized in 1903 in Boston. Since then it has spread to Alabama, in the South, and as far west as the Pacific Coast. It has as its program—the eight-hour day, a living wage, protection for life and limb in industry, and decent working conditions.

At this convention the League passed a resolution to effect a more concerted and vigorous measure of protection to women in industry; to withdraw from the International Federation of Working Women, now absorbed in the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam; to maintain direct relations with the constituent bodies of working women in the different European countries, but to confine its group affiliations with the growing labor movements

among women in Latin-America and the Orient; to oppose the equal rights amendment. The conference also demanded the ratification of the child labor amendment to the Constitution by the states, requested added appropriations for the Women's Bureau, to extend its work to married women in industry; additional attention by the Federal Board of Vocational Education to home economics; enforcement of the merit system in the civil service, with equal pay for women performing equal work, and the establishment of a Federal Department of Education according to the Sterling-Reed bill. The League endorsed the draft treaty of disarmament and security submitted by the American committee of experts, emphasizing particularly the outlawry of war.

Maud Swartz, of the Typographical Union of New York, was reelected president; Rose Schneidermann, president of the New York Women's Trade Union League, was elected vice-president, and Elizabeth Christman, of the Glove Workers' Union in Chicago, secretary.

Charlotte L. Peirce

IT rarely happens that one who joined the ranks at the beginning of a great social crusade survives to hear the shout of victory at the end. In the suffrage movement this distinction belonged only to Mrs. Charlotte L. Peirce, of Philadelphia, who died on March 14 at the age of ninety-four.

"You want to know about my connection with suffrage?" said Mrs. Peirce, in response to a question some months before her death. "Well, it began with the first suffrage meeting in this country—at Seneca Falls, New York, in July, 1848. I was teaching at Waterloo, four miles away, and a party of us decided to hire a carriage and drive over. The announcement of the meeting was issued by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, who were the speakers; after the addresses, a petition was circulated among the audience asking the government to grant women the right to vote, and all present were urged to sign it. So convincing had been the speakers' arguments that I think everyone in the room signed. I know I did, and I have been an ardent suffragist ever since. I was only eighteen at the time, and the youngest present.

"Elizabeth Cady Stanton was the moving spirit in those first years. Susan B. Anthony, whose name is now the most widely known of all the suffrage workers, was not at that first meeting; it was later that she became so prominent. I knew her well. Later I also knew Lucretia Mott.

"I have lived to see great progress along humane as well as political lines. Much of this improvement has been brought about by the efforts of women."

Suffrage was not Mrs. Peirce's only interest. She was one of the founders,

and for sixteen years treasurer of the New Century Club of Philadelphia, the first of a long line of clubs of its kind. For many years she was chairman of its Legal Protection Committee, which aids women workers to recover money unjustly withheld from them.

She never liked the limelight; had she felt otherwise her name would have been more familiar to suffragists. So unassuming was she that her name received little mention even in the reports of the celebration of suffrage's seventy-fifth birthday at Seneca Falls, last July.

AGNES L. TAYLOR.

An Apology

EXCUSES are useless, but apologies can be most sincere—and we want to make one now to both Mrs. William H. Good and Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank. In the last issue, on page 4, these two photographs were interchanged—Mrs. Good is called Mrs. Fairbank, and vice versa. Won't you please glance back and mentally change them for us?

In the World of Art

THE National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors has held its annual meeting. Emily Nichols Hatch was reelected president, and the other officers remain the same. Mrs. Oliver Harriman has been added to the list of honorary vice-presidents; Mrs. Henry Lang and Brenda Putnam were elected to the Advisory Board.

A New College President

THE Constantinople Women's College—the oldest women's college in the Near East—has a new president. She is Kathryn Newell Adams, who has been a member of the faculty since 1920. Miss Adams is a Radcliffe graduate, and before going to the Near East was dean of women at Beloit College. She replaces Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, who spent fifty-three years in educational service in Turkey.

India's Social Conference

THE second session of the United Provinces Social Conference of India, which, since last year, has become an adjunct of the Provincial Liberal Conference, was lately held in Allahabad. A number of Hindu women took a lively interest in the proceedings, and the conference was presided over by Mrs. Jwala Prasad—a victory indeed, for it is the first time that a social conference has been guided by a woman. Two important and progressive resolutions were passed. The first declared the aim of the social reform movement—"social reconstruction based on principles of justice, freedom, and equality, and of social purity, by doing away with all artificial distinctions based on birth or sex." The second urged the removal of the disabilities under which the so-called depressed classes of India labor.

General Dawes

(Continued from page 10)

neer," to quote his own description; at twenty-one received his law degree from Cincinnati Law School.

Practised law at Lincoln, Nebraska (the Nebraska delegation voted solidly for him at Cleveland), and acquired interests in public utilities throughout the state. Many inhabitants of Lincoln boast of having rubbed shoulders with "Charlie Dawes" in those early days of his career, and recall his public debates with William Jennings Bryan on the free silver question.

Active in the McKinley campaign of 1896, and appointed Comptroller of the Currency, in which office he served from 1898 to 1901.

Returned to Illinois to organize the Central Trust Company, which he headed as president until 1921, when he became chairman of the Board of Directors.

War-time service in France from 1917 to 1919, where he had a position of great responsibility, although he always regretted General Pershing's determination to utilize his business and executive ability "behind the lines." From General Purchasing Agent for the A. E. F., to whom everyone with army supplies to buy brought his schedule of requirements for approval, he rose to the direction of purchasing activities for the allied armies, as head of an inter-allied board for co-ordination of supplies—a job of almost herculean proportions.

Called by President Harding to be Director of the Budget in 1921. His experiences in getting the budget system off to a running start he details in his book, "The First Year of the Budget System in the United States."

Recalled from his private banking business in the winter of 1924 to head the committee of experts appointed by the Reparations Commission to examine into the state of German finances and draw up a plan of reparation payments.

The element of uncertainty in the prognostications about Dawes is due to the anomalies he presents. He simply refuses to stay put in a category. Suffice it to say that the possibility of a rapprochement with the La Follette forces of radical reform, which it was rumored would follow the nomination of Judge Kenyon or Senator Borah, was completely destroyed by the choice of Dawes. Organized labor is, according to officials at headquarters here, "as much opposed to him as they were opposed to Calvin Coolidge in 1920." Voters who recall Mr. Gompers's campaign broadsides against the Republican ticket because of the "possibility of Mr. Coolidge succeeding to the Presidency" will realize the extent of that opposition. This is based upon his alleged affiliations with Wall Street, and his opposition to union labor. The Minute Men of the

Constitution, a patriotic organization which he formed in May, 1923, is pledged to work for the inclusion of an open-shop plank in the party platforms; at least that is the way labor leaders interpret the declaration of the organization that "the right of a citizen to work without unlawful interference is as sacred as the right of a citizen to cease work whether he is or is not a member of a labor or other organization." Dawes is the guide and animating spirit of the Minute Men of the Constitution, which now numbers over 20,000 members. Their platform, labor leaders claim, means death to organized labor and the right to strike, and government protection of strike-breakers. Mr. Gompers suggests that "General Dawes put on a black shirt and call himself Mussolini." The Minute Men have been praised, on the other hand, by the *Chicago Tribune* and other Dawes supporters as "an American Fascisti without the function of intimidation or force, formed for the purpose of building up respect for the Constitution." The organization is claimed to be "anti-Red and anti-Ku Klux."

Balanced against his war record, which shows a rise from the rank of rookie to Brigadier-General, and his valiant defense of the American army record before the Congressional Committee, is his stand in opposition to the bonus. This must be considered in estimating the soldier vote; although the fact that the bonus is now a dead issue is in his favor here.

A great deal is being written as this goes to press about "Dawes swinging the farmer vote." Whether the farmer will take a long enough view to see the Dawes report in its relation to American agriculture is a question. In farm problems or legislation as such, General Dawes has never expressed particular interest.

Another interesting factor in the situation is his advocacy of the League of Nations. When he returned from France in 1919 he ardently supported ratification of the Versailles treaty and the League of Nations Covenant.

There are anecdotes innumerable clustered about General Dawes' name. Probably the dearest to the heart of his war-time associates is connected with his ability as a musician—for this "hard-headed" banker and business man is a composer and musician of more than amateur rank. It is told of him that at one time he was trying with no success to get eight hundred horses from General Rudkin, a British officer. He happened into a Paris café where Rudkin was dining one evening. On a suggestion from a friend, he approached the leader of the orchestra, picked up an instrument and began to play, reading the music at sight. General Rudkin and his party, entranced by the music, kept

Dawes playing almost all night. He got the eight hundred horses the next day.

The first hint of his ability as a musician came to many Washingtonians when, in a concert here in the winter of 1922, Kreisler played one of his compositions—"Melody." General Dawes plays music as well as he writes it, and one of the joys of his intimate circle of friends is to gather at the Dawes home on Sunday afternoons when he brings out his violin.

There is one problem which causes much wagging of heads. It is this: How is a man of the "high voltage power" of General Dawes, whose driving energy is his outstanding characteristic, going to subside into the calm and quiet of the Vice-Presidency? How is he, who has always and at any time expressed fully and forcibly his ideas on any subject, going to sit in tongue-tied state as presiding officer of the Senate?

First Aid to the Fainting

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP
College Physician at Barnard

OFTEN when a mother goes into a darkened room at night and stands at the crib where a child is sleeping, a wave of fear forces her to stoop swiftly and listen for the almost imperceptible breathing. She touches the child's forehead, feels it warm and soft and living beneath her hand, and goes away reassured. So near is sleep to death; yet nearer is unconsciousness. What has reassured the mother—warmth, the faint sound of breathing—is not present to reassure us when we kneel beside an unconscious person. And yet we must know enough to be reassured, for otherwise we will do exactly the wrong thing for the patient.

There are four usual causes of unconsciousness: alcoholism, apoplexy, opium poisoning and fainting.

A person faints because there is too little blood circulating in the brain to preserve consciousness. This loss may come from two causes, utterly different, necessitating two different kinds of treatment; the one an actual loss of blood from out the body of the patient, the other ptosis, the sudden drop of a great mass of blood from the circulation to the great abdominal veins. Unconsciousness from actual loss of blood is the more dangerous; fainting, the more usual.

When a person faints she falls to the floor. One has a natural instinct to drag her up to a sitting position. Leave her alone. Let her lie out flat on the floor until she comes to. Feel her pulse, listen to her respiration, then wait. Generally the person comes to in a few moments. Fanning with cold air, wiping off the face with a cloth wet in cold water, holding smelling salts under the nostrils,

are all methods of hastening return to consciousness.

Such fainting may be caused by fatigue, heat, shock, anything which lessens the tone of the muscles of blood vessels and abdomen. It is much more apt to happen in a weak, fat and flabby person with no muscular strength in the abdominal walls. Such fainting is unpleasant but not dangerous. The pulse is worst at the moment of losing consciousness and begins to improve almost at once. This is one very important distinguishing mark between fainting from blood ptosis and fainting from actual loss of blood.

If a person has fainted from loss of blood, a doctor should be called at once. If, after an accident, an unconscious person is found lying with a thin stream of blood trickling over face or clothing, don't wait to examine the person or to debate what to do first. Send for the doctor. Take no chances. Then search very gently, disturbing the patient as little as possible, for the source of the bleeding and stop it by pressure until the doctor arrives.

In the city getting a doctor or a hos-

pital ambulance is comparatively simple. A policeman will always call one. In the country the first-aider may have more to do than merely to staunch the bleeding by pressure. If an artery in an arm or leg has been torn, the bleeding may have to be stopped by the application of a tourniquet. For that a garter is the best first-aid material. Slip it on the limb, above the bleeding, and tighten it by twisting around a stick until the bleeding stops. In the country one is face to face with the rather dreadful alternative of leaving an unconscious patient alone or of staying with him, unable to do anything to help. No general rule can be given for such cases. External bleeding displays itself. A far more dangerous bleeding is internal bleeding when no sign of the injury presents itself except a profound and deepening unconsciousness. In any case of bleeding the pulse will steadily grow worse, becoming thin, irregular, very rapid, until it is barely perceptible. The skin will be a deadly white, and covered with sweat.

Nature herself has a mechanism to stop the bleeding by the formation of a clot in the torn opening of the blood

vessel, unless the spurting jet of blood is too forceful. Rest, warmth, absolute stillness of the body to slow the heart beat, will aid in the formation of the clot.

Of the other three less frequent causes of unconsciousness, alcoholism betrays itself by breath and complexion. Its best treatment is prolonged unconsciousness.

The unconsciousness of a stroke, for which nothing can be done at the moment but to provide absolute quiet, and the unconsciousness of opium poisoning, which demands immediate, active, strenuous treatment, can be distinguished by the size of the pupils of the eye. Lift each eyelid of the patient gently and flash a candle or an electric torch into the eye. The pupils of an opium eye will be small as pin points and will not change under the light. Call a doctor at once. The opium case must be aroused by all means possible.

Dash cold water into the patient's face (do not soak the clothes and chill the entire body), begin artificial respiration and make the patient talk. As soon as the patient can swallow, give strong, black coffee.

The Bookshelf—By M. A.

PERHAPS the most difficult book to review is the utterly delightful one written by a person whom you much admire. Adjectives pile themselves in your path and trip up your unwary feet. Enthusiastic adverbs buzz around your head and distract your mind until, panicky, you brush them all away with a scolding, "Now we must be firm and cold about this." And then the glow of admiration inside you starts a regular pine-shaving fire, and you are consumed with delight over the person and the book, the person of the book, and the book of the person. Finally you turn on the ice water of cold judgment and write something like this:

"*Footlights and Spotlights*," by Mr. Otis Skinner, is the most charming autobiography of the year. As its title indicates, it contains the high, and low, lights of its author's forty-six years on the American stage. Such theatrical heroes, and heroines, as Edwin Booth and Mary Anderson, Lawrence Barrett and Madame Janaushek play fine rôles and walk as human beings in its pages. Its illustrations are a wonderful set of historic photographs. But the heart of the book, the thing that gives it warm life, is the personality of its author on every page. His prose is as gay and wistful, as wise and as tender, as simple and as subtly complex as the rôles he has portrayed. The tragedy of *Shylock*, the honor of *Philippe Bridou*, the cunning of *Haji*, the tender sentimentality



© Eric Stahlberg

Speaking of poetry, the photograph above shows two in one family—Grace Hazard Conkling and her thirteen-year-old daughter. Mrs. Conkling is assistant professor of English at Smith College, and has contributed poetry to many magazines for many years. She is the author of "Afternoons of April" and "Wilderness Songs." From the first day when little Hilda came to her and said, "Mother, I have made a song for you," Mrs. Conkling managed to scribble down the child's poems as they came, without the child's knowing it. It is only recently that Hilda has begun to write her poems down herself. Sometimes she makes several poems in a day, and then there are intervals when she does not make any for weeks. Two volumes have been published—"Poems by a Little Girl" and "Shoes of the Wind."

Still more women writers await their turn in the Bookshelf's picture gallery.

of *Mister Antonio*, and the vigorous wisdom of *Sancho Panza* play through the book. With all this goes a very honest revelation of the growth of that art which has won for Mr. Skinner the preëminent place he holds on the American stage and in the hearts of American audiences. It is an art which involved the learning of many things, constant hard work, a capacity for detail that is tremendous, a truly saving sense of humor, and a power of character conception which welded it all together."

The autobiography of Maria Jeritza, prima donna soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company, is the story of a beautiful, determined child with a glorious voice and a love of fairy tales. She calls it "*Sunlight and Song*," and there is no shadow in the book. Even the death of her beloved Emperor Franz Joseph and the fall of her so nice Hapsburg family seem pasteboard tragedies, leaving no permanent scar of sadness. The book is pleasant reading, full of Austrian court life, operatic successes, details behind the scenes, and pictures of Madame Jeritza in various rôles. One is sure her press agent approved it.

Pleasant, pedestrian poetry, verse, and a handful of flaming jewels are poured into four slim volumes. Glenn Dresbach has been writing poetry of the Southwest for some years. His new volume, "*The Enchanted Mesa*," has a curious quality of subconscious dislike of the very country which supposedly inspires him. He grows lyrical in tropic

Panama, and tender over orchards and gardens, but his desert songs have a weary disillusioned sadness that may be a legitimate part of the desert he sees, but which is not the dominant note in the true desert lover. Perhaps this hidden conflict is responsible for the fact that his poetry is a flat plain cut with arroyos, seldom rising to a hill, and never to a heaven-touching peak.

"*The Skyline Trail*" is also Western verse, but of very different country. Oregon and northern California, Montana and the Rockies have limbered the pen of Mary Carolyn Davies. The results are decidedly streaky, ranging all the way from "Ride 'er, Cowboy, let 'er buck!" in an absurd rockinghorse meter, to the shy, wistful beauty of "I have danced in the house of the sea." Her feeling for deep forests and clear lakes is very real, and some of her most catalogic verse banished Pennsylvania Station and brought a vast ache to the throat of one exiled Westerner. But she rhymes too easily, she doesn't use a sufficiently powerful wastebasket, and she yields too often to a surface sentimentality.

Helen Hoyt has written subjective love poems which she calls "*Apples Here in My Basket*." They are frank and direct, written without self-consciousness and with a careful honesty. They are a kind of laboratory study of a woman in love.

The handful of flaming jewels is Joseph Auslander's "*Sunrise Trumpets*." Here is real poetry, sensitive, imaginative, colorful, packed with beauty and a love of it. He has a feeling for words that is Oriental in its opulence, and his use of them is held firm by that sense of detached judgment which is a true poet's tool. One wants to quote, and quote again, whether it be the quaintness of "The sulky gradual querulous content Of chickens puffed and blinky in the sun" or the majesty of

"You who have broken bread with beauty,
know

The lonely grandeur of departed feet;"

or the sheer imagery of Yseult's

"Eyes like blue stones washed in a windy place."

But read it, and you will catch your breath and shine your eyes with the aching beauty of these poems.

Footlights and Spotlights, Bobbs Merrill, 1924. \$5.00.

Sunlight and Song, Appleton, 1924. \$3.00.

The Enchanted Mesa, Holt, 1924. \$1.50.

The Skyline Trail, Bobbs Merrill, 1924.

\$2.00.

Apples Here in My Basket, Harcourt, 1924.

\$1.50.

Sunrise Trumpets, Joseph Auslander, Harper, 1924. \$2.00.



A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

BEAU BRUMMEL—This is a picture not to be missed by anyone who likes good pictures, and one to which those who are very sure of their condemnation of all pictures should be judiciously led. A play that is essentially a character drama has been put upon the screen as such, primarily by means of delightful portraiture by John Barrymore in the rôle of *Beau Brummel*. The story is merely that of a handsome and clever youth who turned his talents to the winning of a place in a court society, because the lack of it had cost him his chance to marry a girl from one of its families. By dramatic audacities and adroit manipulation of aristocracy's common herd, he makes himself the pal of a prince and the taste and manners arbiter of the fashionable. Eventually he meets the fate of those who live by their wits and popular favor, is snubbed, ostracized, conveniently banished, forgotten: a dramatic cycle affording all of the emotional colors that are blended in the portrait of a man. And because those colors are laid on by an artist, the figure of the *Beau* emerges alive: laughs, cries, fights, ceases to fight and dies. Direction that permitted no over-emphasis of background or event to submerge the psychological action made this possible. There is good work by Willard Louis, Irene Rich, and Alec Francis. This is one of the two or three best pictures we have seen. A Warner Brothers picture, from the stage play by Clyde Fitch, and directed by Harry Beaumont.

WHY MEN LEAVE HOME—This has an amusing characterization of average man, by Lewis Stone, in a story of the rather selfish husband and the rather childish wife, neither one overblessed with that gift of the gods we call tact, who blunder into and out of separation and divorce. It is done with far more temperance and so far more humor than most motion-picture comedies. A First National picture, from the stage play of the same name by Avery Hopwood, and directed by John M. Stahl.

MLLE. MIDNIGHT—A comic opera picture with a nineteenth century French and twentieth century Mexican background. The foreground is cyclonic with most known villainies. "A-a-ah!" sighed the fat lady next to us, when the arch villain's doctor-accomplice convinced the imprisoned heroine that she was entirely insane. "My Gott-in-heaven, ain't that awful!" Indeed, it was. A Metro picture, directed by Robert Leonard.

THE BREAKING POINT—A story of a man who, after the shock of the belief that he has killed a man, suffers a total loss of memory, and under a shielding doctor's care becomes a different person with a new identity. Melodramatic direction hasn't destroyed all the inter-

est of the dramatic situation when his older consciousness returns. A Paramount picture, from the novel of that name by Mary Roberts Rinehart, and directed by Herbert Brenon.

The Republicans at Cleveland

(Continued from page 9)

Coolidge brought on one of those delightfully childish parades; when Coolidge was nominated; when Lowden, and then Dawes, were nominated. And every effort to "make unanimous" was met by a solid wall of Noes from Wisconsin—or at least from twenty-eight of Wisconsin's twenty-nine. (That one irregular regular must have a story.) The peak of the Wisconsin fight came on the platform in the Wednesday night session. Charles B. Warren, of Michigan, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, read the report which "all the states and territories except one" (it came in with the sardonic emphasis of "But Brutus was an honorable man") had endorsed. Early in the report he mentioned the name of Calvin Coolidge, and for more than twenty minutes cheerful pandemonium reigned—delegates marching round and round with uprooted standards, yelling, whooping; most of the rest of us standing on our chairs—and Wisconsin unbudging, though delegates surged around them, shook fists under their noses, taunted and jeered.

All that heated things up, so when the long report was finished and a minority report was announced—from that "one state"—hisses, hoots and calls of "Throw them out!" broke loose. Your correspondent frankly expected a mob scene. But then she—and the audience—saw Henry J. Cooper, Wisconsin's member of the Resolutions Committee, standing beside Mr. Mondell—tall, white-haired, something gallant about the set of his shoulders as he waited for that howling and hissing to die down. And presently a fine thing began to happen. People who had been saying "Bolsheviks" were calling "Fair play!" Not all of them, but enough. The chairman intervened, too, and Mr. Cooper got started . . . and Mr. Cooper could then handle that audience himself. He intrigued with a quotation from White-law Reid, defending the right of the minority to tell the majority when it was wrong; he challenged with the claim that all but one of the Wisconsin planks, formerly hissed by Republican conventions, had become, *via* Republican adoption, laws of the land. For instance, primary election of senators. He was humorous, and before long his audience, however disagreeing, was good-natured. From the non-convention parts of the floor came rather a surprising amount of applause on certain planks, but government ownership as the "final solu-

tion of the railroad problem," the abolition of conscription and the proposal to secure reenactment by Congress over a judicial veto brought storms of protest. The clause about recovery of oil reserves, the reading out of Fall, Denby and Daugherty, warmed gallery hearts. Among other planks were protection of farmers' organizations, reconstruction of the Federal Reserve System and reduction of the tariff; opposition to the Mellon tax plan (incidentally, the biggest, most spontaneous applause of the first day was for Andrew Mellon, in person); repeal of the Esch-Cummins law; referendum on war. The audience was less interested in the platform than in Mr. Cooper—two long platforms are too much for an evening anyhow; but Mr. Cooper was allowed to finish his reading, the report was put to vote, and, of course, roaringly voted down. And a pleasant thing to record is that the hotel corridors echoed considerable enthusiasm for Mr. Cooper's gallantry and skill. As for comments, we heard both: "Bunch o' Bolsheviks" and "They are ahead. I'm not for all those things by any means, but I've no doubt some of them will be in the platform ten years from now. The point is you can't move a big body too fast."

Anyhow, Wisconsin stayed through.

If Wisconsin furnished one high spot, dramatically, the nomination of the vice-presidential candidate furnished the other. In between was the nomination of President Coolidge by Marion LeRoy Burton, president of Michigan University, in an extremely well-delivered and entertaining eulogy of the President—a speech delightfully free from political catchwords, humorous and persuasive. He added human warmth and humor to the Coolidge silence, sternness of discipline, and the rockbound moral integrity which was stressed throughout the convention. "His brain has time to work because his tongue permits it," was one of Dr. Burton's many aphorisms. But the effect of no speech can survive eight secondings, at lunch time. Apparently it simply had to be done. So the interval of lunch was hailed, after the rollcall—with all but 44 votes for Coolidge, and all but Wisconsin getting on the band wagon of unanimity.

On the return there was a gala spirit in the air. Delegations came in with conspicuous insignia, especially the Watson-ribboned ones, and there were tendencies to hurrah. Nominations got under way in that intriguing way they have: *Alabama*—Alabama yields to Iowa; Iowa nominates William S. Kenyon. *Arizona*—Arizona nominates Frank O. Lowden, admitting that he had asked his own state not to nominate him. *Indiana*—Watson, and thereupon enter a brass band, to parade round the hall—Dawes—Curtis—William E. Jackson—Arthur M. Hyde—Frank D. Hines—all very exciting because the nominators

never breathed the name until the last syllable, and because suspense was welcome.

As the audience had settled into place, New York neighbors had whispered, "It's going to be Burton," and the latest paper in one's hand shrieked that Coolidge had said Kenyon. Every one knows now what had been going on behind the scenes: Borah's repeated refusal to join the ticket in order to hold the Western vote, and the impression given out by Butler in the early hours that he would run; Borah's recommendation of Kenyon; Butler's reluctance over him, as well as New York's and Pennsylvania's.

But what we spectators were seeing was the game of the big delegations voting complimentary votes until they saw the lie of the land, the emergence of four leaders—Lowden, Dawes, Kenyon, Burton—and the enthusiastic stampede for Lowden, in spite of Illinois' definite statement that he would not run. Then consultation, confusion—all more evident to the vast radio audience than to us in the arena, since they could hear the platform powwows—and finally the telegram from Lowden saying his thousandth No, and the swift motion for recess so that he might be asked again. After that, in the vivid last hour of Thursday, came, as a result of those behind-the-scenes crosspurposes, the humiliating vote for Hoover that wasn't carried through, the fumbling over Burton and the triumph of Dawes.

Next time, the story of the Democratic National Convention; and (if we haven't already sketched them) the nominees.

Then it was over, and the exodus began. Badges and souvenir elephants faded from the scene. Elephants?—yes, all the way from a life-sized head on a man's shoulders, down through puffed-up rubber ones, to watch charms. Along the broad avenue that had led between white, eagle-topped pylons for two blocks to the flag-draped hotel headquarters, trooped the delegates and the throng that had listened outside to the whole proceedings by means of a huge horn. Cleveland's polite policemen, whose courtesy had never cracked, must have stalked gladly after them. The delegates had seen a far better performance than they had hoped for at first. In print and in conversation all the wise ones said it was a "queer" convention—unlike anything in years. What had been ordained had happened. Even the refusal really to choose a Vice-President had been foreordained, though the choice of the Vice-President was the spontaneous performance of the convention. The party was now equipped with the inevitable and apparently popular Presidential candidate; with a congruous

Vice-Presidential candidate of picturesque appeal; a platform capable of meaning too much or too little; a state of behind-the-scenes conflict of which only time can tell the story, and a third party menace hanging over both it and the Democratic convention, then less than two weeks away.

And the women had got their way.

Those Oil Leases

(Continued from page 13)

ance of the Indians' interests that from bonuses received from these open sales, and from royalties, the Osage people have prospered to the extent of nearly \$100,000,000 in cash, have a large amount of land in reserve, and are the richest per capita people in the world.

If the Naval Reserves had been leased in accordance with the Leasing Act, as in the Osage procedure, some millions of cash might have been received for that portion of them which it was necessary to develop, and many thousands of acres now in private control would still be in the Department's hands for negotiating in the future, as conditions should require.

Second. The Leasing Act further recites that the lands shall be sold "in tracts not exceeding 640 acres" and "that not more than one-half of the area, and in no case to exceed 3,200 acres within the geologic structure of a producing oil or gas field, shall be leased to any one claimant, when the area of such geologic oil structure exceeds 640 acres." But the agreements made transferred acreage as follows: Teapot Dome, 9,321 acres; Elk Hills in the neighborhood of 28,000 acres; California, No. 2, about 11,000 acres. (It might be said here that the No. 2 reserve leases were granted to twenty-one different individuals, or companies, in blocks of from 40 acres to about 3,000, and though some acreage might well have been held in reserve by the Department, the importance to us of this leasing is so much less than that of the other two reserves, by reason of its showing more actual necessity of protection than the others, that we will not discuss it further.)

The only defense presented by the Departments for the leasing of the first two named blocks to one company in each case is that an individual operator would be more easily dealt with and could operate more economically than a number of operators. The oil man, or the ordinary land owner versed in oil operations, smiles at this apology for blunder, knowing that in the oil business, as in any other, one thing only brings real results—and that is, competition, open and unrestricted. Governmental control can extend to a dozen as well as one, and there are many reasons why a "pool" of oil can be better developed with a number of operators than with one.

But of more importance is the question of leasing acreage versus "offset" locations; and the explanation of the Departments covering this point hangs on the much disputed matters of water encroachment and drainage. Without going into geological details, it is a commonplace fact that if a well is opened up near a boundary line, the only way for the man on the other side of the line to get his share of the oil is to drill an "offset" well. Otherwise a certain area of his oil sand will be "drained" by the first well. This is what is meant by the claim that it was necessary to lease the reserves in order to prevent the drainage of them by private wells along their borders or by private wells inside their borders. In sands with high water content and pressure, as the wells are opened and the oil released, water follows it and gradually fills the sands so that adjoining locations not promptly drilled often become "watered out," as the trade term puts it. California sands are largely of this nature.

How much danger of drainage and water-encroachment there was is a matter of endless difference of opinion; but though no doubt both of these considerations have a bearing upon the necessity for leasing our national reserves, neither of them can possibly be considered as affecting more than a limited area in the vicinity of the offsetting lands which were being drilled by others.

"Drainage" Not the Answer

In the past the Government's policy has been to lease only "locations" for a certain number of wells which were necessary to protect its property. The Leasing Act authorizes this, but with the provision that the President has authority to release more than protective acreage if he deems it advisable. It is in this provision, coupled with the Act of June 4, 1920, that our trouble seems to have begun. This latter act reads:

That the Secretary of the Navy is directed to take possession of all properties within the Naval Reserves as are or may become subject to the control and use by the United States for naval purposes—to *conserve*, develop, use and operate the same in his discretion, directly or by contract, lease or otherwise, and to use, store, exchange, or sell the oil and gas products thereof, and those from all royalty oil from lands in the Naval Reserves, for the benefit of the United States.

These clauses of the Act of June 4, 1920, have been considered by some to have annulled the original Leasing Act, and to supply justification for secretive, non-competitive leasing of a total of nearly sixty square miles of prospective oil land without adherence to its intent, and certainly, it would seem, with little emphasis on the word "conserve." Why this act should be so construed, by what method of reasoning the conclusion is reached, I have never been able to satisfy myself. It does not repeal—it cannot

therefore annul, but if the leases are legal, it must do both.

The Executive Order of the President, dated May 31, 1921, is claimed as a further foundation of the granting of the leases. For this order I have never understood clearly the authority. According to it the reserves "are hereby committed to the Secretary of the Interior, subject to the supervision of the President, but no general policy as to drilling or reserving lands located in a Naval Reserve shall be changed or adopted except upon consultation and in cooperation with the Secretary or Acting Secretary of the Navy."

This order may perhaps be considered as protective, in a way, to the act of June 4, 1920. But neither of them seems to me to protect the claim of legality for the leases, except by assumption.

Leaving the legal discussion for the consideration of the contracts themselves:

(1) These leases were made on the basis of "graded royalties." The word "royalty" means, in the language of the oil trade, the percentage of oil given free of any cost or expense to the land owner or lessor perpetually, as a part consideration for the granting of a lease. A "fixed" royalty means that one-eighth or one-sixth (which are the usual royalty bases) of the oil is set aside for the lessor's benefit, and the percentage always remains the same. With a fixed royalty there can be no question or contention as to amount, and further, no desire upon the part of the lessee, or operator, to restrict his production, as there may be in the case of a "graded" or conditional royalty.

The California No. 1 reserve lease (Doheny's) reads that the royalty shall be 12½ per cent for a fifty-barrel well, through several different levels, to 35 per cent for over a five-hundred-barrel well. The Teapot Dome agreement (Sinclair's) reads that the royalty shall be 12½ per cent for a fifty-barrel well, through various levels, to 50 per cent for over a 1,000-barrel well. The temptation to restrict the flow of the wells for the sake of paying a lower royalty is obvious. It is like a conditional commission for sale of property. If I am forced to pay 50 per cent commission for consummation of a sale in thirty days, or 12½ per cent if closed in a year, I will do all I can to delay its consummation.

The "graded" royalty basis seems to have been used by the Department as a substitute for competitive bidding. But in general it may be said that the "graded" lease is not looked upon with favor by the oil trade.

As hinted above, the lease for California No. 1, in its conditions as compared to the Teapot Dome contract, is a straight, businesslike agreement. The latter was made April 7, 1922, and the former December 11, 1922. The Cali-

fornia Lease follows the Leasing Act form entirely; it is an agreement which gives to the Government its royalty to be taken in oil, or to be paid for in cash, the lessee agreeing to build thirty-day storage for its holding. It agrees to protect "offset" drilling, and the Government has protected itself by way of future drilling in that it holds a control over the development of the larger part of the reserve.

By a supplementary agreement the lessee agrees to build storage for and keep in stock 3,000 barrels of fuel oil for the Government along the Atlantic Coast, and deliver, if called for, at market prices.

It agrees to furnish without charge 1,000,000 barrels storage at Los Angeles, California, to be placed in the custody of the Navy, to fill the same with fuel oil, and to bunker government ships from it, when required, at cost, and, further, to deliver the government royalty oil at tidewater "free from any pipe line charge." It gives the Navy privilege to purchase any additional fuel oil above its own production at 10 per cent less than market price at tidewater and agrees to sell the Navy products from the lessee's California refinery at 10 per cent less than market price, at California points.

Aside from the point that the Government has broken its own law perhaps, and has made sacrilege of the principles of conservation in leasing acreage beyond that for *necessary* protection, it has, in this agreement, one which affords *some* protection, and one which probably it could not get many, if any, oil companies to duplicate.

The Teapot Dome Lease

By contrast, the contract with Sinclair for Teapot Dome seems almost vicious. It does not follow in any respect the form of the Leasing Act, and it contains covered phrases which I do not believe any ordinary farmer familiar with oil would permit in a contract. As an illustration, the term "natural production," heretofore unknown in oil leases, is defined in the lease as meaning that the well shall not be "artificially stimulated in any way." Out of the 285,000 wells in the United States, probably 95 per cent, at least, have been "shot," or artificially stimulated, by use of nitro-glycerine or other explosives, and no "close sand" is considered properly treated without this stimulation.

The results of Teapot Dome seem to be disappointing in that it has not produced anywhere near the volume of oil expected, though no one of the Government or the public can decide this intelligently today. The net results so far of the royalty levels is about 16 2/3 per cent—one point above the minimum.

Another important condition of the lease, not in ordinary oil contracts, is a concession for the building of a pipe line

over seven hundred miles long, which has been used by the Department as an argument in support of their action. But the oil trade knows that this pipe line would have been built in any event, without the grant, as there was a large excess of production in the adjoining Salt Creek field with sufficient government royalty oil there to insure full freight for the pipe line in itself, contracted to the same interests for a period of five years with option to renew for five more, practically making it perpetual. In fact, there is in the Salt Creek field a total excess production over local demands sufficient for two such pipe lines.

There are some other unusual and what seem to be unfair conditions in the agreement. As it is, Teapot Dome, by reason of disappointing results in yield, is of very little importance as a naval supply proposition, and is only perhaps a lesson for us to profit by. It teaches that we foolishly missed a lot of money in bonuses, and, further, it teaches how not to make an oil lease.

In the final analysis, the net results of it all seem to elaborate, not so much the faults of any political party, as perhaps those of our whole political system. The last administration fooled rather carelessly and ignorantly with the oil question, and if there is any important teaching in it, it is that business, or even household, methods might be applied to governmental affairs with good results, for they demand and get experience where it is needed.

The Blanket Amendment

(Continued from page 17)

equality will be in sight. Then should all organizations of women get together in a general drive for the union movement.

Another devil bobs up with the question: Will passage of the equal rights amendment supersede existing protective laws and leave women unprotected until states pass confirmatory legislation? Answer, no. Present legislation will remain until such confirmation by states. Doubtless a period of years will intervene between the passage of the amendment and its ratification by thirty-six states. In the meantime a basis of equalization for the various industrial laws may be satisfactorily worked out by interested persons, such as you and I.

Following is a suggestion personally offered as a basis for constructive harmonization of the forces interested in the industrial equality phase of the national equal rights amendment.

Let those organizations seeking so-called protective legislation for women in industry support bills providing industrial equality for men and women. Let all organizations work for the woman's trade union movement. Let all organizations promote the fixing of an

economic status for housewives, that the handicap of double duty shall no longer enslave working women nor jeopardize the health of mother and child. Again, let all organizations demand adequate health regulations for all industrial workers, based not on sex but on the industrial strain upon the worker. Finally, let all organizations support the Lucretia Mott Equal Rights Amendment and thus hasten its enactment.

Fanny Bonn

(Continued from page 12)

"There is a great opportunity for women in business in Finland," she says. "Women are in shops and offices where they have had an entrée for a number of years. But they are going even farther. They have good positions in banks, even to the point of sub-directorships. In fact, there is one bank in Finland today which was robbed of two-thirds of its capital by a former cashier and which has been put back on its feet by its present managing director, a woman."

"There are women architects, one of them in business for herself. There is a woman builder, several women in building construction, and women engineers. Women, of course, have shops of their own in which they sell all kinds of wearing apparel and handicraft. Women are good linguists, and there are a number of them who know four or five languages and who act as correspondents in manufacturing concerns and other offices. There are also many women lawyers."

"Women agronomes form one of the largest groups in business. Sometimes these women in agriculture are educated and with a little money of their own. They buy farms and manage them.

Others hire out, working in the fields for their living and a very small sum besides. The presence of women in agriculture is an accepted fact, and there are classes for them in farm work in the lower schools, as well as in the universities.

"Helsingfors is our largest city and its population is only 200,000. Even in a city of this size, however, there are openings for women in factories and mills, as well as in offices and the professions. Textile factories employ large numbers of women and women work in the paper mills. Sorting paper and packing it into bales is not heavy work or hard to do, and women are to large extent employed at this, with men to do the heavier parts of the labor.

"The average hours for women are from nine until five o'clock with an hour for lunch, or from ten until four o'clock with a little rest and coffee in the offices. Many of the big institutions serve luncheon to their employees.

"The big question with us is that of payment. The situation is better now than it was five years ago, but women still receive far less than men for equal work. In fact, women are sometimes given the preference over men for certain work, because the employers can give them a smaller wage. This is the problem which is engaging the attention of women all over Finland at the present time and we hope to secure from our parliament an equal pay for equal work law."

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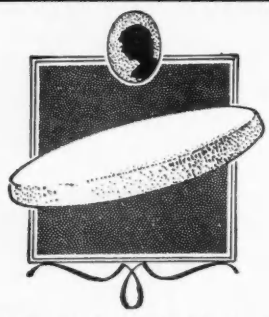
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Our Readers Say

A PROPOS of what Mr. Shepherd says in a recent number of the CITIZEN about independent voting among women—I wonder whether in our family we have not hit on a compromise plan which really makes for better politics than "killing each other's vote."

My people come of a long line of ancestry who were always adherents of a martyred cause—Covenanters, Puritans, Quakers, Moravians, Huguenots. Party regularity is simply not in my blood. My husband's father, on the other hand, died from wounds received in the Civil War, and my husband was taught a devoted loyalty to his father's party.

When the question of our first vote together came up we found ourselves on opposite sides. Neither was willing even to influence the other too strongly: yet it seemed a pity to me that the family vote should be made of no avail by our difference. So we worked out a compromise by which I vote his ticket and he scratches all the names which I condemn.

It seems to me that in the long run (and I am always willing to "wait a minute" for the results which I desire to accomplish) this ought to make for better government than straight party voting by either of us.

MARY STANLEY FIELD.

W. Lafayette, Indiana.

This letter was written to Mrs. Catt:—

I WAS so much interested in your WOMAN CITIZEN article on political campaign expenses that I wanted to write to you and ask if you don't think we should make more, also, of the fact that corrupt business finds and makes a Mr. Fall. Governor Pinchot said in Buffalo, you remember, that the lobbies had been working and working to get hold of our national resources. Big business hammers and hammers on the wall to find a weak spot, and is it much wonder that they eventually hit a brick that feels loose and finally comes out?

Of course, it doesn't avail us much to wonder whether the chicken or the egg was first, but I have seen the representatives of Big Business prancing up and down the back of our Ohio Senate Chamber, with an eye on their creatures sitting there and making our laws, so that I do feel that corruption leaks from the lobby to the floor of the Senate, and that in the Senate the low moral standard is secondary, and reflects the primary low morals of business ethics!—and I always wish we could say so to people more often!

We do make so much of our people who make a lot of money, no matter how, just so it's a very great deal—and they are our "leading citizens" in one community after another—laying corner-stones and presenting silver keys in caskets to famous visitors—and so often they are rich because they have "put over" just the sort of thing we have been horrified at recently.

AMY G. MAHER.

Toledo, O.

P. S.—I suppose I am trying to ask "Can we expect a higher code of ethics in government than we have in our every-day business relations?"

Mrs. Buckland says the CITIZEN is one-sided about the World Court and the League of Nations and wants a chance for her point of view. Here is part of her letter. She dictates as the title "Anti-League Propaganda."

LET'S not be in a hurry to urge joining the World Court until we are satisfied there is not something much better. We can use this Court today just the same as other nations on earth, if we wish to do so. The only thing we would gain by going into it would be the right to help pay the expenses

of it, which would be all right if we used it. But why should we contribute to the high-salaried peace-makers of Europe when they do not make peace at all? In looking over the history of Europe during the last four years we find that every invasion of territory which has taken place during that time was made by a nation a member of the League of Nations, which had subscribed solemnly to the proposition of respecting the territory of other nations. Every military treaty which has been written in Europe during this time, and kept secret as to its exact terms, has been written or negotiated by some of the members of the League, and every innovation begun by a nation pledged under the League to respect the territory of other nations and their rights. So, as much as it was hoped by many people that Europe would conform to the principles laid down, we find at this time, and thus far, that they have been unable to do so. Then why should we join their Court just to help them support something which is not even of much value to them?

But we do need a permanent Court of Justice which is not a part of the politics of Europe and some way to outlaw war. We might just as well talk about human life without air as a court of law without a code of law. Therefore, as peace-loving people let us all help to establish a code of law with a provision that war of aggression should be treated as a crime between the nations of the world. Let us help to outlaw war that those responsible for bringing on a war may be amenable to the laws of the nations. There is now no law by which to punish a man or men who are responsible for fomenting a war. And I cannot understand why you think the most practical way to get international law against war would be through the League, whereas the League recognizes war in seven instances and invokes it in three for the settlement of international disputes.

MRS. C. J. BUCKLAND,

Chairman, Women's Progressive Club.

Thornton, Idaho.

IT has been said that the American people submit to more impositions than any other civilized people. One of the most unjustified, on the traveling public, is the high charge for passports, especially when it is considered that no passport is necessary for an American citizen to enter, or leave, the United States. The former small charge should be reinstated. It is especially hard on college professors, and teachers, who must go abroad to study, also on professional and business people who go abroad for professional or business purposes.

If our passport fees and visas were reduced in price no doubt foreign governments would do the same, as our charges are used as an excuse for the high charges to us. If influential publications would interest themselves, the abuse could be corrected, and the public benefited.

T. B. DAWSON.

Providence, R. I.

I MUST confess my devotion to the WOMAN CITIZEN as a whole, reading small bits at a time, digesting it as I work over my daily round or household duties. Just about the time I feel discouraged and ask myself, "Oh, what's the use?" along comes Does Your Vote Count?, which turns the spotlight of civic duty and worth full in my face. The WOMAN CITIZEN is ideal and filling a very definite gap between the community, the world at large and the home.

M. B.

Hartwell, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Heart to Heart

Our Goal—40,000 Subscribers by Election Day

You, the Advertiser and the Truth

SUCCESS or failure of any magazine depends upon the advertising it carries. The magazine which you buy costs much more than the price you pay. The cost of a single copy often scarcely pays for the paper on which it is printed. The cost of securing a subscriber, of holding him by renewal notices, and of replacing subscribers who drop out, in most magazine offices nearly, if not quite, equals the money paid for the subscription, leaving very little from the subscription price with which to pay editorial and printing bills.

The cost of the magazine is paid for by the advertising and it is the advertiser who makes the modern magazine possible.

When a manufacturer sends you an advertising appeal through the mail every letter costs him one or two cents postage besides the charge for printing, paper and labor. Through the magazine he is able to reach a selected list of people at a fraction of the cost of the letter. So magazine advertising has grown, and as the advertising revenue of a magazine has increased it has been possible to make a better magazine for the reader, and the advertiser has gained a widening market.

The advertiser, the magazine and its readers are partners. Both readers and advertisers profit by the connection.

SOME years ago the conditions in the advertising business, as connected with publications, were rotten to the core. The pages of magazines were filled with the advertising of poisonous nostrums and of fake investments intended only to gouge the public. Publishers were willing to accept any kind of advertising for which they were paid, no matter how harmful. Readers were exploited in every way. Then the idea began to grow among publishers that they were responsible for the material printed in their advertising columns and they began to exercise care about the character of the advertising they solicited and to reserve the right to refuse the use of their columns to questionable advertisers. The best publishers now take great pride in the quality of the advertising that appears in their pages. Advertisers themselves have found that it does not pay to claim more than they can deliver, that honesty in advertising is literally the best policy.

While higher standards of ethics have been growing up in advertising columns, side by side has come a great improvement in the ethics of selling advertising space. A few years ago an advertising solicitor felt himself justified in telling any kind of tale in order to sell advertising in his publication. He was little concerned with the value of the space to the advertiser. The value of an advertisement depends on the number of bona fide readers who will see the advertising. Advertising solicitors were so unreliable in their statements about magazine circulation that a system of auditing circulation grew up, and now all standard publications have an audit by the Audit Bureau of Circulations, and most advertisers want to see the A. B. C. statement of a magazine in which they contemplate placing advertising to know exactly the figures about its circulation, paid and free. So that today the entire business of periodical advertising is very different from the piratical cut-throat business of some years ago.

Readers of the best publications now can rely on advertising statements they read in them as being honest, and they know that such advertised products have the endorsement of the publisher.

THERE is no business in the world in which competition is keener than in securing advertising for a publication. A man who is buying advertising space weighs very carefully the value of a publication for his particular proposition before he spends his money. An advertising appropriation for any product is necessarily limited. Ten times as many periodicals are clamoring for his advertising as he could afford to take, and of necessity he scrutinizes the figures set before him by each periodical and weighs carefully the different advantages which each one has to offer.

It takes a long time for a periodical to establish its value in the mind of a good advertiser. The reputable publication builds up bit by bit, slowly and carefully, its reputation for telling the exact truth about its circulation and the kind of people whom it reaches. It cannot afford to be vague in its statements, untruthful in its figures, or even exaggerated. Honesty of statement, delivering a little more than is promised, has been found to be good business, both for the magazine and the advertiser. The public has also gained.

Never Mind the Heat!

What is going to be the effect on this presidential election of 29 millions of women with votes? Is Woman Suffrage going to add simply increased numbers to the huge electorate or will it bring into the service of the nation the common sense, the independence and the intelligent thinking of the millions of mothers and home makers?

Women are pledged not only to get out 75% of the eligible vote this year but to make that vote a power for good government.

Every woman needs this summer more than ever before to **keep well informed** on the **issues of the day**. In the *Woman Citizen* she will find facts about the progress of the campaign, unbiased and reliable, both sides of campaign issues as fairly and squarely presented as possible, and she will be encouraged, after she knows the facts, to use her own judgment and trust her own common sense. For the busy woman, or the woman of leisure on vacation, the *Woman Citizen* will be indispensable if she wishes to be ready for the fall election.

A Few of the Articles Scheduled for Coming Issues

The Story of the Democratic Convention

as seen by the Citizen Staff.

The Democratic Platform

analyzed by Carrie Chapman Catt.

Three Occupational Articles

Women in Law.

Women in Recreation.

Women in Journalism.

The Blanket Amendment

discussed by Mrs. Catt.

The Twelve Most Famous Women in America—Continued

Carrie Chapman Catt, stateswoman.

Minnie Maddern Fiske, actress.

Julia Lathrop, social worker.

What Shall We Do With Our Giant Power?

by Col. Hugh L. Cooper, the famous engineer who dammed the Mississippi.

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The Woman Citizen

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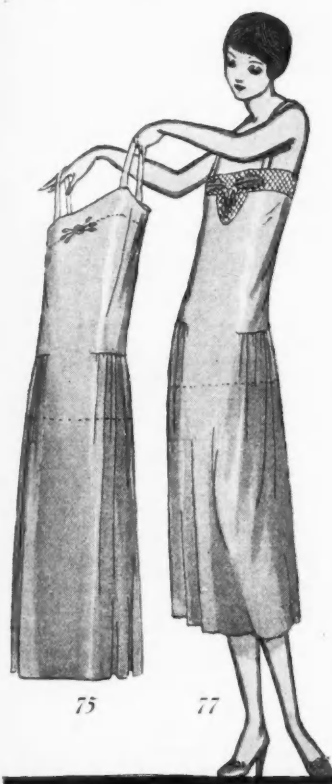
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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director Editor
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Advertising Manager Associate Editor
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART WINIFRED L. RICH

The Woman Citizen is published bi-weekly September to June and monthly July and August (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City; Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City. By subscription, \$2.00 a year, postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. LIII Old Style.
Vol. IX New Style

No. 4

OUR OWN DINGBATS

A MEMBER of our family made the suggestion yesterday to an unknown politician that hereafter national conventions should be held in halls large enough only for the convention and the press, and that all other listening should be done by radio. ♦ ♦ ♦ Today we read this suggestion in the paper credited to a national committeeman ♦ ♦ ♦ Quick work, we call it! ♦ ♦ ♦ This is the first time we ever went ding-batting at a national political convention, with one eye and ear open for a change in the roll call. ♦ ♦ ♦ We fear it will come to the point where we can't work without hearing every so often, either direct or by radio, that "A-la-ba-ma casts twenty-four votes for Underwood." ♦ ♦ ♦ Well, we decided to hold this magazine open a while in order to admit the two Democratic nominees, or at the least to put a climax on our narrative of the convention. ♦ ♦ ♦ But even that inducement didn't bring them to a decision. ♦ ♦ ♦ We're getting so used to having the delegates around, too, that we'll be lonesome when (or if) they leave. ♦ ♦ ♦ It is sad to think how many digestions are being ruined by meals at irregular hours, with a hot dog and ginger-ale diet that is not at all what Dr. Alsop recommends. ♦ ♦ ♦ New York receptions won't do any more harm, anyhow. ♦ ♦ ♦ Our visitors have outstayed, not their welcome, but New York's program. ♦ ♦ ♦ It begins to look as if we have acquired the convention habit. ♦ ♦ ♦ We were quite depressed over not getting back to the second Cleveland meeting. ♦ ♦ ♦ It struck us in the early stages that the Democratic Convention had turned into a class meeting—so many people related their religious faith. ♦ ♦ ♦ But when we impulsively tried that bright thought out on a neighbor and she looked blank, we realized not all are brought up Methodist ♦ ♦ ♦ and quite a number have been brought up since class meetings went out of style, at that. ♦ ♦ ♦ Thomas Jefferson's gig (so small that we wonder how any man got in it) has been on exhibition in the Waldorf, and it is a true story that a delegate (MAN) refused to wear one of the Jefferson buttons that were being distributed because he had already picked his candidate. ♦ ♦ ♦ Let it be noted that wild horses couldn't drag from us a remark about the way the delegates have aged since they came. ♦ ♦ ♦ And now shall we dismiss all conventions sine die? ♦ ♦ ♦ Our esteemed associate is on the briny deep, and we fervently trust that, contrary to her fears, she is able to maintain a perpendicular attitude at will. ♦ ♦ ♦ We hereby warn all and sundry that if there are any further announcements of persons going abroad this summer on pleasant trips ♦ ♦ ♦ the galleries will be cleared. ♦ ♦ ♦ You see we can't take our conventions or leave 'em alone. They haunt us. ♦ ♦ ♦ We wake up calling the roll-call, and we don't expect ever to say Alabama, Texas or Georgia again without adding at least its number of votes.

Women in the Public Eye



Caroline O'Day

MR.S. O'DAY was chairman of the New York delegation at the Democratic Convention—the first big Eastern state to have a woman chairman.



Belle Sherwin

National Photo

HERE is the proudest woman in the Democratic party—Izetta Jewell Brown, who seconded the nomination of John W. Davis, of her state. Mrs. Brown had the honor of seconding Mr. Davis' nomination four years ago, and both times she covered herself with glory. She is well known in the politics of West Virginia, and in other forms of public work as well. She is an ardent feminist.



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Izetta Jewell Brown

ABOVE, the smiling woman is Miss Belle Sherwin, president of the National League of Women Voters. The cup she exhibits has nothing to do with golf. And it hasn't been won at all, yet. It is the cup that will be awarded to the state League showing the greatest percentage in increase of vote in 1924 over 1920, in the National League's big drive to get out the vote.



Virginia C. Gildersleeve

PHOTOGRAPHS of the Dean of Barnard are rare. This one shows her on the eve of sailing for the conference of the International Federation of University Women in Norway, July 28.



Wide World Photo

Mrs. Sally H. Burch

MR.S. BURCH is chairman of the Woman's Committee which was one of the members of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland. She was a member of the Rules Committee.

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

JULY 12, 1924

Number 4

News Notes of the Fortnight

Conventions—The Keynote

GENERAL news for the thousands who have been absorbed watchers of the Democratic National Convention, has faded into the background. Meantime, the Conference for Progressive Political Action, intended to follow the Democratic Convention, was held for two days in Cleveland, July 4-5, and closed with the nomination of Robert M. LaFollette as an independent candidate for President, on his own platform. A brief account of this convention, particularly of the women's part in it, will be found on page 23.

Senator LaFollette's running mate is to be chosen by the national committee; no third party is to be organized at present, but the campaign is to be carried on with a view to party organization after the election. The chairman of the convention, attended by a thousand delegates, was William H. Johnston, president of the International Machinists' organization, and Mr. LaFollette's son, "Young Bob," read his message to the convention. The platform contains planks familiar in Mr. LaFollette's creed—such as public ownership of waterpower and of railroads; high taxes on large incomes; reconstruction of the Federal Reserve system; "abolition of the usurpation of the courts"; use of the Federal Government's power to crush private monopoly; revision of the Treaty of Versailles; the abolition of conscription; reduction of armament; "less power of privilege."

We Go to London

ON July 16 an Allied Conference is scheduled to meet in London to consider the application of the Dawes Commission report to the matter of reparations. As a result of an invitation to the President to arrange for official participation of the United States in the conference, Ambassador Kellogg has been detailed to attend, "for the purpose of dealing with such matters as affect the interests of the United States, and otherwise for purposes of information." And let it be understood that Ambassador

Kellogg will have power to *speak* for us on questions in which the country has a direct interest. Among such questions are our claims against Germany for the maintenance of the Rhine army of occupation, as well as individual claims of American citizens filed with the German-American Mixed Claims Commission.

Herriot Under Fire

BEFORE the conference Premier Herriot of France will send out to all the other governments a memorandum setting forth the French Govern-

ment's reparation views, arrived at by M. Herriot in consultation with many experts. It will say that France has no intention of surrendering her present guarantees against Germany, and will claim Allied sanctions against Germany in case of default.

Herriot's enemies, led by M. Poincaré, oppose the new Premier's German policy and are up in arms against the suggestion of a new body that would lessen French influence in the Reparation Commission. They have circulated rumors that on Herriot's recent visit to MacDonald at Chequers Court he made great concessions. But just as Poincaré was on the point of attacking Herriot in the Senate Premier MacDonald rushed to Paris to help him.

In an intensive day's work the two men drew up a compromise program for submission to the conference. It yielded to the French demand that French influence should remain paramount in the Reparation Commission, and the two premiers agreed that an American should be invited to sit with the Commission in order to decide, when the time comes, whether Germany has or has not failed to meet payments under the Dawes plan. German leaders are dismayed by the premiers' agreement, and are pinning hope on Secretary Hughes' visit in Europe.

M. Herriot not long ago permitted 210,000 exiles from the Ruhr to return to their homes.

Will Great Britain Go Dry?

RECENTLY the House of Lords debated a bill concerned with the restriction of the liquor traffic in Great Britain. Though it did not pass it has stirred both wets and dries to new activity. It brought out the fact that the annual liquor bill of the country is now \$1,800,000,000. Reports from Dublin claim that the Irish Free State is about to take up the problem, too, and is considering a stringent licensing bill that will place restrictions on the open hours of the public places, and on the selling of liquors where other commodities are sold.



Wappaolah Creek, Dusk on the Wando, The Eutaw Swamp in December, are names to be found on Alice R. Huger Smith's water colors. They make one think of the South, and it is from South Carolina that Miss Smith has received her inspiration. Born in the lovely old town of Charleston, she has caught, through the medium of transparent water-color, the fields, forests and marshes of the surrounding country. Of course she has exhibited in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago, as well as in Baltimore and the other chief Southern cities.

Another accomplishment is a book which she wrote in collaboration with her father—"The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina."

Oil Indictments

THE Democratic National Convention took time off to listen to the announcement that Albert B. Fall, Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny had been indicted for alleged conspiracy to defraud the Government in connection with the oil deals. Two additional indictments, accusing Doheny and his son, Edward L., Jr., of offering, and Fall of accepting, a bribe of \$100,000, were returned by the Special Grand Jury, before which the Government's special counsel, Atlee Pomerene and Owen J. Roberts, have been representing the Government. As the evidence presented about the oil leases was brought out by Senator Walsh, of Montana, it was natural that in his post as permanent (oh, very) chairman of the convention, he should admit the announcement.

It will be remembered that each of the four indicted—Fall, Sinclair, Doheny and his son—refused to submit to further questioning. Fall claimed his constitutional prerogative. Sinclair defied the Senate, denying its power to subject him to inquisition—a point still to be settled by the Supreme Court. Edward Doheny, Jr., declined to answer the Grand Jury's questions on the ground that it would tend to incriminate him.

The indictments were returned on June 30, and the men are to be arraigned in the criminal branch of the District of Columbia Supreme Court.

Let the Women In

THE British House of Lords is about to consider again the proposal to admit peeresses to that sacred body. Since the refusal of the House in 1922 to admit Lady Rhondda, there has been a considerable addition of women to the electorate, and the number of women in the House of Commons has been more than doubled. It is expected that at the next general election there may be a hundred women candidates in the field. All these factors are supposed to have a bearing, but there is still a sizable group of bitter-enders in the House of Lords opposed to seating the peeresses. Conservatives, as well as Liberals, however, are now among those lined up in favor. Lord Astor is one of the leaders of the movement.

Germany Gives In

THE difficulty over Allied military control in Germany for the purpose of seeing whether Germany has armed strength beyond the treaty provisions seems to be ended. During the height of the Ruhr occupation, the military control provided for in the treaty lapsed, and the presence of Allied officials in Germany would have been dangerous. Recently the Council of Ambassadors practically issued an ultimatum to Ger-

many on this point, and the Marx Government complied. The note of acceptance from Germany made no serious conditions. It did ask that the inspection should be completed by the end of September. Though this was refused, the French and British premiers promise all possible speed. They have also agreed to consult the German Government on executive details.

The inspection will cover these points: demilitarization of the so-called police forces, transformation of munition factories, legislation against importation of war material, and surrender of documents concerning war material. Some question has been raised about gymnastic and athletic associations of German youth as the nucleus of a menace to peace. Chancellor Marx defends them as having the educational value of military conscription, no longer permitted in Germany.

The Outlawing of War

AN extremely interesting event was the vote in June of the League of Nations Council to submit to all the governments represented a report on limitation of armaments prepared by two American experts. The two are: Professor J. T. Shotwell, of Columbia, and General Tasker H. Bliss, of the American Peace Mission at the Paris Conference. The work began last fall when Dr. Shotwell was in Europe and a number of European leaders asked that some contribution of American thought might be made to this world problem of disarmament. As a result, Dr. Shotwell, on his return to America, assembled a non-partisan and unofficial group of ten men to consider drawing up a draft treaty. The document that came out of their study and conferences was sent to Europe last month.

It is a treaty to outlaw war, a treaty to "declare that aggressive war is an international crime"—to make outlawry of war a principle of the League of Nations, and to further it through that means.

"It is so conceived," says Dr. Shotwell, "as to be open to any nation, whether it be a member of the League of Nations or not, and is perfectly applicable to those outside the League as well as those inside." The draft provides that the Permanent Court of International Justice shall have jurisdiction to decide whether or not this international crime has been committed. If any contracting power is judged guilty, "all commercial trade, financial and property interests of the aggressor, and of its nationals, shall cease to be entitled, either in the territories of the other signatories or on the high seas, to any privileges, protection, rights or immunities accorded by either international law, national law, or treaty." More about this later.

Mussolini Wins

PREMIER MUSSOLINI, of Italy, seems to be weathering the crisis precipitated by the murder of the Socialist Deputy, Matteotti. The crime has not yet been cleared up, though the responsibility of Fascist leaders is obvious. The Premier appeared before the Senate late in June, and made a candid statement of the situation, admitting the need of discipline among his followers. The Senate voted him hearty approval. A few days later the King also delivered a message to representatives of the Deputies and the Senate, appealing for harmony. Following that, Mussolini made changes in four Cabinet posts, sacrificing Fascists and choosing the new ministers from the Liberal Constitutional party.

By Air

WE have a transcontinental air mail service now from San Francisco to Long Island—already becoming a matter of regular routine, and heartily appreciated by banks and other financial organizations. Already, across hundreds of miles of the route, guiding lights are arranged to blaze out at night—street lights of the air. July 1 was the date of the first transcontinental flight in the regular service.

And speaking of air flights, the American army round-the-world flyers have reached Persia.

"White Indians"

"WHITE Indians," or merely Albinos? Richard O. Marsh, civil engineer, brought three blond children, a girl and two boys, from the Darien jungles of Panama, and left the argument over their origin to scientists. The most romantic theory made them descendants of Spanish conquistadores who had wandered off into the jungle; but the formidable group of scientists who met to weigh in the balance the bewildered little aliens decided they aren't white at all, but real Indians. Nothing Nordic about them. But neither are they true Albinos, according to the scientists, but just abnormal in coloring—in other words, "sports."

Revolution in Brazil

LAST week a revolution broke out in Sao Paulo, the great coffee center of Brazil, spreading rapidly to the surrounding country. Federal forces immediately marched on the insurrectionists, and there were many casualties on both sides. Censorship, as always in such cases, was clamped on tight; but news leaked through that the outbreak was political, engineered by an opponent of President Bernardes. The plan was to seize political control of Sao Paulo and use that as a weapon to bring the downfall of the Federal Government. At this time the revolutionists seem to be almost defeated.

The Democrats in the Garden

The CITIZEN staff went to the Democratic National Convention. All rode by turn on one ticket, setting forth armed with badge and ticket, and returning with assorted impressions to be recorded, and reported. Some drew "fat" sessions, with good speeches or high excitement; some lean. Outside of their ticket turn, some listened in by radio—part of the estimated fifty million hearers of convention proceedings. So when the word "we" appears in this story it means we literally, not editorially.

We held this magazine back from the press in the hope that we could publish a story of the nominees in case we had not already sketched them as candidates. Then, as that hope failed, after we had sent to the printer some of the account that follows, we hung on for merely a climax. Now, just as we had decided it must be a serial story, the last gavel crashes. All this is why your magazine comes to you a bit late. In the next issue there will be a story of the vice-presidential nominee.

THE "Greatest Show On Earth," otherwise known as the Democratic National Convention, was quite properly held in Madison Square Garden, home of circuses and prize-fights, horse-shows and rodeos, and a swimming pool that is a dream of cool delight in mid-summer. The center of New York community life since its erection, it was for sixteen days the center of the community life of the nation. Block-big, four stories in height, the beautiful old building sits at the green corner of Madison Square looking like a bit of Venice among New York skyscrapers. Flags fluttered in long lines almost to the tip of the lovely tower topped with the famous *Diana*; rippled from edges and cornices. Compared with the gravely classical auditorium at Cleveland, where the Republican convention met, the Garden was like a lovely lady in flounces and curls, in contrast with a stately woman in a Greek robe.

Once past the outpost policemen who ward off the ticketless, past the legitimate descendant of Humpty-Dumpty who guarded the door, through the bare, behind-the-scenes corridors devoted to hot dogs, telegraph operators and soda-pop; past the languidly stern young usher and into your precious seat—the Garden took your breath away with its spectacu-

lar beauty. Picture a huge, hollow oval shell with a flat floor, a narrow band of box seats that rise sharply back to the wall, a white-railed speaker's platform that stands out from the middle of one long side like an off-center prize ring, and galleries rising one directly above another straight up to the glass roof.

All of it was an amazing pink. Whatever the political color of this convention may have been, its visual color was pink. The red of the miles of flags and buntings which lined the whole interior softened to pink in the shaded light. Usually, delegates and visitors were packed in so tight that their clothes were indistinguishable, and opposite walls and the floor itself were a field of dimly blended pink faces. A vast, indefinite, toned-down, blurred pinkness. At intervals narrow gleaming bands of blue-white light cut through, swept grandly up and down the hall, and were blotted into the pink hazes. And for dramatic contrast there was the wide blue rectangle of sky where the giant flag which formed the ceiling parted—sky, with *Diana's* tower blocked out against it.

So much for one's eyes. One's ears, if they arrived on time, were confused by a steady hum of undistinguishable human noises, overlaid by the consistently sprightly music of the hard-working band. Fifteen minutes tick past the scheduled opening hour, thirty minutes, forty, and still the speaker's platform seems aimlessly busy, full of conversation, pricked by the darting flights of messengers. At last—often an hour late—falling into the ceaseless hum like drops of water, come the slow, tired taps of a gavel. The noise increases. Again and again the slender hand of the chairman raises and drops his gavel. The pulsing noise dies down. The chairman

says something utterly unintelligible, and another man takes his place. A devout head or two closes its eyes, and you decide that the sounds coming out of the loud speakers—the bunch of horns that look like a second-hand lot of Gabriel's cast-offs—must be prayer.

The convention—any session—has opened.

And gradually to each observer the blurred mass of the delegates resolves itself into individual faces with discernible sectional characteristics, and to each listener the platform sounds become more intelligible. There were times when the voice and intonation of a speaker, and the whim of the loud speakers, exactly agreed, so that one understood the whole of a long and capable address. But generally to the layman such a convention is a better place to watch and listen to mass movement than to hear speeches.

And it is the mass movements that make this the Greatest Show of all. The enthusiasm that sweeps over the delegates in response to some unknown stimulus as a calm sea responds to an unseen breeze. The determined marchers pouring into the aisle for Smith and McAdoo. The sudden crazy dance of state standards, whirling dervish fashion or madly jiggling as a favorite son is named. The menacing threats of ordinarily peaceful delegates against the silent, sullen Klan states. The majestic movie-lights, huge as enormous drums, obedient to their white-clad pigmy masters. The power of the band to rouse wild cheers with "Beautiful Ohio" or any other favorite state song.

No mention of mass movement is complete without an account of the women who form such a large proportion of the mass. They have come down from the



Madison Square Garden, where the Democrats deliberated. From the Manhattan Club and the Madison Square Hotel, at the right, Governor Smith and Mr. McAdoo listened in

galleries, out of their former protected isolation as guests at the spectacle, into the state delegations, onto the speaker's platform, into committee rooms and party councils. They are thoroughly at home even if their more slow-moving brethren keep them still on the defensive. Publicly they are all over the place. They take part joyously in demonstrations, marching gaily around under state banners, shaking hundreds of hands with an amiable seriousness. They do not seem to run to back-slapping, and one doubts whether the daily expenditure of feminine stories is as great as that of the masculine variety. One woman delegate doubted pensively that women would ever attain the degree of political skill necessary to make them shout "What the hell do we care?" for an hour and a half on end.

Getting down to details about the women, the 1924 Democratic convention has to its credit more women than were ever before connected with any political convention. There were 476 women delegates and alternates, and hundreds of visitors. A committeewoman from every state, with full equality with men since 1920. Two women secretaries, Miss Esther Ogden and Miss Nancy Cook. Women as tellers and announcers from delegations. Women as chairmen of state delegations, particularly Mrs. Daniel O'Day, of New York, pioneer in heading the delegation of a big state. A woman chairman of the Committee on Credentials—following the Republican "scoop" in naming a woman chairman of a permanent convention committee.



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Kate Waller Barrett, who seconded
Carter Glass

Mrs. Leroy Springs, she was—of South Carolina, who, in addition, was one of the women who seconded Mr. McAdoo and was herself put in nomination for the vice-presidency. (As we are printing her picture, it is needless to tell how well she graced the platform in each of her functions.) For the first time in political history a woman was vice-chairman of the convention, and actually presided for a time. She was Miss May Kennedy, a woman nationally not known and, one suspects, appointed through

local influence; secretary in the sheriff's office and an organization worker; but at any rate she presided capably and attractively.

Of the women who seconded nominations, not one overtalked her time, the speeches ran to a high average in quality and several were stars in the wordy firmament—for instance, Mrs. Izetta



Campbell Studio, N. Y.
Mrs. Leroy Springs, Chairman of the
Credentials Committee

Jewell Brown, with her trained stage appearance and gift of humor (it was she who seconded John W. Davis's nomination in 1920 and again this year); Mrs. Carroll Miller, of Pittsburgh, with her crisp seconding of Smith's nomination and her splendid speech against the Klan in that brilliant battle of Saturday night; Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, motherly, clear, direct, whose speech seconding Carter Glass was a hit.

The women talked well, they obeyed the rules, they showed themselves trained, with the shine still bright on their parliamentary law. They were prepared, just because they are new, to go the men one better. They looked well, too—tastefully and smartly gowned, with a sense for summer appearance that left the men far in the lurch. Their thin white summer frocks and the chairman's formidable morning coat and bastion of a collar made a contrast all to women's advantage. But positions of honor and decoration are not to be confused with the real sharing of responsibility in shaping policies. Neither at Cleveland nor in New York did a woman sit as a member of the important committee that formed the platform. As at Cleveland, women's organizations came and pled their causes—won some, lost some, but no woman's voice voted on the issues in those long agonies of decision.

First of the two major parties to grant women equal representation, the Democrats have gone far in admitting women to inner places. Witness Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, serene and charming woman chief, vice-chairman of the National Committee—a position of power. Witness the women behind the platform scenes here—Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, presenting to the Resolutions Committee

the desires of the women's organizations, Elisabeth Marbury, in charge of New York's gigantic hospitality, and others. But *noblesse oblige* should be the attitude of the party that is proud of its pioneering in 50-50 representation, and it is a pity the 1924 convention didn't take that one big step to give women equality of influence on policies.

Big moments interrupted the long strain of speech-making that filled the first days. On the opening day there was the emotional lift of the "Star Spangled Banner," sung by Anna Case, lovely in white and black, intensely dramatic, while a shower of tiny silk flags fell on the great audience. Far bigger—the moment when, in the midst of Senator Pat Harrison's keynoting thunders at Republican sins, he spoke the name of Woodrow Wilson and a tremendous emotion swept the audience to its feet, while on its waves the delegations' state standards began to sway out and around in a parade—perhaps the first time this demonstration ever paid tribute to the dead. As the band played songs of the great war the huge audience kept up its applause, quieting only when Anna Case appeared again, to sing the dramatic "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

(May one use a parenthesis for a few lines of grief over the band? A band that wouldn't follow the leadership of such a singer as Anna Case, but snatched the songs from her and smothered them? A band that played "Marching Through Georgia" when the Georgia delegation was furious at its daring member who had denounced the Klan; that played "A



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Mrs. Carroll Miller, who made two
fine speeches

Long Trail" when Underwood was nominated? Maybe it wasn't all the band's fault—we know not who gives the signals; but it is a good subject for convention inquiry: how to make a band conform.)

The second day brought a second attack, with chapter and verse, on the scandals at Washington during the past administration. No wonder—since this was the speech of the "greatest investigator" of all—Thomas J. Walsh, permanent chairman of the convention. And

let it be said right here that the task of Mr. Mondell in the corresponding post at Cleveland was child's play. Senator Walsh, in the first place, had fifteen days of it. He had a whole row of contentions where Mr. Mondell had one. He had demonstration after demonstration to steer the convention through. He had the inexhaustible local enthusiasm over Smith to endure. Wrath he showed in full measure, and often; but never lack of control—even in the tense small hours when Klan and anti-Klan clashed in battle, and in the long, long drone of the roll calls.

Yet, for all that, two observers of women's conventions, making allowance for the great difference in the purposes of any women's gatherings and those at the Garden, found the convention at first a shockingly disorderly affair, even aside from the great demonstrations in which human enthusiasm was aided by artificial means. What we marveled at was the failure to begin on time, the cluttered aisles, the frequent failure to call time, the too—oh, too many words.

Those words were the words of the nominating and seconding speeches. If we began to tell the story, we should commit the same sins. But from the afternoon of the second day, when Alabama put up Oscar Underwood, until the late afternoon of the fourth day, when West Virginia completed the list of sixteen nominees with John W. Davis, there was such an outpouring of fulsome praise, exaggerated claims, and—it must be said—HOT AIR—as surely *must* constitute a record. To put no finer point upon it, we can't believe it was necessary or useful. "The man I am about to name," "The man who is a platform in himself"—these phrases and the withholding of the name for a climax, were flat as effervesced soda-water long before they ceased.

Of course, there were splendid exceptions, and let it be said at once that we can't name all of them, and that if we have already picked out the women it is because the oases offered by the women's speeches were the more numerous. But a notable exception in the men's ranks was the speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt that put Alfred E. Smith before the convention. It was temperate in tone, it recounted achievements, instead of mere superlatives, it was made in a clear, rich voice by a man of fine presence. It was within its time limit. (What followed, to be sure, was neither temperate nor moderate nor well-timed—New York's wild demonstration over its beloved governor; a demonstration in which, if the story is true, the manager's wishes were disregarded by Tammany forces—and which probably harmed its object.)

If women newly trained to brevity and conciseness yearn to help their party, let them find a way to curb long speech-making. Let them do it quickly before they themselves contract the habit.

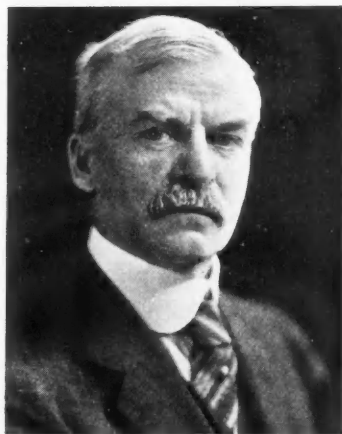
On the afternoon of the second day—Wednesday—the Committee on Platforms and Resolutions began its sessions—some of them, contrary to usual practice, secret. By the next morning it was clear no report was forthcoming at once,



Champlain Studios

John W. Davis, Democratic Nominee for President

and nominations were made the next order of business. All through Thursday and Friday the report was pending, and knowledge of great difference of opinion trickled through. Finally, on Saturday morning, the chairman told frankly and seriously of the night-long struggles over the plank on the League of Nations and that on the Ku Klux Klan—struggles which on Saturday early morning had seemed so to threaten the very existence of the party that the committee had had recourse to prayer. So the convention adjourned, in grave mood, until three o'clock in the afternoon—and fidgeted until four for the arrival of the great sheaf of the re-



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Thomas J. Walsh, Permanent Chairman of the Convention

port. Several voices were worn out in the reading of the long document. Then came the moments the convention had been waiting for—when Newton D. Baker read his minority plank on the League of Nations and W. B. Pat-

tangall of Maine, his on religious liberty. Briefly, the majority report on the League of Nations praised the League as the one effective agency, coupled with the World Court, for world peace; it recommended its removal from party politics and its submission to the people, free from entanglement with other issues, through a nation-wide referendum. The minority plank sought to secure the explicit advocacy by the Democratic party, with reasonable allowance for reservations, of entrance into the League which its great leader had sponsored.

The surface difference between majority and minority was similar in the second case—it was not no-League vs. League, nor Klan vs. anti-Klan. The majority affirmed freedom of religious thought and expression, and the minority mentioned the Ku Klux Klan by name. Controversial questions—? Yes, two of the most controversial in the world. And the four hours of discussion that followed could hardly be surpassed for suspense, and brilliant oratory, for tension, bitter charges and challenges. Standing out above all was Mr. Baker's defense of his report—an impassioned and powerfully moving plea for loyalty to Woodrow Wilson and his ideals; for renunciation of "expediency"; a scathing criticism of the referendum plan as unconstitutional and impotent to carry us into the League before kingdom come. It was a speech of burning emotional power, thrilled through and through with devotion to his dead chief and that chief's cause, poured out by a man worn and haggard by long nights of fighting a losing battle, afire with a desperate passion. It was the convention's high moment, spiritually; and the house rose to it—to Newton Baker and to Woodrow Wilson—again and again. But the delegates voted down Mr. Baker's appeal by a large majority, just the same.

It would not be fair to claim that all who spoke against Baker and all the delegates who voted against the minority report, were opposed to the League of Nations. There can be no question that sincere friends of the League believe its interests will be best served by taking it out of politics so that League Republicans will feel free to speak for it, and so that it will stand where suffrage stood before the country. Some of these even believe in the referendum plan as a possibility. On the other hand, many of those who agree with Mr. Baker see in this plan, which they consider unconstitutional and impracticable, a mere dodging of the issue, a retreat.

Gradually, while the brilliant League debate was going on, the tension over the coming Klan contest heightened. The house filled to capacity; policemen sprang up in double, treble numbers all over the auditorium, crowding the aisles and fringing all the edges. Trouble was

(Continued on page 24)

Thirteen Planks—In Two Platforms

By Carrie Chapman Catt



On the eve of the great party conventions there were five distinct problems widely agitating the public mind, and each one was regarded as a matter of first political importance by a large group of citizens. It was clear that all political parties expecting to make a nation-wide appeal for votes must make a pronouncement upon them.

In order of importance indicated by the platforms of both dominant politi-

cal parties these were: (1) Reduction of taxes, (2) relief for farmers, (3) enforcement of prohibition, (4) world peace and (5) the abolition of illiteracy.

In the background six other questions, somewhat less fundamental, were troubling the public mind. These were: (6) The very serious political maneuvers of the Ku Klux Klan, (7) the bonus (it will be recalled that very emphatic opinion was expressed that there could be no bonus and a reduction of taxes at

the same time, yet the bonus was passed), (8) the treatment of disabled soldiers and the redemption of the Veterans' Bureau, (9) child labor, (10) Japanese exclusion, (11) lynching. The politicians themselves found two other questions of crucial importance: (12) How is the Federal Treasury to be filled? and (13) Philippine independence. What the two parties say upon these thirteen questions is of prime significance to intelligent voters.

Here it is:

Republican Platform

(1) Stands for: Reduction of taxes, reorganization of executive departments and bureaus, non-partisan commission to report on lax systems of state and Federal government and a national conference of Federal and state officials for developing methods of lessening tax burdens.

(2) Favors: "Tariff protection to such agricultural products as are threatened by competition"; assistance in organization of coöperative marketing of farm products; bringing back "balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor, destroyed by Democratic party." (All promises indefinite.)

(3) Favors: Placing prohibition enforcement forces within the classified Civil Service; the enforcement of all laws (prohibition not mentioned).

(4) Favors, as measures of peace: Adherence of this nation to World Court "as recommended by President Coolidge"; calling conference on limitation of land forces, submarines and poison gas; opposes membership in the League of Nations but favors coöperation with other nations in humanitarian efforts; party "reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace."

Favors, as steps of preparedness for war: Development of commercial aviation; drafting of material resources as well as men in time of war; no weakening of our regular army and appropriations for training of all members of National Guard, Citizens Military Training Camps, the Reserve Officers Training Camps, and maintenance of Navy at full strength allowable by international agreement.

(5) No expression.

(6) Affirms adherence to constitutional guarantees of religious tolerance. No mention of Klan. Clear evasion.

(7) No mention. Clear evasion.

(8) Indefinite promises of continued help for disabled soldiers.

(9) Urges legislatures to ratify Child Labor amendment.

(10) Endorses Asiatic exclusion.

(11) Favors anti-lynching law.

(12) Favors tariff protection and does not discuss the income tax. Shakes the time-worn sword in its scabbard.

(13) Opposes Philippine independence now.

Democratic Platform

(1) Stands for: Reduction of taxes and points to the Democratic revenue measure passed by last Congress as distinguished from the Mellon tax plan as an illustration of the party policy.

(2) Favors: Adjusting the tariff so that the farmer can buy in a competitive manufacturer's market; lower rail and water freight rates; assistance of movement for coöperative marketing; credits for the farmer; restoration of European export market; internal waterways systems and cheaper fertilizer. (All promises indefinite.)

(3) Favors: Applying Civil Service provisions to internal revenue officers; the enforcement of all laws (prohibition not mentioned except indirectly).

(4) Favors as measures of peace: "Strict and sweeping reduction of armament by land and sea"; "the outlawing of the whole war system"; reaffirms its faith in the League of Nations and World Court, and proposes the submission of entrance into the League to a non-partisan election under Federal direction; a referendum on war by all nations except in case of actual defence; no definite promise of immediate action on World Court.

Favors, as steps of preparedness for war: Development of commercial aviation; drafting of material resources as well as men in time of war; advocates an army and navy adequate for national safety until international agreements to eliminate competition in military programs have been secured.

(5) No expression. Favors Secretary of Education and Relief in Cabinet. *Belongs to Rep. platform*

(6) Affirms adherence to constitutional guarantees of religious tolerance. No mention of Klan. Clear evasion.

(7) No mention. Clear evasion.

(8) Indefinite promises of continued help for disabled soldiers.

(9) Conflicting emphasis on states' rights and promise to coöperate with state governments for the "welfare, education and protection of child life." Not clear.

(10) Veiled endorsement of Asiatic exclusion.

(11) No mention. Evasion.

(12) Favors tariff for revenue and emphasizes belief in the income tax as a source of revenue. Shakes the same old sword in its scabbard.

(13) Favors Philippine independence at once.

See page 29 for Mrs. Catt's summary of the Democratic platform, corresponding to that of the Republican platform in the last issue.

Through an unfortunate transposition of lines,
on page 10 of the July 12th Woman Citizen, "Favors
Secretary of Education and Relief in Cabinet" (Item
5), was credited to the Democratic rather than the
Republican platform, where it belongs. We are
calling your attention to this clerical slip in
order to prevent its further spread. Won't you
kindly oblige us by taking your pencil and trans-
ferring "Favors Secretary of Education and Relief"
(5) to the opposite column, following the words
"No expression", in your copy of the Citizen.

Virginia Roderick
Editor



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That Round Peg

Being a Story of Woman's Physical Prowess

By Kate M. Tucker

SO far women have stuck pretty closely to traffic cops and street cars. The trail-making and its glory they have left to the boss, although their part has al-

ways been to sharpen his axe and tighten up the lacings of his pioneer leggings. Now they are putting on leggings of their own and swinging a fair-sized axe. On every hand business women suddenly strip themselves not only of social conventions, but of all the desperately acquired business conventions of recent years, and dance freely away into the wilds to build up businesses that they really want, on little but their own energy and initiative.

To prove my assertion the following concrete example is the best in my experience:

Last summer I met three women on the Atlantic seacoast. They had established a well-to-do business and were exceptionally happy in their work, far from the madding crowd and the dust of the city. To quote the spokesman (for the stories of the three run parallel):

"My job fretted me, the city fretted me, the people I met I hated. Realizing that this was not healthy, I put a five-dollar bill into my side coat pocket and made a call on the family practitioner. He looked me over and, after pounding numerous places, said: 'At the rate you're going, five years is the limit for you.' I made up my mind then that, whether it would be five or twenty-five, those years were going to be spent in peace and in serving myself, even if I had to spend them in a shack somewhere in lone mountains. Returning home I broke the news to my apartment partner who held an outcast job at a so-called Employment Bureau.

"She turned slowly about and fixed a speculative eye on the mutual cat who sat blinking on an auction-bought davenport. And she said: 'How shall we pack him?' Which remark, being developed, betrayed that she had no intention of being left alone. That explains the second person here.

"The next thing for the expedition to do was to decide what work we would locate. Tearoom seemed best, knowing that even if we failed in this, we could still feed ourselves while failing. Having thought out this difficult situation, we remembered an acquaintance who had once mentioned being connected with a colony on the coast.

We went to see him immediately and rented his house for the season. Then we packed, closed up everything so that it would not be possible to get back, said mean things to our friends so that they would not want to see us again, and set



"Who'll help you?" "We'll help ourselves."

forth some five hundred miles 'straight out.'

"Two days before we left the city our rural landlord died, and no one at the local station had an idea about a rambling white house on the end of a point. 'Summer folk' were still scarce, and the rain poured down with the nice sodden sound that the nor'easters generally bring. A flivver found the house, hidden away behind three or four curves and over a river or two in the road. And in it lived ghosts and rats on gay and festive terms with numerous insects and spiders. It took a coat of paint and an open fire to drive the sea 'spirits' back to the waves, which broke almost at the doorstep.

"We had just \$40 between us, no friend from whom we could borrow nearer than New York, and nothing in the house to eat. Consequently we ran on credit, using the china and silver which had been carried with us from the city, and washing them between the courses until the increased trade (we'd hung out our sign at once) allowed us to buy more. Experience was disastrous to our pocketbooks at first because costs were most difficult to calculate so far

from the railroads and sources of supply. However, in the middle of the season our flivver friend of the earlier paragraph discovered an automobile bargain and brought it around to us. It was a good working model, designed somewhere about 1922, but the easy terms appealed, and as a speeder it resembled Zev on the home stretch. We bought supplies at half price several miles further out of town.

"Realizing that all our labors could be easily sold out to the highest bidder, we checked up a list of wealthy friends from whom we could borrow, and then approached the new landlord with a purchase offer. Evidently he had figured the same way, for the value of the house increased amazingly during the conversation. Recovering from the shock we sought new territory and new ideas, and were rewarded.

"Five miles farther out of town a worn-out farm offered possibilities. The house had queer floors which meant that the beams underneath were rotting, the roof had a shaggy bang which had not been cut evenly and from the porch rails long torn bands of black mosquito netting swayed out toward the road like hungry, grasping fingers. Yes, it was gloomy, but the most of its numerous acres lay face up to the southern sun, the main highway ran past our front door, and the owner was willing to take a high mortgage. So we bought it on our savings, which were nothing at all, borrowing most of the money we needed for purchase. Collecting the same money and clearing the title covered the winter months. These were spent under seven feet of snow on the level, far away from the European financial crises. The only echo we had came when people suddenly didn't loan us money after they had promised, and someone else had to be located who had not invested in French francs.

"The first of March we took possession, taking a bed, two chairs and a trunk with us on the logging team. The worst blizzard of the season struck the second of March and no one could get in or out for a week. Macaroni, if well cooked, is not half bad for food, but on the sixth day out the welcome at dinner was not so cheery as at first. The well was located some hundred feet from the house, and being in fairly low ground, was covered three times by storms during this week, and had to be

(Continued on page 25)

Julia Lathrop, Friend at Large

By Catherine I. Hackett

YOU'LL find her on page 1861 of your Who's Who—"Julia Clifford Lathrop, humanitarian." And then a brief paragraph of facts—that she was born in Rockford, Illinois, graduated from Vassar College, did social work at Hull House in Chicago, and served for nine years as chief of the Children's Bureau. Just those few facts—about the woman who is responsible for the success of one of the greatest social experiments of the country, the government bureau whose province is the children of the nation, and whose hand has pointed the way to some of the outstanding developments in social welfare of the present century. One can imagine her writing down with some distaste and impatience that skeleton outline of her life, and saying to herself that no one would ever bother to look her up, anyway.

It was on a May morning, over toast and coffee on the balcony of the clubhouse of the American Association of University Women, that I asked Miss Lathrop that time-honored question of the hopeful interviewer: "Tell me something about your early life—how did you happen to take up social work?"

The writer has known that question to lead to forty-five minutes of self-revelation with no further questions asked. Here she made her first discovery—Miss Lathrop is like no other person she ever interviewed. She has an actual, sincere, acute dislike of talking about herself. She looked up quizzically from her grapefruit.

"I suppose," she surmises, "this is one of the results of that dreadful list of twelve." Then, after a moment's thought, during which the writer decided not to take out the nicely sharpened pencil which was all ready to take notes. "There's Mrs. — at the next table. She's very interesting, and I'm sure she'd love to have you do a pen portrait of her."

She sees the worried look of the Hopeful Interviewer at this inauspicious start. "Can't you," she suggests, with a small, appealing smile, as if asking pardon for being so disobliging, "just write a little paragraph telling where I was born and how old I am and—and things like that, you know?"

Somewhere, somehow, there must be a touchstone to the marvelous thing that is Julia Lathrop's mind, the mind which organized the new Children's Bureau, which put through the first Juvenile

Court law in the country, which laid the foundation for the Sheppard-Towner law.

"What did you mean in one of your speeches when you said that the only remedy for dependent and delinquent children is to abolish poverty?"

Then, for close to an hour, while the coffee grew cold, the interviewer listened to Miss Lathrop talking about ideas on social work, and realized that ideas and ideals are the world she lives in—she simply cannot conceive why anyone should be interested in her as a personality, but she is immensely earnest that



Julia Lathrop

they should see the problem of human welfare as she sees it. It was not until the Hopeful Interviewer was a block away from the clubhouse that she realized she knew not one thing from Miss Lathrop's own lips about her life, or "how she happened to take up social work." She is credited with having said, once, in answer to that question, that anyone who is the eldest of five children as she was, is bound to be interested in child welfare!

"Anyone who has studied the children brought into juvenile courts realizes that a large part of juvenile delinquency is due to grinding poverty," she answered a query. "It is at the basis of our social problem. I believe that within fifty years we can make a start toward abolishing poverty—the social worker sees already definite attacks being made on poverty, and by paths so direct that they are unavoidable. An illustration of this is the juvenile court, which in sev-

eral cases has established the principle that cash allowances or pensions from public funds made to mothers struggling with extreme poverty are the most economical way to prevent the neglect and ruin of children. This principle is being extended, and the public is coming to see that it is to its own interest and economically sound to prevent by some such means the poverty of certain classes.

"The drive against poverty will go on with increasing momentum, as the public is educated to the importance of abolishing it through state action. This is a move based upon economics, and not upon sentiment."

At the recent convention of the National Committee on Child Labor in Washington, Miss Lathrop declared that the next ten years will be, in the improvement of child welfare standards and the stimulus of education, the most significant in the history of the country.

"I am not an optimist," she insists, "I am only stating facts."

Her slogan, the keystone of her work as chief of the Children's Bureau, and of the years in Illinois when, as a member of the State Board of Charities, she was laying a foundation for that work, is "Give them all a fair chance." This was the central idea of one of her notable speeches, her presidential address before the National Conference on Social Work at Atlantic City in 1919, when she said:

"Democracy is that form of government and spirit among men which actively insists that society must exist to give every human being a fair chance. A fair chance for everyone does not begin with adult life nor with infancy. Its mysterious springs are more and more swathed in mystery as we push backward from the man, the youth, the child, the baby, to the endless line of the generations out of which each living being emerges in his turn. But our responsibility is only with today."

It is told of her that a Democratic friend once asked Miss Lathrop, a staunch Republican, whether she did not "believe in Democracy."

"I have never seen it tried," was the reply.

One hopeful sign she sees is the interest of women voters in welfare legislation. As president of the Illinois State League of Women Voters and as newly elected first vice-president of the National League, she believes that the combination of idealism and practicality exemplified in the League is an instru-

ment of potential power for social good.

"After a long and bitter, but not warping experience, the woman got her vote," she pointed out. "Now she needs education to learn for what ends to wield this powerful instrument. The woman voter is interested naturally in child welfare and other phases of social work. She must remember that politics and political action are only the mill, and not the grist—a means, and not an end. The great province of the League of Women Voters and other women's organizations is educational. Secondly, its value is in the means it offers for coordinating group action toward certain ends.

"There is no dividing line between so-called economic legislation and welfare work. Everything which affects the life of the nation—be it agricultural relief, taxation, labor, or railroad legislation—affects the lives of children and the welfare of citizens. It is all, in a way, 'welfare' legislation, and conversely there is no such thing as pure welfare legislation, which is all fundamentally economic. Such measures as the Shepard-Towner law are only a small part of the whole great pattern—the process of civilization is to fit these small pieces in where they belong, to achieve a harmonious and perfect whole."

It is thoughts like these that make Miss Lathrop one of the most sought after speakers in the country.

"I hardly ever agree with anything she says, but I would walk twenty miles to hear her speak," said a Washington newspaper woman. Her willingness to speak is based upon her devotion to the cause she serves—first and foremost in her heart the cause of the nation's children, and after them, the whole body of the poor, the unfortunate, the criminals, the "submerged tenth." Why, she argues, since there are such important things in the world as the great social developments of today, should anyone care to know about the details of her career?

Once only was she caught applauding herself, and that all unknowing. As chief of the Children's Bureau and as a member of the Vassar College Board of Trustees, she was attending Commencement exercises at the college. She frankly admits that she does not like to listen to long speeches. On the occasion of one of the Commencement addresses, she nodded gently and inconspicuously in her chair. Opening her eyes, she realized that there was tumultuous applause at the conclusion of a statement from the platform. Politely she joined in. A friend beside her allowed her to clap for a few seconds, before telling her that the applause was called forth by the mention of her name in the address!

She has, besides the children of America, one great enthusiasm—Miss Jane Addams, with whom she associated many

years at Hull House. "Miss Addams," she says, "comes the nearest to being a genius of any person I know."

One can imagine with what zeal she worked under Miss Addams in those early years at Hull House, then a great social experiment in its early stages. She still spends much of her time there. After graduating from college, Miss Lathrop went into her father's law office as his assistant, where she received legal training which stood her in good stead in the trying days of the fight for the maternity-infancy bill, and the administration of the two child labor laws by the Children's Bureau. She worked with her father until, as she says, her brothers "came along and shoved me out." Miss Addams was an old friend of the family, and to Hull House she went as a confessed novice in social work. Soon she was appointed volunteer visitor for Cook County, her first "job," having charge of all cases within a radius of ten blocks of the settlement. In her book, "Twenty Years at Hull House," Miss Addams says of her that "the

ested in the condition of dependent and neglected children in these institutions, and turned to the club women of the state in her effort to improve conditions. Then as now she had great faith in the power of education, believing that the public conscience, once aroused to the need for reforms, will bring them about. She has always held that the collection and publication of reliable statistics and facts on any bad situation will start a demand for its improvement. With the support of the club women, she succeeded in putting through a civil service law for state institutions.

One likes to think of her going the round of these dreary places talking to the inmates and uncovering intolerable conditions which had always been taken for granted just because no one made it their business to do anything about them. One likes to think of the revelation she must have been to some of the stodgy officials who shuddered at the idea of any change. One wonders, for instance, what they thought of her when, to test out a newfangled fire escape in a factory employing thousands of women and girls, she tucked her skirts around her ankles and slid down from an upper floor to see if the thing really would work!

There was a forewarning, too, of her later intolerance for political considerations hampering social reforms, when in 1901 she resigned from the State Board as a protest against political exploitation of the state institutions. Her protest served its purpose; she was reappointed by Governor Deneen in 1905, and served until 1909.

It was during those fruitful years in Illinois that she became interested also in a higher standard of care for the insane in state institutions, and organized the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene, in which she served as president. She also saw the need for better training of social workers—that social work, if it was to achieve greatly, must be raised to the dignity of a profession—and organized the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. It was Miss Lathrop, also, who was responsible for the first juvenile court law, and who was active in the building up of the Chicago juvenile court, the first of its kind.

There was a title conferred upon her about this time—a title bestowed by her city on a well-loved daughter who was holding ever higher a lamp for the feet of those walking in the darkness of the slums and poorer districts—a title carrying with it much of respect, and more of intimate affection. She became known as one of the trio of "Chicago's Maiden Aunts"! The other two were Jane Addams and Mary McDowell.

In 1912, President Taft called her to head the newly organized Children's Bureau. She was the trail blazer for Washington's distinguished group of

(Continued on page 25)

FOR ELIZABETH

On Her Eighteenth Birthday

By Ethel Arnold Tilden

ALL of my dreams that have never come true,
Daughter, I'm dreaming still for you—

The scarlet cloak; the silver gown;
The house on the high hill looking down
On little valleys and wooded streams—
Daughter, I still keep all my dreams—
The dark-eyed lover; the garden where
Valley lilies flood the air
With sweetness and where thrushes sing
And red birds nest spring after spring;
And loved work—most—to fill long days;
Dusk, a low room where fire-light plays
Upon old walls when nights grow chill
And the pines sing low on the wind-swept hill;

Far journeys past horizon's bend,
But always at the journey's end,
Hearth's content and quiet sleep—
Every dream of mine I keep—
All of my dreams that have never come true,

Daughter, I'm dreaming still for you!

county commissioners were at first dubious of the value of such a visitor, and predicted that a woman would be a perfect coal-chute for giving away county supplies, but they gradually came to depend upon her suggestions and advice."

In 1893 she was appointed by Governor Altgelt to the State Board of Charities—the first woman to serve in such a position. With characteristic thoroughness, she tried to live up to a seldom-observed regulation which required members to visit once a year all the poorhouses and jails throughout the state. She became particularly inter-

Editorially Speaking

The Kluxers

PROBABLY the alleged five millions of members know what the objects of the Ku Klux Klan are, but no one else does. It is said that only Protestants are members and that it is opposed to Negroes, Catholics and Jews. It is said to stand for the enforcement of prohibition and all moral law.

If these objects are correct, the first is clearly unconstitutional. (See Amendment first: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," etc.) It is clearly in violation of the most sacred of our traditions, since the early colonies were inspired at the beginning by the desire to find a spot where they might "worship God according to their consciences," and were recruited for some generations from groups possessing these same aspirations.

This is the one country in the world where religious conflict should not be tolerated.

The second alleged object is meritorious, but why is it necessary to proclaim the aim in secret or enforce it by the terrifying process of a masquerade costume? Were the maneuvers carried out by the Boy Scouts it would be regrettable but explicable as a boy's game. When governors, mayors and clergymen, as is alleged, perform those tricks, the outsider who knows something of history is filled with an amazed disgust. The whole contemptible procedure is a reflection upon our national intelligence, dignity and sincerity. It is calculated to stir up race and religious suspicion and hate, but even these are not its worst traits. In secret, and under oath, all sorts of misrepresentations and out-and-out lies can be passed along and will be believed by the small-minded because they are alleged to be secret information obtained from the mysterious sacred source of things.

For example, there have now come to our office letters from ten states giving us the confidential information that the reason the United States Senate refused the entrance of this country into the League of Nations was that the League would be controlled by Catholics. Some went further and added "and the international Jew bankers." Whether this whispering campaign of lies and intolerance was instituted by the Kluxers or someone else, it happens that they travel along the same road, and the secret order prevents investigation as to the source.

The education of public opinion, which is the only real sovereign we know in this country, is endangered by these pillow and sheet maskers. Come out in the open, Mr. Kluxer. If you want to make a political war on any man or body of men, do it, but meet your opponents in the open field like brave Americans, and not behind an oath and a pillow case.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



The White House Tragedy

THERE is no party, no division in the country's sympathy with the President and Mrs. Coolidge in the tragic loss of their young son. The trivial cause emphasizes the pathos, and makes the boy's death seem more bitterly unnecessary. The swift ferocity of the attack stresses human helplessness, even with the best of modern science at command. Death for a boy just on the verge of manhood is always specially poignant, and this lad had the world before him. From the testimony of his friends and of the doctors,

Calvin Jr. was a fine boy—modest, humorous, disciplined, and only too game and Spartan.

Such comfort as there may be in the heartfelt sympathy of a whole country goes in full measure to the stricken parents.



The democratic Democratic Convention

IT is just over—the long, vociferous strain of the Democratic Convention, and the party has offset the painful impression of the prolonged deadlock by the choice, not of a nonentity compromise, but of a strong man of undoubted ability. Without going into details—readers may look back at the issue of June 14 for some of those—it is evident that the Democrats have chosen in John W. Davis a man with the advantages of a clean record, aloofness from the battles that have rent the convention, and of a fine independence of mind.

But the deadlock—what locked it? The obvious answer is the unwillingness of the two leading candidates to withdraw, and the hopeful insistence of a flock of favorite sons. But two important means by which the deadlock was prolonged, it gradually appeared, were the operation of the unit rule, so undemocratic in its imposition of the will of a bare majority of a state's delegates on the whole delegation, and—the women.

"It's the women who are holding this convention back"—machine politicians made the comment indignantly. "They don't understand politics. Men could have got together and settled this thing long ago. It's exactly like a poker game, but the women won't play. They just sit tight on their instructions, and you can't budge them. They'll learn, though, in time." (And these men never dreamed they were paying compliments.)

Of course, one would need to take a poll of all the women to be safe against unsound generalization. But there is evidence enough to show there's truth in the politicians' lament. Women stuck to their instructions because that is what they thought they were sent for; because they are *not* playing a game but are in earnest about government; because of a literalness that is a characteristic feminine quality, and was perhaps carried to an extreme of inflexibility. Among these women there was clearly a group that believed they were in a wet and dry fight above everything else, and they were set like a rock to protect a moral principle. Others were equally implacable on the religious issue which had been so violently injected into the convention, and which seemed to many observers dominant, with the wet and dry issue crossing it; and on a reactionary vs. liberal line up.

The whole thing was complex and crisscrossed—another clue. As one delegate said, "There surely can't be much manipulation, or we wouldn't be so bewildered." And that is an outstanding thing about the convention. Bosses there were, and hard at work, probably more than we outsiders can know; but apparently the bosses did not make the decisions. This was democracy at work—fumbling, as democracy must. Someone said recently, "Our first great task is to make democracy efficient." But that is too far ahead. Our first task is to get democracy to work, freely, even if freely does mean fumblingly. Perhaps the long agony was growing pains—and the final result will be freedom from the bondage of unit rule, for instance, and other means that prevent conventions from expressing the delegates' will.

Anyhow, the women were learning things about politics; and they have developed a habit of doing something about what they learn.

The Middle-Aged Woman's Job

IS it true that there is in this country a large group of women who are unhappy because after their mothering days are over there is nothing worth while for them to do with their time? Alice Wholey, in the *New Republic*, paints a pathetic picture of the middle-aged woman without a job, who feels herself superfluous because her children are grown up and no longer need her, and her husband successful, so she is relieved from household drudgery—she is not trained for any other kind of work but has still twenty or thirty years of normally productive activity ahead of her, and she finds no work anywhere suited to her ability and training, to fill in the gap. She sets aside the cultural club as having no longer a reason for existence, what with university courses, magazines and lectures, and the field of civic affairs and politics she thinks must be left to younger women with different training and outlook.

To the CITIZEN it seems that if women of this type cannot find work the fault lies within themselves, for the world is suffering from the lack of the work which they are preeminently fitted to do. The boundaries of the present-day home have spread far out into the community, and the work of the home to protect and strengthen and develop the young for life's tasks, if it is properly done, must also be carried out into the community. So long as it is confined inside the four walls of the house the mother's task is only half done.

The big job of the American woman today is still mothering, but mothering along twentieth-century lines, and a woman's age makes no difference, or whether the children are her own flesh and blood or not. The work is there waiting for the mother's instinct and training to do it.

For example, the educational influence of streets and movies for good or evil rivals the schoolhouse. Playgrounds and swimming-pools, road houses and dance-halls all need the mother's care. The garbage problem needs the housekeeper. Its proper handling might mean a community income instead of the present tax burden. Lack of the housekeeper's thrift in civic housekeeping means high taxes draining unnecessarily the home pocketbook.

Here is work a-plenty—work where the mother's training would be invaluable. Let the middle-aged woman take a fresh start and get busy with her traditional job of mothering in a new field.



Exploded Fallacies

TWO fallacies about women, long cherished by men, have been completely upset by the Democratic convention. For years men have believed so thoroughly that women are both unpunctual and talkative that women have grown to accept the charge. But women now know that it is the men who are the unpunctual and talkative sex.

At women's conventions, sessions begin at the hour scheduled and time is called on every speaker and procedure. Sessions of the Democratic convention began from thirty to sixty-five minutes late. Speakers were usually allowed to drone on interminably. Only the women kept to the time allowed them. Little provision was made to keep the crowd silent. The noise and disorderliness and confusion of most of the sessions made listening a strain even for those near the speaker's platform.

Careful, patient attention to details seems to be a feminine characteristic, due, perhaps, to centuries of experience with bringing up children. In the American household it is usually the mother who maintains discipline. Both in the comfort and physical well-being of the delegates, and in the expedition of the business of the convention, the sessions of the General Federation of Women's Clubs Biennial were in great contrast to the Democratic convention. In Los Angeles,

a small army of women were carefully trained for weeks to keep the wheels of the convention running smoothly and noiselessly. Placards marked in large letters "Silence" were in the hands of every usher, and orderliness and quiet prevailed on the outskirts as well as in the center of the convention floor. The result was that in spite of the poor acoustics of the hall, everyone could be heard and every delegate knew what was going on.

The CITIZEN would like to suggest that at the next national conventions of the political parties the help of women should be enlisted in the details of management.—G. F. B.



"Consider Her Ways"

IT would have been a distinct advantage to the Democratic convention if the platform had been presented to the convention twenty-four hours before action was taken. It is only fair that time for deliberation and discussion of important questions should be given delegates before the debate on the floor and the final vote.

This procedure has been adopted quite generally by women's organizations. Some of the larger ones go even further. It is customary for the League of Women Voters to send important resolutions which are going to come up in a convention to state Leagues, and the state in turn passes them on to the local Leagues for discussion and action, so that when a resolution is finally adopted by the national convention it has behind it the majority opinion of League members throughout the country.

If time could have been given after the platform was presented to the Democratic convention before the final vote was taken, it is probable that there would be less to regret and apologize for now.



"The Daughters of Men"

IN a recent article on "The Daughters of Men" (*Christian Herald*), Margaret Slattery, who knows girls if any one does, has something arresting to say about men's responsibility for some of the things they condemn in their daughters. Men, in particular; but the implications are for society as a whole. Her indictment is that our standards of talk and our standards of action don't correspond. Just for one instance: a young girl, "wholesome, live, keen, warmhearted," was graduated from the high school in a town that presents a medal and ten dollars to the best all-round girl—scholarship, health, spirit, character. She won the prize, a small picture of her was printed in the papers, and her friends were very proud.

A little later there was a contest for the title of the most beautiful girl in the state. A girl from this same town won it, but she got a wonderful summer outfit, a trip to a seaside resort, and a visit to the mayors of two cities, where she was received with acclaim. All this merely for being beautiful, as if that weren't enough in itself. The "best all-round girl" was bitter—no one had offered her a position, or tried to help her get a college education, and no mayor had praised her. Perhaps she was unreasonable, but her attitude was natural, and the difference in the two marks of appreciation is an indication of all-too-prevalent standards. If we are going to hold our young people to high ideals, the community must set them.



IT is rather entertaining to reflect that it was South Carolina that put a woman in nomination for the vice-presidency. Certainly the world does move, in the South. This time the nomination was a pleasant compliment, a mark of appreciation. Some day it will be more substantial.

What the American Man Thinks

About Women in Political Conventions

"Women Want Facts"

By Elon H. Hooker

Eminent Civil Engineer and Citizen

WOMEN have brought to the political conventions a gift which is going to be appreciated and put to good use when the men begin to understand its significance. It is a contribution which is part of women's mental equipment, and I shall name it without further introduction. The gift is practicality.

We were talking about this subject one night at dinner during the Cleveland convention, and I wish there were space to report the debate. The conclusion was that on matters pertaining to home economics, the essentials of life, and conservation, women think more objectively than men. No orator can start the tears in women's eyes by talking of mother love in the abstract, of the pricelessness of economy as a philosophic concept, or of the heart call of home and fireside. We men are known to melt under these appeals, but women want the facts. Mother means to them the job of bringing up father, Bobby and Mary. They figure economy as saving money to educate the children, and home and fireside echo in their hearts in terms of grocery bills, the butcher, clothes for the family, and meeting the rent.

Women think this way about such things because they are conservationists by heredity. They have had to think that way ever since they were handed the responsibility of keeping the fire burning in the cave. They have had to deal and work with the little things that make the family life livable. Generalities have no meaning for them. Their minds go straight to the point and arrive there first.

I heard Mrs. Grinstead of Kansas second President Coolidge's nomination. She said in three minutes all she had to say, and all that was needed to be said at the time. Every word hit the mark, and she sat down and was quite probably the most astonished person in the auditorium at the genuine cheers the crowd gave her. Mrs. Barrett of Virginia, in seconding the nomination of Senator Glass in Madison Square Garden, repeated her Republican sister's triumph. They both "got across" because their intuitive sense of proportion made them direct, practical and objective.

Now, with a few memorable exceptions, these qualities have been rarely found to excess among the political leaders in our history, and are hardly to be reckoned among the traditions of any party. Consequently, I look for a change in methods. Many of the traditions, precedents, and previous practices will have to be revised to meet this new point of view on political questions. If they are not changed, I am afraid that, unless a good reason is found for their remaining in place, they will be packed off to the attic along with other discarded furniture. Economy will have to be budgeted, reform will require being mapped out, and platforms will gradually be built like new homes.

Again the American woman has surrendered this department to the American man—to get a few of his opinions on her influence, if any, in political conventions. The men who have kindly responded have seen conventions in almost womanless days, so they have ground for comparison. If any woman wishes to talk back, she may.

In saying this, I know perfectly well that I am letting myself in for some contrary-minded, Noes! from many of the older guardsmen, and from their point of view, quite justly. But in all humility I can reply that if any aspirant for office doubts the accuracy of my prognosis, let him try the experiment of facing a hall full of women and attempting to instruct them by glittering generalities on specific topics with which they live on their own home grounds, and report to me his adventure. I have had some experiences in politics myself, and will be able to sympathize.

Rip Van Winkle

By ———

THE personal pronoun is a troublesome thing. An editor bids you in a dictatorial way to go to a certain place—say Madison Square Garden—and there observe various notables, giving your personal opinion of the cause and effect of their actions and appearances.

If in so doing you chance to use the first person singular, you are damned for egotism and inexperience. If you say "we" you are sued for infringement of editorial copyright, and if you seek

refuge behind the evasive form of "one saw," or "one heard" your origin is blamed on Harvard or Christ Church.

How would it do to seek anonymity behind the expurgated dash as in literary profanity, leaving it to the reader to construe the worst?

Let's try it.*

So then *She*, the editor, roughly bade me, a mere male of innocent antecedents and noticeable longevity, to go and observe and, on returning, write for you and her my exact impressions of this present Democratic convention as compared with other conventions extending back to as near Andrew Jackson's time as I cared to go.

It took the collective services of some half dozen gorgeous policemen to introduce me into Section 18. They did not seem sure of themselves. I never saw the majesty of the law so flustered in its mind, and when they abandoned me I inferred from the adjacent signs that I was in the midst of Costa Rica, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands and Louisiana. I felt so isolated that it was some time before I found courage to stare.

The place was deathly quiet. An inaudible figure on a remote platform soundlessly waved a report or manuscript. There was sound of a sort, but it was more like an overtone, a low, drowsy hum pitched at about the key of a syringa bush at sunset when the bees are tired and about ready to call it a day.

Down a nearby row I counted heads—twelve. Seven of them with noticeably smart bonnets and bobbed hair. The other five *all* wore their coats; none of them were chewing tobacco. Something seemed wrong; it distinctly conveyed that Rip Van Winkle complex. Wasn't it a Democratic convention? I never saw so many *sober* people in one place in my life. And, come to think of it, I never saw so many policemen in Madison Square Garden at any of the biggest fights. Can it be that they hire these extra policemen to *keep* them sober, or has Volstead done this in four short years? Names of statesmen of bygone years haunt me—"Bath House John," "Fingy" Connors, "Hinky Dink," "Broad" Macabee. It wasn't always thus, so deathly quiet, so demure. Is it possible that these stalwart Puritans who have been loading the *Ladies' Home Journal* with reprobations of the younger set are all wrong? Because you know, judging by the standards of the conven-

*The editor wouldn't let ———.

tions which nominated Grover Cleveland these are the younger set—these quiet, capable, mannerly ladies and gentlemen who are settling our destinies in Madison Square Garden.

There is something uncanny about it to an old-timer who has heard debates on the ethical differences of straight crooked work as against "legitimate grafting," or listened to the passionate defense of a politician who had only "gilled" his opponent, and whose honor had been wounded by the base accusation that he had "gouged" him.

The man on the platform has become audible. McAdoo has four hundred and odd votes. Smith has three hundred and something. Even Davis' friends seem satisfied—there is polite but scattering applause, and a few Chautauqua salutes.

I don't want to start any trouble, heaven knows. But is this by any chance one of the symptoms of the w. k. refining influence of woman?—this absence of cuspidors and shirt sleeves and sotto voce profanity? Are we already showing signs of better manners? Shall we in time become not only decent but actually honest in our politics?

We might. We certainly show signs of having come a long, long way.

P.S.—The anonymous author of the above did not attend the convention during one of the demonstrations with siren accompaniments. But even then there weren't cuspidors nor intoxication, and there were MORE policemen.

The Gentlers

By George F. Authier

Of the New York World Press Bureau in Washington

THE women have left a deep impress on all of the three conventions held this summer. Their influence is not to be measured by the success they have attained in the platform declarations, although that is not negligible. It is more evident in what was left out of the platforms.

One outstanding accomplishment is the fact that no party has undertaken to write a "wet" plank in its platform. Even the Democratic party, part of which has been crying aloud for modification of the Volstead Law, was silent on the subject. The presence of women on the convention floor, participating in the work of committees, appearing before them with their demands, and the visualization of the women in their homes about election time, kept the declaration out.

Of course, many may not regard this as a good influence. But no well-informed man or woman will deny that just as the women had much to do in making the country dry, so they are having a large part in keeping it so.

There was one occasion in the history of the protracted Democratic Conven-

tion when the influence of women was paramount. That was the famous night when the Ku Klux Klan plank was being discussed. There was real danger, that night, that the convention would break up into a riot. Men fully anticipated there would be shooting. There probably would have been trouble had it not been for the fact that women were on the floor and in the galleries, but more especially on the floor.

The influence of the women is for the humanization of politics and of government. They forced an oblique declaration in favor of approval of the child labor amendment into the Democratic platform. They had to fight hard for the small concession granted there. A Democratic convention is hardly the place to awaken keen enthusiasm about child labor laws. Not because the Democrats are more "hard boiled" on the subject of child welfare than any one else, but there are sections of the United States which resent any interference with their local administration. The Democratic platform declaration on this subject may mean practically nothing, but it is there and that is something for the women to be proud of.

The women proved themselves excellent speakers at every convention. Harriot Stanton Blatch spoke at the Progressive Conference which endorsed Senator La Follette for President. It was one of the best speeches delivered in any convention this year.

One of the outstanding indications of the fact that women are adjusting themselves to their new environment in politics is the evident fading away of the distinctly "woman" movement. They realize that suffrage creates a partnership; that they cannot vote as women alone and serve their country as a whole.

Their activities in the conventions, however, made it clear that they contribute what the men have failed to give in the largest measure—an ideal of social service. The ideal of making government more kindly to the distressed. Of forcing government to interest itself more intimately in such subjects as education, about which all social progress revolves. In child welfare, in hygiene, in general health. They have contributed a gentler attitude toward affairs, they have encouraged honesty and sincerity, they have contributed to a cleaner form of politics.

An Englishman's View

The following is from an article on the Convention written by an Englishman, P. W. Wilson, which we are quoting by courtesy of the New York Times.

INfluence the women are clearly more than fifty-fifty. The old idea of a woman in politics was some one

who dressed badly and looked worse. The women who were prominent in Madison Square Garden took care to be perfectly gowned; and in voice, restraint and charm they invited the inquiry why mere man was needed there at all.

What they had to say or sing was not shouted; yet it was clearly heard to the last syllable. The singing of Miss Anna Case was exquisite in its command over the multitude by a single individuality. The women, in organization, were brisk, businesslike, efficient. And unless we men drop some, at least, of our childish behavior, it is clear—on both sides of the sea—that the stern necessities of the state will bring our sisters into positions of greatly increased responsibility.

Educated, well read, diplomatic, thoughtful, these Democratic women have their eye on the future. What they were thinking about was not the game of politics, but its serious objective. They want to stop war. They want to stop drink. They want to stop poverty. They want to foster and preserve health, especially among children. They are the priestesses of the dawn.

"Arrived"

By E. Lee Trinkle

Governor of Virginia

I HAVE been profoundly impressed with the effect of women on the National Democratic Convention. They have been earnest and serious members of the body, and have contributed greatly to the tone of the meetings. I have not seen a drunken man on the floor of the convention, and I feel that the presence of women is largely responsible for this. The men have treated them not only with courtesy, but with marked respect, and I think that their influence has been of weight in the councils of the convention.

It is the seriousness of the women that has most impressed me, and their evident desire to fulfil their responsibility as delegates. The men seem to realize that women have arrived in politics. It is not only that the speeches of the women have been marked with a high degree of excellence and have shown great power, but the part the women have taken in the work of their respective delegations is very encouraging to those who are interested in women in politics. The women have not acted without thought, but have shown a fixed intention of mastering the subject matter before them and of acting upon conviction.

I am convinced that their weight and their influence will be felt more and more in succeeding conventions.

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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At the Democratic Convention

EVIDENCE that the National League is exerting a powerful influence in the deliberations and activities of political parties came to the front again at the Democratic convention in New York. Recognition of the League's place in the body politic was repeatedly expressed at the Republican convention in Cleveland, and a similar reception was noticeably present throughout the Democratic gathering.

The League, through a special convention delegation, presented the same planks to the Democratic party which were suggested to the Republican platform makers. Through the efforts of the delegation chairman, Mrs. Solon Jacobs, of Birmingham, Alabama, former second vice-president of the League, and a one-time member of the Democratic National Committee, the League had the honor of being the first organization heard by the resolutions committee, after Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt had presented the findings of the women's advisory plank committee.

There was evidence of a most cordial reception from members of the resolutions committee, as Mrs. William Hibbard, of Chicago, director of the fourth region; Mrs. LaRue Brown, of Boston, former national child welfare chairman, and Miss Gertrude Ely, of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, director of the second region, made a plea for Democratic endorsement of the League's planks, which urge American entrance into the World Court, ratification of the Federal child labor amendment, adequate appropriations for public welfare agencies of the government, creation of a Federal department of education, and establishment of the merit system throughout the government service. Mrs. Hibbard talked on international relations, Mrs. Brown on the public welfare plank, and Miss Ely handled the civil service argument.

In addition to the speakers, the official delegation included Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, second vice-president. Miss Belle Sherwin, president, and Miss Adele Clark, director of the third region, were also at the hearing, and attended the lengthy convention sessions.

League headquarters, which was established in room 338, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, proved to be a popular center, arranged as it was on the same corridor as the Democratic National Committee. Visitors from nearly every state in the Union registered. Hostesses from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut Leagues, who kept "open house," reported scores of men visitors. Callers showed marked interest in the planks presented to the resolutions committee.

Scores of League members were numbered among the delegates and alternates to the convention. ANNE WILLIAMS.

Kansas at Work

THE Arkansas City League, which is about a year old, held its annual meeting and election of officers after a luncheon on June 9. Reports for the year showed an increase of membership to nearly three times the original number. A public forum has been held each month. Miss Ruth McIntosh was the speaker of the day. The League voted to undertake a house-to-house canvass and to reach each ranch home by flying squadrons before the elections in November. Officers elected were Mrs. A. J. Hunt, president, to succeed herself; Mrs. G. D. Ormiston, first vice-president; Mrs. Ralph Brown, second vice-president; Miss M. Duvall, treasurer; Mrs. E. R. Tufts, secretary, and Mrs. Jacob Seyfer, chairman of get-out-the-vote work.

The Wichita League held its annual meeting June 3, with Mr. Irving Fisher, of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, as the speaker. The thrift shop which has been conducted for the past eight months in the packing district of Wichita has been a real success, and contributed a monthly income to the League, according to the report of the retiring president, Mrs. David Walker. The officers for the ensuing year are Mrs. Pierce Atwater, president; Mrs. H. D. Lester, first vice-president; Mrs. Shirley Jocelyn, second vice-president; Mrs. C. H. Brooks, third vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Crouse, fourth vice-president; Mrs. John L. Gleason, treasurer. Mrs. Lester will act as get-out-the-vote chairman, Mrs. Jocelyn as membership chairman, Mrs. Holmes as finance chairman, and Mrs. John Donly as chairman of the milk and ice fund.

Kansas City, Kansas, which held its first big meeting on May 2, has been holding political-information sessions every Tuesday evening. On Saturday, June 21, the League invited the public to an ice cream social, which was held on the court-house lawn from eight to eleven. This was the first step in a systematic finance campaign. Miss Ruth McIntosh spoke.

The first gun sounded in the get-out-the-vote campaign in Kansas when a flying squadron manned by Mrs. W. H. Thompson, president of the Kansas League, Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, second vice-president, and Mrs. W. Atkins, secretary, visited the southeastern part of the state, on June 9.

Eureka was the first to surrender and, after talks by all three of the state officers, the Eureka Community Club of sixty-five members by a unanimous resolution voted to become a branch of the Kansas League of Women Voters. Mrs. Bertha Snyder, former president of the Community Club, was installed as president of the Eureka League. The new organization has already begun a country-wide drive for getting the women to the primaries. The flying squadron also visited Fort Scott, where a new League was organized in the early part of June, and Florence, where they helped to begin the summer work of candidates' meetings.

During the month of June every League in the state was visited by a state officer or by Miss Ruth McIntosh, the regional secretary, as the first step in the state-wide campaign which Mrs. Mamie Axline Fay, third vice-president and chairman for the Kansas get-out-the-vote campaign, has under way. Mrs. Fay has already secured an active county chairman in half of the counties of the state which do not have Leagues.

As a preliminary to the national convention the Hutchinson League held a two-day session each for the Republican and for the Democratic national conventions, dividing their members autocratically regardless of their actual party affiliations. The Democratic convention was presided over by a prominent

Republican, who attended the 1920 Republican convention, and the Republican convention was presided over by the mayor of Hutchinson, who is himself a Democrat.

Emporia held the first meeting since its organization on June 17. Although the thermometer registered 98 degrees, the meeting was well attended and many new members registered. The meeting resolved itself into a round table discussion on organization for the work for the next six months. The officers of the Emporia League who served for the first time on June 17 are: Mrs. J. F. Kenney, president; Mrs. J. H. Wiggam, vice-president and chairman of organization and program; Mrs. Harrison Parkman, chairman of membership; Mrs. J. R. Wilkie, chairman of publicity; Mrs. J. R. Plumb, chairman of finance, and Mrs. Willis A. Rich, secretary and treasurer. Mrs. Harrison Parkman, who is district director for the fourth district, and Mrs. Penina Hill Wilson, chairman of the Committee on Legal Status of Women, are both members of the Emporia League.—R. M.

What the Toledo League Did

IN taking stock of the year's accomplishments at the annual meeting the Toledo League had this record:

Before the primaries and election an opportunity was given to hear candidates of all parties, and speakers for and against the issues. Demonstrations of ballot marking were held, and candidates for office and delegates to the conventions were asked their stand on the measures in which the League is particularly interested. A history of the political parties was given, and leaders told why they were Republicans, Democrats, and Independents; a conference was called with the heads of the parties on means of interesting more women in politics; an address was given on why women should vote; there was a "new voters' birthday party" for 200 girls who would be twenty-one in '24; a political spell-down was staged with "fifty questions every intelligent voter should know"; a mock convention was put on in co-operation with the Y. W. C. A., while an effort was made to get out the vote through the churches, organizations, press, and by labels on milk bottles.

To promote efficiency in government, that department had talks by such authorities as Professor Hatton on the primaries; Mr. Mayo Fessler on civil service, and Dr. Garfield Jones on election methods. The city finance director presented his plan to solve Toledo's financial troubles and at the next meeting a member of the city council suggested other ways to bring permanent relief. The postmaster explained the mail service and the street car situation was discussed by an economic expert, Dr. William Leiserson, after which the mayor and street car commissioner sent a communication to present the administration's side. An institute of politics was held for three days in the council chamber, which Mrs. Catt opened with "Peace or War, and What We Can Do About It." Another speaker on the peace program was Mrs. Schoonmaker on the World Court, followed by others on the Bok peace award, the League of Nations, our foreign relations, and the Junior Red Cross, while more than two thousand signatures were secured for the petition Ohio presented to the Senate for the World Court.

The League brought Mrs. Lucia Johnson Bing to present the most approved judicial methods in family rehabilitation and Dr. Jacobi to explain his psychiatric clinic, a project to help the courts, which the League introduced to the Women's Joint Legislative Committee, of which the League's legislative chairman is the presiding officer. It also co-operated with that group in bringing before the public the standards for the new court of domestic relations, the bill for which the League successfully worked in the Ohio Legislature. Mrs. Mae Stannard was another interesting speaker to testify to the need of taking the Ohio Department of Public Welfare out of politics, and this organization contributed to the fund raised to defray the expenses of a trial when she was dismissed without a hearing from the Delaware Home for Girls.

There were talks for and against changing the Supreme Court, and the legislative committee worked for the World Court and the child labor amendment, against the blanket amendment, kept the League in touch with the developments of the committee appointed by the legislature to study minimum wage, and had a special meeting on the immigration law. The Living Costs Committee took the co-operative movement for the subject of its day's program; the Women in Industry Committee chose unemployment cycles; the Child Welfare Committee presented the child labor amendment, and joined other organizations in requesting a qualified woman on the board of the Lucan County Children's Home. It also joined them in a successful protest to the governor against the release from the reformatory of a Toledo man who had been a menace to little girls. The Social Hygiene Committee arranged to present Mrs. Martha Falconer and Dr. Kleinschmidt, of the American Social Hygiene Association, to give the League the benefit of the best thought on the prevention of prostitution, and held a conference with an interested group when the chairman of the National League's Social Hygiene Committee, Mrs. Ann Webster, came with plans to combat the vice situation in Toledo.

To be of service in giving the city the health program needed, the League joined with the District Nurse Association and the Public Health Association and gave the citizens an opportunity to hear Dr. Haven Emerson at a dinner at the chamber of commerce. It has sent its speakers to many organizations and its literature has been in increasing demand.

There were chances for service that the League could not meet because it lacked workers; there were mistakes because the committees were new to the work and had to learn by doing, and the plans were seriously restricted at times by lack of funds, but the year's accomplishments, such as they are, were made possible by the hard, happy work and sacrifice of the women who really care for the promotion of human welfare in government, and are vitally interested in making themselves and other women intelligent voters.

The leaflet "Who Represents Us in Congress, the Legislature, and the City Council?" is available for quick reference, and the Living Costs' pamphlet, "A Little Journey," shows the long expensive trail from the farm to the dinner table of our daily food. "The City's Living Costs" showed Toledo's budget and expenses to the women who are trying to find out why the income and outgo of the city cannot balance and there has also been a ready market for the National League's publications.—OLIVE A. COLTON.

A State President's Letter

THE president of a state League lately sent a letter, of which the following words are a part, to the president of a local League:

"I am very sorry to learn of the suspicion that seems aroused in the minds of some of ——— men that the League of Women Voters is not wholly and absolutely patriotic in its purpose, undertakings, and achievements. At the Buffalo convention I was constantly and intimately with the leaders of the movement and found in every expression from them the most inspiring sense of obligation to this country, to its institutions, and its ideals. I have never met with a saner, more balanced set of women exhibiting keenness of appreciation, soundness of judgment, and integrity of purpose.

"We must all realize that the League is not a club. In every other organization in which we work as women the organized group is formed of people having like ideas and more or less the same sense of how these ideas should be worked out, whereas the League of Women Voters is comprised of all classes of citizens of all viewpoints, of all methods of procedure. It necessarily includes people of violently opposing opinions and no part of the League should try to force its opinion on any other part. We who are Republicans must allow the most partisan Democrats their ideas even though to our sense they are quite impossible.

"With the exception of the Woman's Committee Council

of National Defense and the Red Cross, this, I believe, is the first time that all American women have undertaken to work together for America and this we are doing without the excitement and stress of war, because of which we were willing to endure many circumstances with amiability which in ordinary times would have been to us a cause of dissension. Now there is no war and we all have to take the big mental stand and keep it without that prop and because of the preciousness of America and her ideals, because of the vast sacrifices which have been made during the years to bring to us the development of today, I think that America's women are going to be equal to this very unusual and difficult piece of work.

"To me the League of Women Voters is performing the most perfect patriotic work that is being done today. Our forefathers founded our democracy. At the present time America is not functioning as outlined. We are being governed by a minority. The awakening of intelligent patriotic women to their duty in politics is surely the most worth-while expression of patriotism that can be imagined."

Leagues and League Work

FRIDAY, June 13, was not an unlucky day for citizenship in Minnesota. There was a great luncheon that day at the Radisson Hotel in Minneapolis with Dean Ford of the graduate school of the state university presiding, and more than fifty organizations represented by members. Mrs. Paul Goode, of the Illinois League, who is a candidate for the state legislature, and Stafford King, state adjutant of the American Legion, made stirring pleas for a 100 per cent vote, and every organization represented pledged itself to help in the get-out-the-vote campaign, subscribing to these words:

"Recognizing that the success of the American form of government depends upon a fuller participation by the people in the duties and privileges of the franchise, we express sympathy in an unpartisan patriotic campaign to increase the number of regular voters in Minnesota by 25 per cent in the 1924 primaries and elections, and we pledge ourselves to all possible efforts to the end that 100 per cent of our own members register and vote at every election, and we promise such co-operation as is not inconsistent with our own program in the carrying out of the campaign thus to increase the number of intelligent and interested voters."

KENTUCKY League women met in a state conference at Lexington, June 17. A notable speaker at the morning session was Mrs. Charles Semple, of Louisville, who talked of the woman voter in the state capital. At luncheon a discussion of the new Kentucky registration law was led by Mrs. George T. Settle, president of the Louisville League, and at the afternoon session Mrs. William Hibbard, regional director, reported on the National League program. Many women who attended the conference remained for the institute of citizenship, June 18-20, at the University of Kentucky. Among the lecturers at that institute were members of the university faculty, Dr. Harry Barth, of the University of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Hibbard; Robert Binkerd, vice-chairman of the Eastern Railroad's committee on public relations; Miss Elizabeth Breckinridge, of the Louisville Normal School; Dr. Guy Whipple, of the University of Michigan; Dr. James Wright, of Center College, and Mrs. Ida Witherspoon Harrison.

THE program for the institute of government and politics to be held at the University of Michigan, July 21-26, includes such lecturers as Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, and two other members of the same bureau; Professor Thomas D. Reed, of the university political science department, who will conduct the classes in the study of political parties and nominating methods; William Lovett, of the Detroit Citizens' League, who will speak on law-making bodies; Professor Arthur Wood, of the university, whose subject will be legislation and

social progress; Professor J. R. Hayden, of the same faculty; Dean M. M. Kalaw, of the University of the Philippines; Mrs. May Wood Simons, of Northwestern University; Dean Kraus, of the university summer session, and Mrs. Craig Miller, president of the Michigan League.

MRS. DAVID PIERCE is special get-out-the-vote secretary for the Minnesota League's campaign. Flying squadrons in the field are carrying a chart in which all the counties of the state which cast less than a 64 per cent vote in 1920 are presented in black and the rest in white for the counties wherein a vote of 75 per cent or higher was cast, and cross-hatched in black and white for the betwixt and between counties. "Make Your County White" is the plea and title of the chart. In St. Cloud in the recent primary every voter who cast a ballot won a tag presented by the local League. Stillwater has offered a prize to the township in Washington County showing the greatest percentage of increase in votes this year.

AT the clambake of the United League of Rhode Island, June 10, Mrs. James E. Cheesman, who presided, had the satisfaction of announcing that the Chamber of Commerce has awarded its blue card to the *United League News* as the organ of a non-partisan, non-sectarian organization. It is believed that this is the first time the magazine of a women's organization has been so recognized. Miss Mary I. Gallahan, executive secretary, reported that as a result of the recent membership drive the total enrollment is now 4,213, an increase of 1,538 members.

IDAHO'S election laws, their history, and the changes made in them during the past twenty years were discussed by the attorney general of the state, A. H. Connor, at the state League's citizenship school, which was a feature of the annual meeting held in Boise, May 24. Governor C. C. Moore was another distinguished lecturer in the school. Mrs. Rufus Steen was elected president of the Idaho League, succeeding Miss Retta Martin. Mrs. Lloyd Fenn, of Kooskia, and Mrs. E. D. Piper, of Jerome, were elected vice-presidents and Mrs. Thomas Ogden reelected treasurer.

JUNE 18-20 were the limit dates of the second annual institute of citizenship held at the University of Kentucky under the auspices of the state League. The program included lectures and round tables on the political party system; the voting women; the government of cities; the League of Nations and the World Court; the history of conservation; the railroad and the public; Federal and state control of child labor; the Kentucky Efficiency Commission; keeping schools out of politics, and taxation.

JUNE 17 was the date of the annual meeting of the Grand Rapids (Michigan) League and the slate presented by the nominating committee and approved by the League was: president, Mrs. Julius H. Amberg; vice-presidents, Mrs. David A. Warner, Mrs. Fred M. Raymond and Mrs. Frank Stone; recording secretary, Mrs. Henry I. Stimson; corresponding secretary, Mrs. William Wilson, and treasurer, Miss Dorothy Blake. Mrs. Fred Raymond heads the committee in charge of the distribution of get-out-the-vote dodgers to school children.

"SEVEN Steep Steps," the National League's famous appeal, appears on the cover of the June issue of *Progress*, the Kansas League's official organ, with most striking effect, which is increased by the addition of the number of votes Kansas cast in 1920, the number Kansas "needs in 1924," and the statement, "Kansas has 750,000 possible voters."

THE League of Women Voters of the Oranges, in New Jersey, joined with the local Daughters of the American Revolution in a Flag Day patriotic parade.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

Your Local Resources

Get everybody to help. Here are some of the ways to bring all the local resources into the campaign.

The Newspapers

NEWSPAPERS are always glad to print news that is of interest to their readers. A study of your local press will show you that every "story" has a "who, where, when, and why." Get the answers to all these into every story you send to a paper and send it in early. Stories for Sunday papers must be sent in no later than Thursday evening unless they are immediate news.

Notify the editor so that a reporter may be sent to every open meeting or other gathering, and appoint somebody to see to it that the reporter gets all the information. If you have plans for anything ahead, tell the reporter about it so that he can work up his story. No reputable newspaper prints anything of this kind when asked not to do so until a certain date, but it is an advantage to an editor to know what is coming.

Make yourself valuable to the local press by giving statements concerning things outside the League when you are asked to do so and by giving news when you can. If you want help you must give it. If you are accessible only when you have League stuff you want printed you must be content with merely perfunctory notices.

Make your meetings interesting, even if you have to stage a discussion to do it. If possible have your meeting when there is no larger event to crowd it out. Keep the newspapers informed in advance of any "stunts," exhibits, unusual features, etc.

Talk your plans over with the editor, or, in a larger city, with an experienced reporter, so that you may know how much space you can expect to have and what the policy of each paper is.

The Churches

DR. GEORGE HORTON, poet and author, and American Consul General to Hungary, has written a voter's prayer for the League:

"O God, help us to realize that this vote which we are about to cast is the greatest instrument for good or for ill which can be wielded by human hands; that it can set the worthy, however lowly, in high places and is a thunderbolt to cast down tricksters and tyrants. Help us to vote thoughtfully, reverently, and prayerfully and with an eye single to the common good. And especially, O God, to whom all minds are an open book, save us from voting for any selfish or dishonest candidate, or for any unpatriotic measures. And this we ask for Jesus' sake, Amen."

Take a copy of the prayer to your clergyman and ask him to use it on appropriate occasions. Give him a copy of the campaign textbook and talk over your plans. Ask him to include in his announcements the dates and places of registering and voting and to impress upon the congregation this sacred duty of citizenship.

(To be continued)

News From the Field

THE St. Louis League has achieved a triumph of graphic presentation in a Get-Out-the-Vote blue-print showing every detail of the work. The whole is divided 50-50 between the steering committee and the campaign committee and the chart gives five equal divisions. Co-operation connected with the central workers by a line labeled "All together" lists all the kinds of organizations to be asked to help; finance, at

the end of "Pay the Way" contains a fat money bag; organization's square connects with the central powers by means of a "Go get 'em" line, and political education is at the end of a "show me" thread. Important political dates in June, July, and August are printed at the bottom of the chart and in the important lower right-hand corner the goal date, November 4, when all results will be given the final test. Publicity occupies the middle of the page and in addition to the obvious avenues of advertising notes, voters' buttons, window stickers, the municipal opera and the ball park.

SEVENTY-THREE League women volunteered in Grand Rapids (Michigan) to demonstrate the new voting machines which were set up, one in each polling place, during registration June 14. Election officials gave instructions and the League's get-out-the-vote work brought many men and women to the registration booths. Mrs. Julius Amberg, local League president, planned the distribution of 10,000 posters by fifty workers from the Federation of Women's Clubs and other helpers handed out dodgers to voters wherever they could be found. The D. A. R. had charge of distributing posters in stores; the Republican Club, the Woodrow Wilson Club and the members of the Eastern Star distributed dodgers to factory workers at noon and at the close of the work day and the Federation of Catholic Women saw to it that children in the parochial schools had fliers with information for parents about registration. The Grand Rapids Pan Hellenic Association, the Daisy Chain, the L. T. M. and the Women's City Club are some of the other organizations that pitched in and helped.

MONTANA expects to have a booth set up two days before the August primaries and again two days before the fall elections, in every League town, to give information. Mrs. Dolly Dean Burgess, chairman of efficiency in government, has been speaking in Great Falls, where the League will join forces with the Women's Club in arranging public meetings. Measures to be referred to voters at the coming election, party platform planks, registration, and the whole get-out-the-vote program will occupy half a dozen big League meetings during the summer.

THE Detroit League has been making a point of registering women who are leaving town for the summer, before they get away, and more than once has persuaded a woman on the way to her train to stop and put her name down. Special efforts have been made to get all teachers to register before they go on their vacations and results have been most satisfying.

PENNSYLVANIA'S get-out-the-vote plans call for a caravan made up of motor cars which will assemble in Independence Square, Philadelphia, on October 1 and immediately set out on a tour of the state which will end at Bryn Mawr with the last day of the month. Many organizations have been invited to send cars to join the caravan which will carry a number of capable speakers and much League literature.

DEPARTMENT stores, factories and restaurants will be invaded to stir up interest in the Get-Out-the-Vote campaign, if the New York City League has its way. It is asking managers of large department stores in New York for space for booths during registration week, and two days in the preceding week; factory managers for permission for League women to speak during the noon hour, and restaurant owners for permission to distribute fliers.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

Medical Women Meet

THE Medical Women's National Association, Inc., closed its three-day tenth annual convention in Chicago, June 10. Dr. Louisa Martindale, of London—a guest from the British Federation of Medical Women, gave an interesting talk on "International Friendship Among Medical Women." Dr. Esther Lovejoy and Dr. Olga Stasny outlined the work of the American Women's Hospitals (a committee of the M. W. N. A.). Dr. Louise Taylor-Jones, of Washington, D. C., who represents the Association in the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, brought before the meeting the child labor bill, the blanket amendment, the medical practice bill and others.

The following officers were elected: Dr. Anna E. Blout, president; Dr. Elizabeth Thelberg, first vice-president; Dr. Frances C. Van Gasken, second vice-president; Dr. Mary E. Dennis, third vice-president; Dr. Blanche M. Haines, secretary, and Dr. Ethel Doty Brown, treasurer.

"No" to Presbyterian Women

AT the General Council of the Presbyterian Church a petition by women members for official recognition either as a separate body of the church or by representation with voting power in the synods and presbyteries was denied. The reasons given were that the proposal to organize the church women had been rejected two years ago, and that to reverse this decision would be unwise; that women would have to become elders or ministers to sit at synodical or presbyterial meetings, and the ordination of women is contrary to the constitution of the church.

Mothers' Pensions

THROUGH a recent report from the Children's Bureau, we learn that five provinces of Canada have passed "Mothers' Pension" legislation. Under these laws, aid was granted last year to 6,736 mothers for 19,350 children—a total monthly average expenditure of \$254,790.25.

Many Nations, One House

THE Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club of New York, whose members are students from Asia, Europe, North America, South America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, will soon be housed in a large building on Riverside Drive known as "International House." The building,

which is the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is dedicated to a better international understanding. And certainly the housing under one roof of seven hundred young men and women from seventy nations attending forty-five different colleges, universities and professional schools in and near New York, should make for better understanding.

Booming Health Education

THE American CHILD HEALTH Association has introduced a new thought in health education by its fifty \$500 scholarships given teachers in forty-seven cities throughout the United States for the best examples of classroom work in health education. The contest, known as the Health Education Scholarship Contest, was made possible by an appropriation of \$25,000 from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

A Young Woman Preacher

MISS EMILY BISHOP, of Chatham, England, only nineteen, has been ordained a lay preacher of the Primitive Methodist Church, according to the *Vote*. This is unusual, first because of her sex, and second because of her age—few churches ordain even men under twenty-one.

A Candidate

MACBETH HURD PAIGE—known better to CITIZEN readers as Mrs. James Paige—who served last year in the Minnesota House of Representatives, is standing for reelection from the Thirteenth District of Minneapolis.

German Women's Progress

THROUGH the *Legislative Councillor* we learn that Germany is recognizing the woman juror. Besides, Fraülein Dr. Marie Monk, who has recently passed the Prussian State law examinations with high honors, has been named associate justice for Germany's civil courts.

British Women Officials

THE Women's Local Government Society of the United Kingdom has recently issued an interesting report. According to the Society, there are in England and Wales 79 women members in county councils; 226 in town councils; 106 in urban district councils. In Scotland, two women are serving on the Ross and Cromarty County Council, 135 on town councils, and 150 on parish councils. Six women have been elected to the mayoralty since last November. They are: Miss E. M. Colman, the first

woman Lord Mayor (Norwich); Mrs. Catharine B. Alderton (Colchester); Miss B. A. Cartwright (Blackley); Mrs. Robert Hill (Harwich); Mrs. Phillips (Honiton), and Dame Janet Stancomb-Wills (Ramsgate).

Another Door Opens

THE Imperial University of Fukuoka, Japan, appointed its first woman to a position on the staff, so we learn from the *News-Bulletin* of the Bureau of Vocational Information. She is Dr. Tomi Wada, engaged in experimental research at the university.

The Baby Death Rate

FIGURES compiled by the Children's Bureau show that, excluding Massachusetts, Michigan and Rhode Island, the infant mortality rate for 1923 was seventy-seven per thousand live births, a slight increase over 1922, which was 76. The highest 1923 rate (117) appears for cities of South Carolina, and the lowest (51) for the rural districts of Utah and the cities of Washington. In general, cities—municipalities of 10,000—showed a decrease.

Summer Guidance

"WHERE to Stop Along New England Motor Trails" is a question that confronts many a summer motorist. The answer can be found in a little paper-covered book carrying that title. It is published by the Women's City Club of Boston, and is so chock-full of good suggestions that your feet are fairly itching to step on the accelerator and away.

For V. P.

MARIE C. BREHM, of Long Beach, California, was nominated for vice-president on the National Prohibition Party ticket at its national convention, June 6. Miss Brehm has a history of ardent work behind her, principally for the prohibitionists, but she has also been active in club work, and was a delegate to the General Federation of Women's Clubs convention in Los Angeles last month.

This is the first time a woman has been nominated for vice-president of the United States.

Educate Girls, Too

THE Corporation of Madras has voted, with only one dissentient, for the introduction of a scheme of compulsory primary education for seven years for all children of the city. When first issued, the plan excluded girls between

five and ten, but now that clause has been canceled. Only two of the nineteen municipalities that have undertaken compulsory education in Madras Presidency have included girls. (*The International Woman Suffrage News.*)

"Bum" Lamb Clubs

THE University of Wyoming, through its extension service, has peppered the surrounding country with girls' and boys' sheep clubs. All through that sheep country there are animals known as "bum" lambs, spurned by the raisers for one reason or another, and so wasted. It is the purpose of these clubs to interest the young people in the poor orphaned lambs.

The story which has come to us concerns Emma Alleman, of Cokeville. A club was first introduced in Cokeville in 1918, back when patriotism and conservation were synonymous. It was easy to arouse the enthusiasm of the youngsters in "bum" lambs. Miss Alleman threw herself heart and soul into the work. She got several lambs, read bulletins, attended every meeting. In the fall she had her reward, for she was able to pick out the best of her four or five sheep for exhibit. That was the

small beginning. By adding each year to her stock, by saving the best animals and culling out the others Miss Alleman has a flock of fifty grade and seventy pure blood sheep. Rambouillets are the best all-around sheep for that country—and Miss Alleman's ambition is to have a pure flock. She is well started, as four little Rambouillets now have a special corner all their own.

Of course this story differs only in degree from that of other club members. Its point of difference is that Miss Alleman is State Sheep Club champion, and represented the Sheep Club members at the second International Club Congress in Chicago. She also won the scholarship to the University of Wyoming, offered by the Union Pacific to the most successful club member in Lincoln County.

The introduction of these clubs is a splendid movement in the big West. It teaches cooperation to the young people; it gives them their own special interest in the farm, and helps to keep them on the land; it adds a social element to the country life, for entertainments are included in the club curriculum and young and old take part alike, and it saves good mutton and wool.

Success to Mrs. Upton

MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, just retired from the vice-chairmanship of the Republican National Executive Committee, has started her campaign for Congress in good earnest. The Ohio primaries come on August 12, and it is from and for the Nineteenth District of Ohio that Mrs. Upton hopes to go to Congress. With Mrs. Davidson, sister of the Packard car men, driving for her, Mrs. Upton plunged into her campaign on June 25th from her home in Warren. There are three counties in her district, and though a man was expecting to run from each of them, two thought better of it when she announced, so her only opponent in the primaries is the present member of Congress, John G. Cooper. Nomination on the Republican ticket is practically equivalent to election in Ohio, and Mrs. Upton has apparently a good chance. The main opposition is that she is a woman!

MRS. HARRY PAYNE WHITNEY is to design the memorial which will be placed at St. Nazaire in honor of the American soldiers who landed there.

Cleveland—Chapter Two

THE INDEPENDENTS' CONVENTION

By Lora Kelly

WOMEN played a conspicuous part in the Conference for Progressive Political Action which has just finished its sessions at Cleveland, after placing in nomination for the Presidency the name of Senator Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, as an independent.

From a convention purporting to be neither boss-ruled nor mob-ruled its women representatives are going forth to seek the support of many thousands of independent women voters not yet definitely aligned with either of the major parties.

Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, of New York, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, noted suffrage pioneer, received an ovation when she said she voiced the thoughts of many women hitherto politically inactive:

"This Progressive movement offers to the women of the country the opportunity for which they have been seeking. Why do not more women vote? One hears the question on all sides, and the answer is that they are waiting for a candidate and a party with an absolutely clean record. This movement offers them both."

Another woman leader of the conven-

We had expected to report the Cleveland Conference on Progressive Political Action in the following issue of the CITIZEN, August 9th. But on delaying in hope of seeing the finish of the Democratic convention, we wired for a brief report to be included in these final pages. Here is Miss Kelly's account of the women's share in the conference. An analysis of the platform will follow in the next issue. Its gist is given in the rejected minority report on platform read at the Republican convention.

tion, though she did not address the assemblage, was Miss Elizabeth Hauser, of Girard, Ohio. Miss Hauser is nationally known for her active work in the long suffrage battle, and since the winning of the franchise has found a channel of constructive work as secretary of the National League of Women Voters. (She was at Cleveland, of course, as an individual, not as a representative of the League.) During the administration of the late Tom L. Johnson, Democratic Mayor of Cleveland, who instituted so many civic reforms in the face of great opposition, Miss Hauser acted as his secretary, and later assisted in writing his memoirs.

Now that she has cast her lot with the Progressive movement her friends recall the advice she gave to delegates in attendance at the National League of Women Voters in Buffalo last April:

"Women in politics have gotten beyond the feather duster stage," she said then. "Politics need a thorough housecleaning. We women must show the parties that we mean business. We must get inside them with our brooms and soapsuds and mop up!"

The women delegates who were present at this conference were confident that the platform endorsed by them would make a strong appeal to the newly enfranchised electorate, since it calls for a general "mopping up" of American politics.

Because the Conference was composed of various organizations—labor, farmers and independent political groups—and not of individuals, women formed a separate organization of their own. This was received on an equal standing with all other groups represented.

"The Women's Committee on Progressive Political Action" is the title under which they joined forces. It was organized last March, with Miss Isabelle Kendig, of Washington, D. C., as

secretary, and the first woman to be appointed on the national committee. Through her efforts women in forty-two states have formed liberal organizations. Mrs. Sally H. Burch, of Maryland, is chairman of the Women's Committee.

There were women delegates also from other organizations.

At the national committee meeting preceding the Conference half a dozen women were at work with the men on plans for the campaign. Among them were Miss Ethel Smith, of Washington, legislative agent of the Women's Trade Union League; Miss Elizabeth Christman, of the Chicago Women's Trade Union League; Mrs. Stanton and Miss Hauser.

Much of the detail work ordinarily performed by henchmen was done by women at the preliminary meetings of the national committee. Women were also given recognition in the appointing of sub-committees. Mrs. Burch was named on the Rules Committee, while the Organization and Campaign Committee had three woman members, Bertha Hale White, Miss Laura J. Wylie and Mrs. B. M. Manly. On the resolutions committee were Miss Hauser, Mrs. George B. O'Dell, Mrs. Glenn E. Plumb and Miss Christman.

When the activities were transferred from hotel rooms to Public Hall and the sessions began, women visitors were as numerous as men. The Public Hall, with a seating capacity of nearly twelve thousand, presented a far different scene from that staged a month ago in the same auditorium by the Republicans. The arena was fairly well filled, but the usual convention properties were missing. There were no clamoring crowds, no ticket speculators, no souvenir or balloon vendors, and most of the mechanical devices for news dissemination had been stripped away.

There was no gallery for a band, the only music of this order being furnished by a fife and drum corps composed of girls in white satin and gilt uniforms.

A large American flag hung in front of the speaker's dais on the stage, while to the rear sat the choir of fifty voices.

It was intended to be a singing convention, judging from the number of song parodies set mostly to hymn tunes distributed among the delegates. But the singing was left largely to the choir. Even when invited to climb up on the stage the crowd hung back. It cheered, however, when such songs as this, set to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland," were sung:

Whom do we want for President?

La Follette! Yes, La Follette!

That is the way our minds are bent,

La Follette! Yes, La Follette!

The country needs his type of man,
Built on an honest "foursquare" plan,

We'll put him in; we know we can.

Bob La Follette! Yes, La Follette!

One spectator compared the convention to an old-fashioned religious revival because of its hymn tunes and the serious attitude the delegates took toward their deliberations. No "demonstrations" lasted more than a minute or two, except when Senator La Follette's name was placed in nomination. Then the cheering lasted for several minutes. Any mention of the leader's name was the cue for applause, however.

Miss Elizabeth Hauser, in this capacity acting for the National League of Women Voters, presented to the Resolutions Committee the same proposed planks the League presented to the Republican and Democratic Resolutions Committee. At the open hearings only the planks not already covered in the draft of the Conference platform were discussed.

Chief of these was one calling for the endorsement of the World Court. The subject of the World Court and the League of Nations had brought two women advocates from the East to plead in their behalf. One was Miss Sarah Wambaugh, of Boston, formerly on the secretariat of the League at Geneva, advocating the League of Nations, and Miss Josephine Schain, of New York, speaking in behalf of the World Court. Recognizing that most members of the Conference opposed entrance to the League, Miss Wambaugh pleaded for a change of attitude.

Mrs. Alta H. Gilbert, of Cleveland, appeared in behalf of the National Woman's Party, asking for an endorsement of the blanket equality bill.

The child labor amendment was adopted in the platform, and removal of discriminations against women without sacrifice of protective legislation.

At the conclusion of the Conference the women officially connected with it were enthusiastic about the recognition they had received from the men leaders of the movement. "We were present at all the inner councils at this Conference, which may mark the beginnings of a new party," said Miss Hauser, national committeewoman. "We were actually allowed to deliberate and to help make decisions, not simply to beat the drum."

The Democrats

(Continued from page 9)

clearly expected, or at any rate to be prevented, and though the New York police sympathies are in the Irish nature of the case anti-Klan, their presence was reassurance.

And then began a debate in which every point of view about the Klan except out and out support was presented—a debate that no play ever exceeded in dramatic thrill. Senator Owen of Oklahoma, a striking personality, argued for a tolerant view of the Klan,

for the sake of the men of good motives among its million. William Jennings Bryan pled for party unity. Bainbridge Colby heaped scorn on the night-shirted brethren; Pattangall passionately defended his report; Mrs. Carroll Miller, of Pittsburgh, characterized the Klan as a "guerrilla band" and appealed for a clean-cut fight on a moral issue. And Andrew Irwin, of Georgia, braved the wrath of his fellow delegates by hurling defiance at the Klan—and precipitated an anti-Klan demonstration that shook the flag-draped galleries.

Came, then, the vote—a vote dramatically close, in which challenges were hurled back and forth even across state lines, delegations had again and again to be polled, and votes shifted under terrific pressure until the gavel fell at nearly two o'clock Sunday morning with the Klan forces triumphant by an announced difference of one vote—later refigured to be four and a fraction. It was an unforgettable scene—an age-old religious conflict, reenacted in modern political setting; a boiling up—and almost over—from the depths.

As on the League of Nations, there is division of comment. The majority plank does indeed assert loyalty to the constitutional principles of freedom of speech and religion—and the one side says that is enough; that it can be applied to secure protection against Klan violations, without paying the order the compliment of a direct denunciation. The other side claims the moral value of a direct denunciation; of surgery to cut out from the body politic a malignant growth.

As for the rest of the platform, which is summarized by Mrs. Catt on another page, it is fair to say that it hasn't won many more cheers than the Republican from non-partisan sources. The Child Labor amendment was wrecked on the bar of state rights; the World Court was approved; the tariff denounced and fair attention paid to the farmer. But for the present the only two points in the platform that are really visible are the two that were contested.

The bitter Klan battle cast its shadow over the balloting which began on Monday morning, June 30th. Both in the vote on the platform and in the balloting the division followed the general lines of Klan states vs. anti-Klan states, with the cleavage widened by the fight. No use here to recapitulate that long, slow drip of ballots—77 of them in the convention's second week, beginning with the musical, unvarying chant of "Alabama casts twenty-four votes for Oscar W. Underwood" to the chairman's drone, "No choice having been reached, the clerk will call the roll." For four days the only relief in the monotony was the dropping out of a few favorite sons; the division of their votes; the restless change of vote in two or three states; the demonstrations that fol-

lowed—always out of proportion to the significance of the gains; and the repeated struggles of several states to break from the antediluvian unit rule under which the whole vote of a state is counted for the candidate of the majority. Again and again such states tried to free themselves—sometimes they changed, changed back again. But in that long week the deadlock only tightened. Twice McAdoo, the leader, had more than 500 votes (with 732 necessary to give him the two-thirds majority required), while Smith ranged at his highest to 366. John W. Davis crept up steadily but very slowly for a day, and dropped off again. Ralston passed him—and on July 4th his name was withdrawn. Cox's followed. But still the other favorite sons hung on—Underwood, Ritchie, Glass, Saulsbury, C. W. Bryan. Still the McAdoo forces struggled to reach at least a majority, as a step toward breaking the two-thirds rule; still the Smith forces hung on, waiting for the break that would release the votes they claimed were locked up under unit rule.

Friday and Saturday of the second week were days of resolutions—desperate efforts to break the deadlock: to let the candidates all speak; to let Governor Smith address the convention; to adjourn to Kansas City; to cut off minor candidates—all, all defeated. Until at last on Saturday afternoon a motion carried to give the managers a day and a night for conference that might break the deadlock. Back they came on Monday morning with an agreement signed by all sixteen candidates except McAdoo to release their delegates from all pledges, his minority proposal calling for the breaking of the unit rule and the two-thirds rule in addition. But before the first session ended the convention had practically accepted the agreement of the fifteen. That evening the voting changed. . . . the McAdoo figure slipped down, until it was below Smith's, while meantime Ralston, whose name had been withdrawn, stood third. Again he withdrew.

Twenty-four hours more of mingled resolutions and ballots—with the convention trying every means to break its bonds. The vote wavered, and talk of removal from New York, change of rules, of surrender, sizzled. Then at last on Tuesday evening the ice began to crack, under the chisel of Franklin Roosevelt, who told the convention that Governor Smith, then in the lead, would withdraw if McAdoo would. In answer, the McAdoo vote again ran ahead of Smith's.

But in the hour between two and three Mr. McAdoo sent a letter from his nearby headquarters—not withdrawing his name, which he felt that he could not do, in loyalty, but releasing his delegates. That was after the ninety-ninth ballot. On the hundredth, finished

at four o'clock in the morning, his vote fell sharply, and when the weary delegates assembled next day the two leaders dropped out of sight and the deadlock was broken. For a few hours the convention feared a new delay—Davis and Underwood ran so close. But suddenly there was a sharp turn and before they knew it the convention was nominating John W. Davis by acclamation, in a scene as wildly enthusiastic as if they had all been for him in the beginning. With equal suddenness they demanded Walsh for vice-president, and only the dexterity of that gentleman saved him. On a roaring vote against adjournment he said the ayes had it, adjourned the convention—and fled. His letter—at the evening session—refusing the nomination was a disappointment. Edwin T. Meredith also declined candidacy. Governor Charles W. Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated on the first ballot, and the convention ended with a pledge of New York's loyalty to the candidate by Governor Smith, applauded to the rafters, and at last the appearance of John W. Davis himself—handsome, dignified, poised, happy in speech and manner.

After 103 ballots, a record exceeding any other convention by 46—peace, and a hopeful promise of party unity, early trains and home.

Julia Lathrop

(Continued from page 13)

women officials. How she whipped the new and amorphous bureau into shape; how valiantly she fought its fight against reactionary government officials and Congressmen who did not believe in such "newfangled notions" of government protection for the nation's children; how she made of her first study of infant mortality a white-hot argument for such a system of federal aid for maternity as she had seen demonstrated successfully in England; how she withstood the efforts to tear down protective legislation for women and children during the war; how she insisted upon the merit system in the Children's Bureau; how she fought and bled for the Sheppard-Towner bill, which will always stand as a living monument to her work, and how she finally, having built up a trained corps of workers to carry on a great tradition, gave her work over into the younger hands of Miss Grace Abbott, is written high in the annals of social welfare in the United States.

The first conspicuous office holder among women, she smoothed the path for her successors by proving to a group of skeptical government officials that a woman could be practical and an idealist, that she could take knocks without going down, and that she could stand up to the best of them when it came to a fight for the thing she believed in.

That Round Peg

(Continued from page 11)

dug out each time with a coal shovel. We pulled the water up every evening, storing it in wash boilers in the kitchen. It always froze solid before morning, and had to be broken up with an axe before one could even begin to drink it.

"Spring finally came and the tearoom opened, and the third partner showed up. She had been living in a city, got tired of it, wrote us a letter and took the first train.

"That summer the garden which we planted supplied enough vegetables to handle the entire house. The roof bang was trimmed and combed back into place. We—and we means just that—painted the walls inside and out, painted floors and tore out walls to enlarge the rooms. Our inside spaces were too small to accommodate many people at the tea tables, and as all affluent people are apt to be large around, more room would be needed for the growth of the business. The old porch shook even when the cat marched across without breaking step—it could not be used to accommodate affluence! Estimates were sought for a cement terrace—the lowest reached fifteen hundred dollars. So much despair immediately developed that one kind-hearted mason spoke up:

"'You have the gravel, and you have the stone, and you have what you call a truck to move them in. The cement you will have to buy, but it don't cost much—now if you had the labor—'

"A glimmer of reason seeped through—I had laborers, and of the partners I formed a gang of two. After working a month, they reported as follows: 'The automobile people passing on the road can't mind their own business, they must stop and tell us women can't work as we are doing. Can't they see we are working? We aren't sitting here patting cement mud pies because we want to discover a new eyelash sticker!'

"The cement for the porch cost \$25, and it will accommodate eighty people and has been tested with a horse and truck. So much for the heavyweight person with the pearls who will come next year. . . . Next year—next year? A cow is coming to live with us, maybe a horse—that will start the dairy and the stables; maybe we will have some chickens. Then across there"—pointing to a vague spot on the horizon—"will be an herbaceous border. This is the garden—" walking across a particularly bad weed-strewn bit. "It will be a lawn next year with flagstone paths and marigolds stuck around a sundial. Then we will have some sort of a garage; people with new cars won't park under an elm tree."

"That," I gasped, "will be a bigger job than the porch. Who'll help you?"

She smiled. "We can help ourselves."

The Hammock Bookshelf



By
M. A.

TWO books of short stories offer gay recreation for these summer days. Alice Duer Miller's "*Are Parents People?*" is as joyously satirical as her title indicates. She is famous for her clever plots and the skill with which she unfolds them. All the stories deal with modern folk in modern situations, and they make delightful hammock reading.

"*These Charming People*" is another book whose title indicates its character. Apparently English and probably young, its author, Michael Arlen, has constructed frivolous and wistful—and sometimes blood-freezing tales about people to whom the world has given everything, and who must have mischief or die of boredom.

A dash of Leonard Merrick, a whiff of Maupassant, and a hint of Maurice

Hewlett make up the book's general flavor.

"*Satan's Bushel*" is Gareth Garrett's latest novel, we think. He writes them so fast it is a bit difficult to keep up. This is the story of wheat, beginning with speculation and trading in it, and going backward to its growth and harvesting. Mr. Garrett knows the Chicago wheat pit, and his pictures of it are very vivid, even though they serve chiefly to make one long wistfully for an older novel with a similar setting. When the story shifts to transmigration, and the Stratton-Porter school of nature study, it becomes a bit fantastic.

"*The Fabulous Forties*" is an account of the lighter side of life in what United States there were at that time. The clothes people wore, and how, the books they read, the food they ate, the theaters they adored, their pugilistic, and

political, heroes. The account of the presidential campaign of Harrison vs. Van Buren makes our best demonstration look like the efforts of a deaf and dumb sewing circle. Outside the frozen social set that Mrs. Wharton portrays, life was apparently gay and adventurous, with vast immigration into the West, the dancing success of Fanny Elssler, and the gold rush of '40. Meade Minnegerode, whose name sounds as if his fantastic mind had written it, has a tang of humor that redeems his book from the curse of too much detail, and makes of it a ginger cookie jar into which one dips at random with the pleasurable certainty of bringing up treasure.

Are Parents People? Dodd Mead, 1924. \$2.00.

These Charming People, Doran, 1924. \$2.50.

Satan's Bushel, Dutton, 1924. \$2.00.

The Fabulous Forties, Putnam, 1924. \$3.50.

For Cooler and More Serious Moments

SETTING your library in order, like putting the rest of your house in the same pleasant condition, is a job for which only the leisure of summer has time. There are gaps to be filled in, out-of-date editions to be supplemented with new ones, that reference book which you've always wanted to be bought. For all those needs, and others peculiar to your own library, we suggest the following books, and the CITIZEN will be glad to act as your agent in ordering any of them.

Child Labor and the Constitution, Raymond G. Fuller, Crowell, 1923. \$2.50.

A timely and able description and discussion of the extent of child labor in the United States today, with an account of the state, national and international attempts made to regulate it. Includes an especially comprehensive bibliography.

Problems of Child Welfare, George B. Mangold, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.75.

Completely revised and up-to-date edition of this standard text book and reference work. Covers the history of child welfare as well as modern work and theories.

Diet for Children (and Adults), Lulu Hunt Peters, Dodd-Mead, 1924. \$2.00.

Simple, vivid and sometimes humorous discussion of calories and menus, recipes and children's diseases. Authoritative and interesting.

Political Parties and Electoral Problems, Robert C. Brooks, Harper, 1923. \$3.50.

"The purpose of this book is to interpret American political parties with a view primarily to the needs of voters and those soon to become voters." Fulfills this purpose with force, tolerance, and a refreshing preponderance of practical knowledge.

A Primer of Citizenship, Mrs. Reginald De Koven, Dutton, 1923. \$1.50.

Simple review of popular American his-

tory, description of rural, city, state, and national government. Obviously written for school children, and probably for the children of foreign parents.

Co-operative Democracy, James P. Warbasse, Macmillan, 1923. \$3.50.

The best authority on the co-operative movement among both producers and consumers in all countries. Covers the philosophy and the ethics of co-operation as well as its practical details.

Plain Talks on Economics, Fabian Franklin, Putnam, 1924. \$2.50.

Readable survey of the classic theories of economics. Intensely conservative in viewpoint.

Women in English Economic History, F. W. Tickner, Dutton, 1923. \$1.50.

Able refutations by history and example, of the popular belief that women in industry are a new phenomenon.

The Women's Department, Anne Seward, Bankers Publishing Co., 1924. \$1.25.

A compact and able description of the work done by women in American banking. Covers necessary training, details of the job, description of existing departments, equipment, and possibilities for the future. Useful to vocational libraries, women who are thinking of going in for banking, and those who want to know the present status of women bankers.

Coal's Worst Year, Helen S. Wright, Badger, 1924. \$2.00.

What are you going to do about coal? Its price, the social cost of the industry, the strikes and shortages, the proposed governmental measures are all discussed and analyzed in clear and competent ways that give one facts and make one think.

The Russian Soviet Republic, Edward Alsworth Ross, Century, 1923. \$3.00.

A careful psychologist, open-minded and eager for facts, distrustful of propaganda, describes the functioning of the Russian government, taking time by the way to refute such myths as the nationalization of women. He treats the revolution as an integral part of

world history, with deep-rooted causes and widespread effects.

Russia's Woman, Nina Selinova, Dutton, 1923. \$3.00.

An account of the position and work of Russian women through the ages.

The Will-Temperament and its Testing, June Downey, World Book, 1923. \$2.16.

Extra interesting account of investigations into the ways in which the intelligence and instinctive equipment of individuals seek expression. Dr. Downey is Professor of Psychology in the University of Wyoming, and known to CITIZEN readers as a contributing editor. Her findings are suggestive to laymen as well as psychologists.

Towns and Town-Planning, Ancient and Modern, T. H. Hughes and E. A. C. Lam-born, Oxford Press. \$5.00.

Who planned the early towns and why, what happens when a town sprawls out without planning, English and American experiments, and suggestions for the future. Beautifully printed and illustrated, with plentiful maps and pictures.

Woodrow Wilson's Case for the League of Nations, Hamilton Foley, Princeton University Press, 1923. \$2.00.

An ingenious compilation of Wilson's own words concerning the League of Nations, spoken and written at various times to various people.

Ways to Peace, Edited by Esther Lape, Scribner, 1924. \$3.00.

Twenty of the most representative plans for peace submitted for the Bok prize, with prefaces by Edward Bok and Esther Lape.

Darker Phases of the South, Frank Tannenbaum, Putnam, 1924. \$2.00.

A thought-full group of essays based on personal study in the Southern states. The effect of a single crop, the Southern prison system, the problem of the Negro, are all ably presented. Child labor is vivid in an essay on the paternalistic policy common to mill towns, and a thorough discussion of the origins of the Ku Klux Klan diagnoses and prescribes antidotes for that curious organization.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

A BOY OF FLANDERS—A very big dog and a still little boy are the central figures of this tale of Flanders, with most of the honors to the boy for intelligence in docility of acting. Within the narrow scope of a little boy's imagination, Jackie Coogan's acting has delicacy and verity.

In this story he has the picturesque and charming part of a little Flemish boy considerably out at elbows, who wins the art scholarship offered by a visiting artist-son of the town. Incidentally he goes to a party of the children who wear better wooden shoes than he by being sneaked in, wearing a girl's dress, by the sympathetic little girl hostess. In this becoming garb he dances with gusto until his Dutch trousers drop below his petticoat hem, to the outrage of the Baas of the house. Any child should enjoy this picture, and a good many adults. We even think an intelligent dog would be edified by seeing the well-behaved "Teddy" of the screen. A Metro picture, from Ouida's "A Dog of Flanders," and directed by Victor Schertzinger.

FLOWING GOLD—The "flowing gold" is the oil that spouts from Western lands, and this picture is a story of an oil town and oil business, and a family who became wealthy overnight when their well began to spout. If folks showed as little adaptation in becoming poor as in pictures they show in becoming rich, life would be hard. However, with the help of a breezy family friend, they survive it. Milton Sills and Anna Q. Nilsson are in the cast. An Associated First National picture, from a story by Rex Beach, and directed by Joseph de Grasse.

THE TROUBLE SHOOTER—All the hairbreadth escapes and acrobatic stunts yet invented that a man and a super-horse can do are in this picture. It is a typical Tom Mix story for typical Tom Mix little boy fans. But it is done with a lighter touch than many, is not mawkish with emotional heroics, and is blessed with moments of humor. The dangerous wildcat, streaking it out of the cabin door to the mountain, instead of being prodded to a fight, is one of these.

A Fox picture, directed by John Conway.

CODE OF THE SEA—A story of sea-going people and a boy who grows up under the community curse of his father's reputation of cowardice. He twice shows the white feather, but finally, in an elaborately contorted situation, redeems himself in terms of the code of the sea. Rod La Rocque and Jacqueline Logan are the principals in this picture that has no plausibility ex-

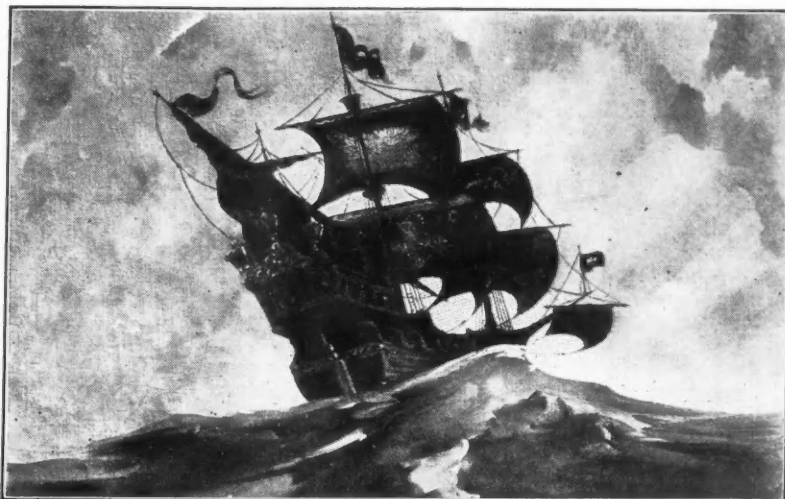
cept some of their acting. A Paramount picture, directed by Victor Fleming.

WOMAN TO WOMAN—A story of a war mother that begins in sentimentality and ends in utter mock heroics is given a kind of plausibility because the part of the young dancer and mother—played by Betty Compson—has a certain actuality before the mock heroics begin. No interest for children. A Selznick picture, directed by Graham Cutts.

MRS. THOMAS D. GRIFFIN, of Harding, Nebraska, writes:

"The WOMAN CITIZEN is one of my enthusiasms and first in my list of papers and periodicals, and friend husband endorses it just as strongly. I cannot understand how I failed to learn of its existence for so many years, and as I find that few of my friends know of it, I am sending you a list of names for sample copies.

"With best wishes for your continued fair and unprejudiced policy, and for financial success."



The Spirit of Pioneering

Impatience with present facilities, a restless searching for perfect things—these have driven men to discovery and invention. They possessed the early voyagers who turned their backs on the security of home to test opportunity in an unknown land. They explain the march westward that resulted in this settled, united country. And they have inspired the activities of the Bell System since the invention of the telephone.

The history of the Bell System records impatience with anything less than the best known way of doing a job. It records a steady and continuous search to find an even better way. In every department of telephone activity improvement has been the goal—new methods of construction and operation, refinement in equipment, discoveries in science that might aid in advancing the telephone art. Always the road has been kept open for an unhampered and economic development of the telephone.

Increased capacity for service has been the result. Instead of rudimentary telephones connecting two rooms in 1876, to-day finds 15,000,000 telephones serving a whole people. Instead of speech through a partition, there is speech across a continent. Instead of a few subscribers who regarded the telephone as an uncertain toy, a nation recognizes it as a vital force in the business of living.

Thus has the Bell System set its own high standards of service. By to-day's striving it is still seeking to make possible the greater service of to-morrow.



AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

BELL SYSTEM

One Policy, One System, Universal Service

The Home Medicine Chest

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

AFTER a rapid survey of the most usual home ailments it is a simple matter to decide on the contents of the home medicine chest.

For surgical ailments (anything that breaks the skin) *Tincture of Iodine* is needed. This is a poison and should be kept on a different shelf or, better yet, in a different cupboard from the other medicines. At least it should be kept on a high shelf so that the children cannot reach it. A couple of Red Cross sterile gauze bandages should stand on the shelf beside the iodine, and a spool of adhesive plaster.

On the shelf below should stand a bottle of *Aromatic Spirits of Ammonia*, the best household remedy for all feeling of faintness, weakness, giddiness, and also very good in the beginning of a cold in the head. A half teaspoonful in a glass of cold water for a child, a whole teaspoonful for an adult, will set the patient up immediately. For a cold in the head, twenty drops in water three or four times a day is very helpful.

A small bottle of *Spirits of Camphor* should come next. This is also a stimulant like ammonia and also good for the beginning stages of a cold in the head, especially for children. Five drops on a lump of sugar three or four times a day, alternating with the Aromatic Spirits of Ammonia, is a good anti-cold treatment.

A bottle of *Castor Oil* should be on every medicine shelf; it should be taken or administered "when in doubt" in a sufficient dose after eating anything that causes intestinal pain. A carton of *Soda*

Bicarbonate is useful for older people who fear indigestion, or gas, or heartburn after eating a favorite dish of disagreeing lemon meringue pie, or after a heavy meal when over-tired. A pinch of this remedy—about a half teaspoonful—in a glass of cold water should be taken after the indulgence. Children hardly ever need such physical medication, or any medication due to lack of muscular tone in the body.

Some good, clean grease, as *vaseline* or *cold cream*, should be on the shelf for immediate use on a burn or a scald, and for the more esthetic use of preventing chapping and sunburn.

Headaches should never be treated with medicine. Their cause should be found and removed. However, as it is often easier to take a pill than to live a non-headache-producing life, two headache medicines may be permitted. *Aspirin tablets*, five grains each, one or two tablets to the dose, may be taken for a headache without a prescription—never more. Such pernicious headache treatment is only permissible as an emergency measure. As a large percentage of headaches come from constipation, the other simple anti-headache treatment is a gentle laxative at night. *Compound Licorice Powder* is the best, in a small carton. Mix thoroughly one teaspoonful in a little water and take at bed time.

For adults with a nervous tendency who habitually overwork and become sleepless and jumpy, a simple bromide mixture may be of great use. This, however, should be prescribed by one's family doctor, but may be kept on the

medicine shelf ready for future use.

In these days of long, dusty automobile rides a simple eyewash should be on every medicine shelf. This can be obtained at the drug store or made at home. One teaspoonful of spirits of camphor, two teaspoonfuls of borax added to a pint of water that has boiled five minutes and is still hot will make a pleasant and soothing eyewash, to be used freely with an eye dropper or an eyecup whenever the eyes are irritated from dust, overwork or strain from late reading. It is also a very good wash for a cold in the eyes and can be used three or four times a day.

Salt Solution (half a teaspoonful of common table salt to a glass of water) is the most healing substance that can be used in a throat gargle and for nasal cleansing during colds. It is also used freely as a wash in all infected wounds.

In the line of tonics, two medicines are really efficacious:

Cod Liver Oil in some form for all thin, fast-growing children, with a tendency to frequent colds, and iron for all pale, anæmic people, especially young girls. The iron is believed to act largely as a stimulant to the iron-forming elements in the body and is best taken intermittently for alternate months.

The medicines here advised are about a dozen. Of this number any one can be excused for needing Iodine or Castor Oil or an eyewash, but the other medicines are merely concessions to the persistent laziness of human nature which would always rather take a pill than cure itself by hygienic living.

A check for \$100 for subscriptions to the WOMAN CITIZEN has gone to Mrs. Elise Foelcker, chairman of the CITIZEN drive for the Louisville (Kentucky) League of Women Voters. Mrs. Foelcker writes: "I have worked hard, but enjoyed every bit of it. I am so glad that I reached my mark, especially for the help the WOMAN CITIZEN will be to these new readers."

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The Democratic Platform

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

AFTER the usual preliminary of self-praise, "pointing with pride" to its own record and "viewing with alarm" "Republican inefficiency and corruption," the Democratic Party pledges itself to the following program:

Honesty

"To put none but the honest in public office; to practice economy in the expenditure of public money; to reverence and respect the rights of all under the Constitution."

Taxation

The platform "denounces the Mellon tax plan" and refers "to the Democratic revenue measure passed by the last Congress as distinguished from the Mellon tax plan as an illustration of the policy of the Democratic Party. "We made a flat reduction of 25 per cent upon the tax of all incomes payable this year, and then we so changed the proposed Mellon plan as to eliminate taxes upon the poor. . . . We pledge ourselves to further reduction."

Tariff

We denounce the Republican tariff laws which aid monopolies and "declare our party's position to be in favor of a tax on commodities entering the custom house that will promote effective competition, protect against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue to support the Government."

Business

We demand prompt action by Congress for the operation of Muscle Shoals plants to maximum capacity.

We denounce the deflation policy of the Republicans and "demand that the Federal Reserve System be so administered as to give stability . . . to finance."

We pledge ourselves "to carry out the reclamation projects" concerning arid and semi-arid lands of the West. (Charges of Republican obstruction to these plans are made.)

We pledge recovery of the Navy's oil reserves, etc., etc., and all legislation relating to the public domain that may be necessary to its conservation. We favor strict public control of all the nation's resources such as coal, iron, oil and timber.

We favor reforestation owing to disappearance of timber, and the conservation of migratory birds and wild life.

We pledge ourselves to regulate by governmental agencies the anthracite coal industry and all other corporations controlling the necessities of life.

We favor legislation to control the fraudulent refinancing and promotion of corporations with unfair sales of stock.

We pledge ourselves to enforcement of laws against monopoly.

We will foster the mining industry

and remove restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

Commerce

We pledge ourselves to the re-writing of the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920 in order that "the high purposes" promised by it but not realized may be accomplished.

We declare for an American-owned merchant marine, American built and manned. We declare the Government should own and operate such ships so long as it may be necessary without obstructing the development of privately owned American shipping.

We favor continuance of Federal aid to improve highways.

We favor and will promote deep waterways from Great Lakes to the Gulf and Atlantic Ocean.

We favor the building of inland waterways and "expediting construction

of flood relief on the Mississippi and Colorado Rivers" and surveys to determine possibilities of navigation and water power improvement.

Relief for Farmers

We pledge ourselves:

(a) To adopt an international policy that will reestablish the farmers' export market.

(b) To adjust the tariff so that the farmer can buy in a competitive market.

(c) To lower water and rail rates in order to lower cost of transportation of farmers' products to markets.

(d) To bring about internal waterway systems for transportation and to develop cheaper fertilizers.

(e) To stimulate coöperative marketing and the establishment of an export marketing corporation.

(f) To secure for the farmer suitable credits.



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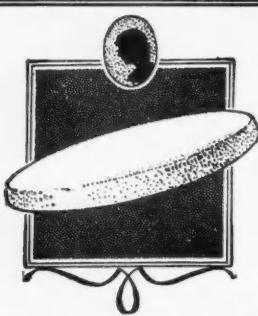
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GLEASON'S Parliamentary Digest

The Digest was written by a woman who has been for seven years the National Superintendent of Parliamentary Law for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; she was for four years Parliamentarian of the Los Angeles District Federation of Women's Clubs, and is now Parliamentarian for seven different organizations and has had much experience in teaching and presiding. Mrs. Gleason knows the needs of our women and wrote the Digest, to be used as a text as well as reference book, for the purpose of making it easier for our women to study and understand parliamentary procedure. Why not form a Parliamentary Section in your Club and study the Digest? Hundreds are doing it; "Knowledge is Power." The Digest is based upon "Robert's Rules of Order Revised." 1923 Revised Edition, \$2.00. If your book-store does not carry the Digest, send direct to the author, **MRS. I. W. GLEASON**, 1110 West 30th Street, Los Angeles, California

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(g) To reduce the margin between what the producer receives and pays.

Labor

We favor the enactment of legislation providing that the products of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to the laws of the latter state.

We favor the construction of public works in order to mitigate unemployment attending business depression.

We pledge the party to cooperate with the state governments for the welfare, education and protection of child life and all necessary safeguards against exhaustive debilitating employment conditions for women. (Doubtful meaning.)

For War

(a) Until agreements have been made to abolish competitive military programs "we advocate an army and navy adequate for our national safety."

(b) "We favor a sustained development of aviation both by the Government and commercially."

For Peace

"In the event of war in which the man power of the nation is drafted, all other resources should likewise be drafted."

"Our Government should secure a joint agreement with all other nations for world disarmament and also for a referendum on war except in case of actual or threatened attack."

After an emphatic expression of approval of the League of Nations the platform says "it is desirable, wise and necessary to lift this question out of party politics and to that end to take the sense of the American people at a referendum election, advisory to the Government, to be held officially under act of Congress free from all other questions and candidacies, after ample time for full consideration and discussion throughout the country upon the question in substance as follows:

"Shall the United States become a member of the League of Nations upon such reservations or amendments to the Covenant of the League as the President and the Senate of the United States may agree upon? Immediately upon an affirmative vote we will carry out such mandate."

Education

We believe that each state "shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education." The Federal Government should offer to the states "such council, advice and aid as may be made available."

Civil Service

We pledge to extend its provisions to internal revenue officers and to carry out the spirit of the law which gives preferential rights to ex-service men.

Campaign Contributions

We favor "reasonable means of publicity" at public expense, so that candidates properly before the people for Federal offices may present their claims

at a minimum of cost. We favor a complete revision of the Corrupt Practices Act.

Federal Administration

We pledge ourselves to a policy to call the Congress elected in November to meet in December instead of the following March, thus eliminating the "Lame Duck" session.

We favor the right of the people of the several states to vote on proposed (Federal?) constitutional amendments.

Prohibition

The Democratic Party pledges itself to respect and enforce the Constitution and all laws. (Prohibition is not mentioned.)

The Klan

The Democratic Party reaffirms its adherence to those cardinal principles in the Constitution, etc. "We insist at all times upon obedience to the orderly processes of the law and deplore and condemn any effort to arouse religious or racial dissension." (The Klan is not mentioned.)

Territories and Dependencies

We favor immediate independence for the Philippines.

We favor a full territorial government for Alaska.

We favor "legislation for the welfare" of the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands.

We will continue improvements of harbors and breakwaters and Federal roads of the Territory of Hawaii.

Miscellaneous

We favor the extension of the probation principle to the courts of the United States.

We favor adequate salaries for postal employees.

We pledge generous appropriation in aid of the "rehabilitation and compensation of veterans of all wars and their dependents" and the "humanizing of the Veterans' Bureau."

We will continue to favor exclusion of Asiatic immigration.

We pledge ourselves to take all legitimate and proper measures for education, for control and for suppression at home and abroad, to check the spread of narcotic addiction, especially as regards heroin.

We reaffirm our faith in States Rights and "we demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government essential to the preservation of the free institutions of our Republic."

Compliments

These are paid:

1. To women "who now have their rightful place by the side of men." (Similar platitudes were expressed by the Republican platform.)

2. To the new Republic of Greece "which gave our party its priceless name."

3. To the Latin-American republics since "God has made us neighbors—justice shall make us friends."

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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN

Editor
VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Advertising Manager
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART

Associate Editor
WINIFRED L. RICH

The Woman Citizen is published bi-weekly September to June and monthly July and August (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City; Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City. By subscription, \$2.00 a year, postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
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Vol. LIII Old Style.
Vol. IX New Style.

No. 5

OUR OWN DINGBATS

THERE'S been another convention here, and we didn't even find out where it met. ♦ ♦ ♦ A convention with costumes, too. ♦ ♦ ♦ But they involved disillusionment for us. ♦ ♦ ♦ A year or so ago, when our streets were thronged with red fezes, we said women wouldn't do such tricks—and got jumped on for saying so. ♦ ♦ ♦ We went our way unrepentant and unconvinced, until the other day we met flocks and flocks of women not only in fezes but in baker caps, adorned with every known kind of badge. ♦ ♦ ♦ We surrender. ♦ ♦ ♦ "The Mooses," these were—we have a policeman's word for it. ♦ ♦ ♦ And we hear that New York fed them on butterscotch pie, which is said to be a Democratic Convention heritage. ♦ ♦ ♦ If that be a test of either Mooseishness or Democracy, we can never qualify. ♦ ♦ ♦ Did other people know that Bertha M. Clay was a man? ♦ ♦ ♦ It was a shock to us when the death of John R. Coryell brought that fact to our attention. ♦ ♦ ♦ Not that Bertha was our favorite author, even though we were forbidden to read her. ♦ ♦ ♦ If campaigning is done by radio, what will become of such stories as that in the "Christian Register" about the orator who was constantly being interrupted by a man shouting "Liar!" and who finally said, "If the gentleman who persists in interrupting will be good enough to tell us his name, instead of merely shouting out his calling, I am sure we shall all be pleased to make his acquaintance." ♦ ♦ ♦ Just as we were agonizing over a magazine made up of as many pieces as a picture puzzle, all scrambled, we got a letter from Chamonix, full of great tall mountains. ♦ ♦ ♦ It helped our perspective, but not our happiness. Why are so few magazines published in mountains? ♦ ♦ ♦ Within a day after the Democrats left the Garden it was plastered over with swimming ladies' pictures, scantlings stuck out the windows, and one could walk round and round without dodging policemen. ♦ ♦ ♦ How long ago it seems. ♦ ♦ ♦ But there are still traces in our accent. ♦ ♦ ♦ We still tend to say fo'teen and sub. ♦ ♦ ♦ And for days any noise of voices raised above clamor sounded to us like balloting. ♦ ♦ ♦ We are on the brink of a pre-campaign vacation. ♦ ♦ ♦ Running for office? Oh, dear no! Only trying to keep an eye on those who are. ♦ ♦ ♦ So we're going to snatch a bit of rest in Canada first. ♦ ♦ ♦ where they don't elect presidents, anyhow. ♦ ♦ ♦ Whole chain of lakes to swim and drown in this time. ♦ ♦ ♦ when all we want of a lake is to look at it. ♦ ♦ ♦ They'll have to heat it, if we are to enter. ♦ ♦ ♦ We expect to acquire a coat of sunburn by the gradual methods Dr. Alsop describes in this magazine—unless we have to harden ourselves to biting winds. ♦ ♦ ♦ She never thought of that as a vacation possibility, it seems. ♦ ♦ ♦ But, whatever else we do, we'll not abandon the rare sport of reading opposed party newspapers in rapid succession.



Mrs. Coolidge

MRS. COOLIDGE — Grace Goodhue, a Vermont school teacher—already has the respect and affection of the country for her fine character and her pleasant unaffected charm. She has made good as a "first lady."

First and Second Lady Possibilities

PROBABLY this page is very bad feminism. We aren't voting for these women this fall. They have, strictly, nothing to do with the case. But two of them will have something to do with it, just the same. Which two?



Mrs. Davis

MRS. JOHN W. DAVIS is at home in the social life not only of Washington and New York, but in London, where she shared her husband's popularity during his years as ambassador.



Mrs. Bryan



Mrs. LaFollette

*All photographs copyright by
Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.*



Mrs. Dawes

PUBLICITY hasn't got very busy yet with the wives of the Republican and Democratic vice-presidential nominees. Mrs. Dawes paid an early visit to Washington after her husband's nomination, and got acquainted at the White House. The family home is in Evanston. Mrs. Bryan has been less heard of, so far, than her daughter, who was married the day before her father left for New York, to come home a nominee.



Mrs. Wheeler

BOTH Mrs. La Follette and Mrs. Wheeler expect to take active part in the campaign for their husbands. Mrs. La Follette (Belle Case, of Wisconsin) has taken the stump many a time in her husband's fights, and worked closely with him all the way—in spite of four children. Mrs. Wheeler (Lulu White, of Illinois) can't be caught in a picture without her flock, it seems. She, too, plans to set out when the campaign opens and speak for the "independent" candidates.

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

AUGUST 9, 1924

Number 5

News Notes of the Fortnight

The London Conference

THE nine powers which met at London on July 16 to decide on the application of the Dawes plan reached an agreement on August 2—so definite that Premier MacDonald is reported to have said, "Only Satan can separate us." This is the first half of the conference, and presumably the bigger half of the battle. As soon as agreement was reached, an invitation was sent to the Germans to come, and by the time this is read sessions will have begun again.

When the Conference met there was great tension between Great Britain and France. The British point of view had been that some body outside the Reparation Commission should be created to administer the Dawes plan. The French clung to the Reparation Commission, in which they are dominant. And after Premier Herriot, of France, visited Premier MacDonald at Chequers, the British invitation to the Conference was issued with an unfortunate inclusion of the British point of view. Herriot's enemies seized on the chance to charge him with having surrendered, and raised such a storm that MacDonald came to Paris to help him. In the provisional program the two drew up together, which provided for the continuance of the Reparation Commission's authority, and for an American member to help decide on German default, Great Britain did the surrendering—and MacDonald was in turn attacked at home. That was the situation when the Conference began, with Herriot, whose place is wobbly, under pledge to Poincaré not to yield France's claimed right to independent action.

The questions to be taken up were: Who would decide whether Germany had willfully defaulted if, and when, payments under the Dawes plan should fail? If she defaulted, should France be allowed again to act independently, as in the Ruhr, or must the Allies act together? How organize a body to receive and transfer reparations to the creditor nations? And—when would the French leave the Ruhr? On these decisions depended the proposed Ger-

man loan—the first step in Germany's rehabilitation.

Not every detail has been settled—disagreement is still possible; but no break is foreseen. For days the tension was so great that there was the possibility that, like so many other conferences, this would be called off, and that Herriot would go home. He was constantly facing the dilemma—an agreement in London, in defiance of the Poincaré group, and overthrow at home; or return home with the French independence intact—and no agreement concluded.

The first clash was over the problem of who should decide when Germany had defaulted. France won her point, modified. The Reparation Commission is to decide, but it must take the advice

Very Briefly

THE United States bars Japanese residents in Hawaii from coming here. This is an old order (1913) held by Secretary of Labor Davis to apply in the new immigration situation.

De Valera, leader of the Irish Republicans, was released by the Irish Free State. He had been imprisoned since last August.

Harry F. Sinclair, lessor of Teapot Dome, who refused to answer the Senate Committee's inquiries, lost his demurrer and motion to quash the indictment against him for that refusal (an indictment additional to that for alleged conspiracy to defraud the government). This was the ruling of a judge of Criminal Court of the District of Columbia. The United States Supreme Court will have to pass on the validity of the indictment before Mr. Sinclair can be put on trial.

Campaign contributions will be reported to Senator Borah, in charge of the committee appointed to supervise publicity of campaign contributions.

Our ambassador to Mexico, Charles W. Warren, has resigned and returned home.

The shopmen of the Pennsylvania Railroad lost their appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for a large back-pay claim, based on the difference between the scale fixed with the railroad administration during the war and the scale paid by the company later under private control. The shopmen charged conspiracy. In the Federal District Court the suits had been dismissed on the ground that the courts had no power to enforce decisions of the Railroad Labor Board.

An amnesty measure passed in France cancels the latter part of the sentence imposed on former Premier Caillaux.

of the agent general and representative of the shareholders in the German loan.

Most prolonged was the struggle over the question of separate action by France in case of default. The settlement came by way of finance rather than politics. American and British bankers were to be responsible for the loan to Germany. Their reasonable position was that they could not offer to investors a loan which might be endangered by a repetition of the Ruhr invasion. In the course of the discussion France offered to be responsible for the service of the loan herself in case she again invaded Germany. But this was not persuasive to the bankers, since the invasion of the Ruhr had proved that a net deficit, rather than a surplus, is likely to result from such sanctions. The British held out longer than the Americans against compromise plans that were suggested, but accord was finally reached on the following plan—Herriot's own suggestion:

The Reparation Commission is to adjudicate on any demand for declaration of default; any member who is opposed to the majority vote, whether for or against, may within eight days appeal before an arbitral commission of three members, whose decision shall be final. These three, appointed for five years, shall be selected from among independent and impartial persons by the Reparation Commission voting unanimously; failing unanimity, by the President of the International Court of Justice at the Hague. The chairman shall be a citizen of the United States. This plan certainly means a sizable triumph for the Herriot point of view as against the unyielding Poincaré isolation position, and it won considerable French backing.

The third of the principal points of dispute was the French demand for arbitration against possible decisions of the Dawes Transfer Committee, which is regarded by experts as the keystone of the whole Dawes plan. The decision reached was that if a single member of the six experts on this committee objects to a decision of the committee not to send reparations abroad at a given time, or to reduction of the total of German reparations (by a two-thirds

vote of the committee), then arbitration will be invoked. Great Britain held out for arbitration only when two members appealed. France sat tight, and the two came close enough to agreement to warrant inviting the Germans.

Finally, a decision was made for the economic evacuation of the Ruhr in October, if the Germans accepted the terms.

In all of this Americans have shared largely—James A. Logan, our unofficial observer; Ambassador Kellogg, appointed to attend the conference; Owen D. Young, so important on the committee that formed the plan; Secretary Hughes and Secretary Mellon, unofficially; both being in London on other matters, but both—being in London, just the same. Plan after plan for mediation was offered by Americans, and their service in helping the Conference to reach an agreement was very great.

The alternative to agreement, every one knew, was chaos.

Norway and Prohibition

NORWAY has declined to take a backward step in regard to prohibition. It will be recalled that wartime prohibition was made permanent there through a popular vote. When the wine-producing countries, France, Spain and Portugal, threatened to buy no more fish from Norway if Norway would buy no more wines from them, the Northern country, in a bad state of financial depression, raised the permissible amount of alcoholic content high enough to allow the import of heavy wines, though stronger liquors remained on the forbidden list. This happened a year ago last spring, and the ministry which had supported prohibition withdrew. Finances continued bad, and not long ago the Cabinet proposed the repeal of prohibition by parliamentary action, and the substitution of government control. But the measure was not sustained, and the Cabinet fell. It is likely that the new government will bring the question before the people. Even the opponents of prohibition believe it should be abolished only after an appeal to the people, since it was instituted after a referendum.

Trouble With Persia

EARLY in July the American Vice-Consul at Teheran, Persia—Major Imbrie—was beaten to death by a mob incensed at his efforts to photograph a religious demonstration which followed a "miracle"; another American, his companion, was injured. The people were in a state of high emotional tension, and Major Imbrie's act was in defiance of warnings.

Immediately the Persian Government made prompt apologies, and promised the punishment of the guilty persons. Later developments indicated that police and other officials had been at the scene of

the murder, without attempting to interfere; and the widow of Major Imbrie was insulted by a young Persian. A strong protest from our Government then warned Persia that diplomatic relations would be broken unless reparations and punishment were promptly forthcoming. It called for the protection of Americans in Persia, for additional guards at the legations, if desired by Americans there, for honors to Major Imbrie's body and the payment of expenses for an American man-of-war to bring it back. The response from Persia was satisfactory.

Williamstown—No. 4

FOR its fourth annual session the Institute of Politics opened August 1 at Williamstown, Massachusetts. Among the eminent foreigners who will take part in the Institute are Sir Arthur Salter, chief of the financial section of the League of Nations, who was in charge of the League's plan for the rehabilitation of Austria; Richard Henry Tawney, economic adviser of the British Labor Party, and Sir Paul Vinogradoff, of the chair in jurisprudence of Oxford University. Of course, there are many distinguished Americans, too. Some of the round table subjects are: Russia and Its Problems, Population and Related Problems, Political Factors in Europe



A native of Indiana who "loves New England hills, the old streets and the quaint houses with their dormer windows"—and paints them—that tells part of Miss Bertha Baxter's story. We also suspect from our cover that she loves musty docks and quiet water and fishing boats.

Miss Baxter is a graduate of the John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis, where she won special honorable mention. Later she came to New York, and took a special course in interior decoration at the New York School of Fine and Applied Arts.

Paintings of Miss Baxter's have appeared in the Philadelphia Academy, in the National Academy and in various exhibitions. She is a member of the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors and her water colors have given her a place in the American Water Color Society.

Today, Inter-American Relations, The League of Nations.

With the Nominees

ON August 11 Mr. John W. Davis, nominee of the Democratic Party for President, will be notified of his nomination at his family home in Clarksburg, West Virginia. As Mr. Davis's opinions on public questions are comparatively unknown, his speech of acceptance will be more significant than that of any other nominee.

Three days later President Coolidge will receive news of his two-months' old nomination, in Washington.

Both speeches are presumably complete. Mr. Davis's is said to be markedly liberal in tone, liberal enough to be startling to the most conservative wing of the party.

Senator La Follette is to waive the ceremony of having a well-known fact announced to him.

Mr. Dawes will receive his notification at Evanston, Illinois, August 17, and Mr. Bryan his at Lincoln, Nebraska, August 18.

Mr. Davis spent ten days as guest of the Charles Dana Gibsons' at Islesboro, Maine, resting and getting under way on his speech; he returned last week to New York. Democratic headquarters in the East are at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York City, under Mr. Thomas Spellacy, manager of the Eastern Division of the National Committee. Mr. Clem L. Shaver, of West Virginia, the new Chairman of the National Committee, will be in charge of the headquarters in Chicago (place not decided yet.)

The headquarters of the Republican National Committee are at the Wrigley Building, Chicago, under the Chairman of the National Committee, William M. Butler. Frederick L. Hicks has charge of the New York headquarters at 2 West Forty-sixth street.

Senator La Follette's campaign will be conducted from the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, under Mr. John M. Nelson, campaign manager. There is another headquarters at the Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C., with William H. Johnston, National Chairman, in charge.

Japanese Citizenship

THE Japanese Cabinet has approved a bill providing that Japanese citizens residing abroad, in case they have not taken the oath of allegiance by serving the Japanese army, may give up their native citizenship. This would allow children born of Japanese parents in the United States to be American citizens. Previously they have had both American and Japanese citizenship. The measure may be intended, partly, to demonstrate that Japanese are assimilable. It has to be confirmed by the Diet.—August 5, 1924.

Bryan the Younger

By Emma H. de Zouche

CHARLES W. BRYAN, of Nebraska, Democratic nominee for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, is the potential joker in the three-handed political game now progressing toward the November elections.

According to expert judgment in both parties, should the intervention of La Follette between the rival ambitions of Calvin Coolidge and John W. Davis bring about a failure of all three to obtain a majority in the Electoral College, the House of Representatives, being deadlocked on the candidates, would be unable to name the President; and the decision would go to the Senate. In this event, it is generally conceded that Charles W. Bryan, younger brother of William Jennings Bryan, thrice defeated candidate for the Presidency, would be elected the next Chief Executive.

In weighing the chances of the American boy, the country might then study at its leisure the anachronism of a comparatively obscure Western Governor projected by the accident of an accident into second place on the Davis ticket, and through no effort of his own inducted into the White House. Like our old friend Koko of Gilbert and Sullivan memory:

"Wafted by a favoring gale
By a set of curious chances
To a height that few can scale
Save by long and weary dances."

Article XII of the Constitution of the United States, on the manner of choosing a President and Vice-President, provides that where no person has a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, "then from the persons having the highest number, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the vote shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of death or other constitutional disability of the President."

In the choice of a Vice-President

where no person obtains a majority of the electoral votes the Constitution provides:

"Then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a ma-



Townsend Studio
Charles W. Bryan

jority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice."

The Vice-President thus elected would become the actual President.

In the three-cornered round-up for the Vice-Presidency all are Northwestern men—Charles W. Bryan, of Nebraska, Democrat; Brigadier General Dawes, of Michigan, Republican, and Senator Burton Wheeler, of Montana, who has bolted the Democratic ticket to accept second place on the La Follette ticket. In the event of the election being thrown into the Senate the tensivity of the situation would be proportionately increased.

Wheeler has the background of the opportunist through his prominent part in the recent Senate investigations. Bryan and Dawes are both Lincoln's

The latest number of the CITIZEN closed just as Mr. Davis and Mr. Bryan were nominated by the Democrats. Mr. Davis's record had already been sketched in the CITIZEN candidate series, which was published in several issues before the conventions. Now, here is Mr. Bryan, following General Dawes in the post-convention sketches—written, like the others, to give CITIZEN readers the facts, without partisanship, about the leading nominees.

own, after years of separation curiously paired in a supreme effort. Hailing from different states—Bryan from Illinois and Dawes from Ohio—they made their early start in the bustling Nebraska town at about the same time. In age the two Vice-Presidential nominees are only two years apart, Bryan, fifty-seven, being the younger. Bryan's first business venture was a butcher shop; later, in Omaha, he owned a cigar store. Dawes hung out his shingle as a lawyer. Both showed a youthful trend toward politics, which with Dawes seemed more a means to an end, and with Bryan a profession. In the West it is the young man who marches with events, but while Dawes went out to blaze his own trail circumstances decided the destiny of Bryan.

William Jennings Bryan, the brother four years the senior of Charles, well known as a Lincoln lawyer and already a silver-tongued orator of looming possibilities, was elected to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses. He made his brother his private secretary. Then began that intensive study of the detail work of the public servant which spells success. Charles became a master of his craft, the trusted adviser of his brother. Somebody once said of them that he supplied the statistics and the older Bryan the eloquence. Charles W. was a political Who's Who of amazing ramifications.

When his big brother acquired the habit of running for President every four years it was Charles, the glutton for work, who kept all the wheels oiled and moving. After the establishment of the *Commoner*, Bryan's political publication, Charles gradually slipped into full control. It is significant of the training absorbed during this period that in his municipal policies, put in operation as the Mayor of Lincoln, and later in his state program, as Nebraska's Governor, Charles W. Bryan has displayed a broad-gage, as opposed to a purely local tendency. He has hit national needs with a community application. Anyone will tell you that the Governor is on the right side of Oil—he has waged a continuous fight against the gasoline and oil monopoly; that he favors conscientious law enforcement of Prohibition; that he has promoted municipal ownership of public utilities; that his state budget last year was nearly a million dollars below that of the preceding (Republican) administration; that the farmers are supporting him for his work to secure equalization of taxes in Nebraska.

He stands for welfare laws and progressive labor legislation, and favored "adjusted compensation," the bonus for veterans of the World War. In other words, he has been a man of "popular" policies.

In appearance Charles W. Bryan is the antithesis of his brother of Free Silver fame. Both men, now fast gray-ing, are dark in type and both bald. There the likeness ceases abruptly. William Jennings Bryan carries in every line of his mobile face the emotional changes of the instinctive actor, who plays at will upon every responsive chord in his listeners. The dark eyes which soften for sentiment or humor may sparkle with indignation and com-

mand; the voice which charms with persuasive oratory may likewise whine or thunder. Charles W. Bryan has the external calm of the Oriental. His face is without a wrinkle. His black opaque eyes betray no feeling, unless perhaps at a chance mention of his daughter, Mrs. W. E. Harnsberger (the girl who married the day before he left for the convention), when the curtain may lift for an instant to reveal the father behind the Governor.

Unlike the Commoner, the aureole of hair which surrounds his far-famed black silk skull cap shows no inclination to ornate curls, but stands out stiffly from the head. His mustache has the same uncompromising slant. He is a big man.

proportionately broad in build, and somewhat lurching in gait. In speech he looks directly at his questioner and replies like a witness on the stand, without elaboration or evasion. He is curt without offense, and his voice is without those saving intonations which make for grace. Add to this a likable frankness of approach, the palpable instinct for equality among men, and you have the Governor of Nebraska—shrewd, self-contained, prepared for the best, or the worst.

He paid a rare tribute to John W. Davis, the Democratic nominee for President, when on the morning after nomination the two met after a session

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Women Play Leaders



Organized Play—in Springfield, Mass. *Community Service.*

By
Mabel
Travis
Wood

PLAY directing is not a new field for women. Ever since Mrs. Caveman first rattled her tiger-tooth necklace to amuse baby, woman has made it one of

her jobs. Progressive mothers have long felt that providing attractive recreation in the home has a rank almost as important as providing nourishing meals. But play, once exclusively a function of the home, in this twentieth century demands also community, municipal and national attention. And the women pioneers who have aided the spread of the movement for public recreation in America have created a new life-work for women—that of the trained supervisor of play.

Our public playgrounds and recreation centers, our municipal dance halls and golf courses, our community theatres and civic auditoriums, are all recent developments. The sand gardens originating in Boston and vicinity about 1885 and the model playgrounds established by fourteen cities prior to 1900 were America's first attempt to cope with the growing menace to the play spirit. There was no definite play movement until 1906, when the Playground and Recreation Association of America was organized to

aid cities in establishing programs of recreation. By 1906 forty-one cities had set aside spaces as playgrounds. Last year six hundred and eighty cities were maintaining 6,601 playgrounds and recreation centers, their 1923 public recreation bill totaling fourteen million dollars.

Women have played an important part in this growth. The little group of pioneer advocates of supervised public play who formed the nucleus out of which developed the Playground and Recreation Association of America included Jane Addams, Sadie American, Mari R. Hofer, Amalie Hofer, Beulah Kennard and Mrs. Samuel Ammon. When cities began to adopt the public play idea and playgrounds began to spring up, women interested in child development and in athletics, music or dramatics rallied to the new need for supervision and trained for the profession of play leader.

More women than men have always been employed as playground directors. Of the 12,282 paid recreation workers who are employed by 680 cities, 7,159 are women. A significant trend of late years has been the filling of the highest type of general recreation job by women.

Woman Superintendents of Recreation are now employed by twenty-four cities. Thirty-nine more women hold similar positions as Community Service executives in smaller towns and cities, while approximately thirty-one women supervise other private playground or recreation organizations.

Salaries for women in recreation range from the sixty dollars a month paid a summer playground assistant, who is just beginning, to the four or five thousand dollars a year received by woman recreation executives. College training, with special courses in physical training and community organization, is the best preparation.

The work of planning a whole city's recreation and directing its staff of play leaders calls for a thorough background of public recreation experience, for resourcefulness, versatility, an exceptional social gift and the executive ability necessary to swing both its desk and field ends. Many of the women now holding this most responsible position in the play field are known for some special contribution to public play knowledge or history.

San Francisco's Playground Commission has a woman—M. Philomene Hagan

—as director of its activities. Susie Root Rhodes is in charge of the efficient system of playgrounds in Washington, D. C. Philadelphia's municipal recreation is directed by Sophia L. Ross, while Elizabeth O'Neill supervises its school playgrounds.

One of the most complete and far-reaching recreation systems in the South—that of Houston, Texas—has been



Miss Enderis Stein

built up and is directed by Corinne Fondé. Miss Fondé has been linking the playground to the home through regular visits of playground workers to homes in the neighborhood. Houston families have been filling out card questionnaires on their favorite hobbies and forms of recreation.

At the City Hall in Des Moines can be found the office of Margaret McKee, who directs both municipal playground and recreation activities and physical education in the schools. Vigorous and radiant, with pronounced social qualities, she is one of the most vivid personalities among women in recreation. Miss McKee is a niece of Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture.

The highly successful neighborhood recreation centers of Syracuse, New York, are a product of neighborhood co-operation plus the astute organizing ability of Lucia L. Knowles, municipal Superintendent of Recreation. Charlotte Stewart, Salt Lake City's Supervisor of Recreation, has been particularly interested in the promotion of home play and during National Play Week launched a campaign which resulted in many of the city's parents equipping their backyards with home-made play apparatus.

Back of Milwaukee's recent and successful \$550,000 bond issue for the purchase of additional playground sites was Dorothy C. Enderis, director of the Extension Department of the city's public schools. Her publicity campaign included dodgers under the milk bottles, automobile stickers and three hundred big signs, which, as she put it, were "joy riding the streets of Milwaukee on the front of the street cars."

Miss Enderis is one of those pleasant and comfortable people who, though alert, never give the impression of being

hurried. She has a way of accomplishing every-day detail and revolutionary things with the same matter-of-fact ease. Taken from the teaching ranks of the Milwaukee schools in 1912 to assist in organizing the new Extension Department,



Mrs. Marsh Watson

providing for public recreation, she was in 1920 made head of the department. To her belongs the credit of helping to establish and of now supervising a system of school evening recreation centers probably surpassed by no other city in America.

Miss Enderis has been the guiding spirit in the Mother and Daughter Celebrations which for four years have been bringing Milwaukee's mothers and daughters into closer touch. She is now



Mrs. White Bachrach

preparing a unique book on coping-saw toys, which will show playground boys everywhere how to create the quaint wooden elephants and ponies and Chinese which the boys of Milwaukee have been making.

A new recreation position, destined to grow, is that of County Supervisor of Recreation. It fills an important need in rural counties or counties having many small towns none of which can afford to employ expert play leadership, but all of which need guidance in establishing playgrounds and arranging community recreation programs. Of the three County Supervisors of Recreation so far appointed, two are women.

Mathilde Christman has for several years directed the play of Chester

County, Pennsylvania, emphasizing rural recreation and regular days of sports and competition for children from all parts of the county. Westchester County, New York, has recently established the position of County Supervisor of Recreation, which Mrs. Chester Geppert Marsh is ably filling.

Mrs. Marsh is a shining example of a woman who can successfully manage



Miss Fondé

both a home and a career. Slender and vivacious and bobbed haired, you would never suspect that she has two almost-grown sons at home.

Here is a case of extraordinarily happy unity of interest between husband and wife. Mr. Marsh has also been active in the recreation movement for years. At present he is with the Westchester County Park Commission. When I interviewed Mrs. Marsh, she and Mr. Marsh had just been working out, on complicated looking charts, the organization of a county-wide play day, later held at Westchester's new Mohansic Park and bringing together two thousand children for a day of democratic, uncommercialized fun.

Mrs. Marsh has had interesting experiences in introducing play into institutions in the county. "After our game period at the county penitentiary one day," she said, "one of the prisoners came up to me very slowly and thoughtfully. 'Say, ma'am,' he ventured, 'I bet a lot of us wouldn't be here now if we'd had more of this when we were kids. The only place I had to play was the street and I never knew none of these games.'"

One of the most engaging personalities to advance the cause of community play is Eva Whiting White, a slight, dark-eyed woman of earnestness, simplicity and brilliant mental attainment. Mrs. White is prominent in a number of fields of social work. If she were to fill all the jobs she is asked to take there would have to be several of her. As it is, she manages to accomplish almost as much as though she were twins.

At present Mrs. White heads the Community Service of Boston, which organizes leisure-time activities for the city. She is also director of the Boston

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The "Independent" Nominee

By Cora Rigby

In the May 31 issue of the *Citizen*, a line under Senator LaFollette's picture asked, "Will he bolt?" He did; and among other consequences he takes his place among the *Citizen's* sketches of candidates and nominees, which began in April. The intention is to present the records of these leading campaign figures, without partisanship, leaving the readers to form their own judgments. In the next number there will be a short sketch of Senator Wheeler.



ROBERT MARION LA FOLLETTE aims to found a new political party in the United States.

He is too astute, however, to stake all of his political assets on so uncertain a venture. Entering the race against the Republican nominee for President, he calls himself an independent Republican. He will not consent to the birth of a new party—yet. The time is not ripe, but ripening. He seeks to lay a firm foundation by preliminary processes and meanwhile to test the temper of the people, to learn if they are ready for a new party.

Robert M. LaFollette is an experienced politician. That is the first thing to be reckoned with by his opponents. He has fought for two score years within the Republican party and has been seldom, and only temporarily, worsted. Anyone who has seen him, sitting in grim isolation in the Senate Chamber, smiling sardonically in the midst of disapproval and waiting—always waiting—for his opportunity, gets some idea of his mettle and what has to be met in this peculiar political year of 1924.

What LaFollette did in Wisconsin through years of "bucking the machine" indicates what he may do in the nation, but whether he will be able to make himself the dictator that he is in the Badger State nothing but the returns from next November's elections will decide, and they may not, for, should the tide be against him, "Battling Bob" will undoubtedly shape his course for the next election. If he should defeat the major parties—a failure of either to command a majority in the electoral college would be a defeat—he would be in a position to launch at once a new liberal party.

Once before Mr. LaFollette believed that he had an opportunity to become President, but it was snatched from him by Theodore Roosevelt, who also aspired to reach that office by the Progressive route. Thereupon Mr. LaFollette wrote his autobiography. Reading it, one is impressed with the frank egotism of the man. He never admits that he is wrong. He is assailed by no doubts. Everything

is clear cut; there is no shading. His confidence persists through all circumstances. He is bold and courageous. Having taken a stand, he is on a rock. Waves of dissent or opprobrium may beat about it, but he folds his arms and maintains a Napoleonic attitude. More-



John A. Flander, Manitowoc, Wis.
Robert M. LaFollette

over, he must always be the leader, the director, the dictator. Forces working for the same ends as LaFollette are always his forces.

The Autobiography fully reveals LaFollette, no gloss, no disguise. As he said, it was written from the field—the latter part from the field of the convention of 1912. It is not literary. It is a defiant trumpet blast setting forth his struggles, his principles, his solitary stand—as he sees it—for political righteousness, his betrayals, his conclusions in regard to economic problems and his right to carry the people's standard.

On the first page of his Autobiography he says: "My own political experiences began in the summer of 1880, when I determined to become a candidate for District Attorney of Dane County, Wisconsin, and it resulted almost immediately in the first of many struggles with the political boss and the political machine which then controlled absolutely the affairs of the State of Wisconsin."

And at the end of his narrative he

declares that he "never could have been sustained, often in the face of disappointment and defeat," if he had "felt less deeply the eternal justice of the end sought to be attained."

The most important speech made by Senator LaFollette in the last session of Congress gave clear indication that he was preparing to cut loose from the Republican party and blaze his own trail. The occasion was the debate on the resignation of Edwin F. Denby as Secretary of the Navy, and it gave LaFollette an opportunity to declare his own policy, a part of which has been written into his platform. After denouncing the Administration, he turned upon the Senate with the words: "You ask what I propose to do about it? I propose, in the first place, that we have a thorough housecleaning; that those public officials whose hands are not clean be removed from office; that offenses such as those revealed in the present investigation shall not be condoned."

The oil investigation, by the way, had been called for by resolution introduced by him in 1922, and after a lapse of eighteen months was taken up by a succeeding Congress. Mr. LaFollette had no active part in the investigation, but he and his organization were busy gathering from it material for their campaign. Those who listened to him speak in February had little doubt that he would come out from the ranks of the Republican party and lead his own group when the political forces were aligned for the Presidential campaign. His personal following began to gather to itself accretions from all sides; from labor, from agriculture, from socialists, from discontent, organized and unorganized, and from aspiration, thwarted and unfulfilled. But LaFollette did not want to go too far to the Left. He did not seek endorsement at the hands of anarchists or the wild brand of communists. Finally, at the St. Paul convention, he definitely discarded them. He picked and chose among the radicals to suit his purposes.

He was awaiting his own convention, the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which met in Cleveland on July 4. To this he sent a statement, read by

his son, R. M. LaFollette, Jr., which cut the ties which had bound him, loosely, to the regular Republican party and set him free to wander as an independent until the day when he should deem it expedient to declare his progressive party permanent.

Years ago, Philetus Sawyer, millionaire lumberman, Senator from Wisconsin, attacked LaFollette, then serving his first term in the House, saying: "Young man, young man, what are you doing? You are a bolter. The Republican platform promises this legislation. You are a bolter, sir; you are a bolter."

Now a new generation is saying to LaFollette, "You are a bolter, sir," and he not only refuses to quail, but goes on with his program undeterred. "The old parties have failed," is his dictum, and that is reason enough for him to act.

In 1912 Mr. LaFollette said: "The supreme issue, involving all the others, is

the encroachment of the powerful few on the rights of the many. This mighty power has come between the people and their government."

In 1924 he repeats: "To break the combined power of the private monopoly system over the political and economic life of the American people is the one paramount issue of the 1924 campaign."

So much for motives and personality. Senator LaFollette has been an emotional storm center so often that it is specially to the point to consider the cold facts of this "bolter's" record. Here they are:

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE

Born, 1855, in a log cabin, Primrose, Wisconsin. Graduated, University of Wisconsin, 1879. He was admitted to the bar the following year and elected District Attorney of Dane County.

In 1881 he married Belle Case, a classmate at the University.

Elected to the United States House of Representatives at the age of twenty-nine, he was appointed to the Indian Affairs Committee and became a steadfast friend of the Indians.

He was defeated for a fourth Congressional term in 1890 and returned to Wisconsin to fight the party machine. Became interested in direct primaries and railroad control.

As Governor of Wisconsin, 1901, he continued to fight along these lines. Originated "roll call," a form of party publicity for checking up candidates on their campaign pledges.

In 1897, at Chicago University, he made an address, outlining probably for the first time a complete system of direct nomination, and he fought for the direct primary in Wisconsin until its adoption in 1904. Also he led the movement to tax railway property just as other prop-

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Pioneers Backward

By Winifred Lancashire Rich

TINY framed medallions depicting soft laughing children, whose cheeks are pink with the bloom of youth and whose ringlets are glossy with reflected sunlight. Tiny framed medallions of bearded ladies and gentlemen, whose features have acquired the harshness of mature years but whose cheeks are none the less realistic for having lost the first flush. Here are two personalities reviving an art inspired by the same motive, but following vastly different paths—Ethel Frances Mundy and Ruth Burke.

Since the same incentive served them both, let's follow their steps backward and trace the different influences.

Miss Mundy has been interested in

art all her life, and has studied since she can remember. Like most American artists she traveled abroad, and it was the old portraits in wax at Cluny, France, and in Italy which first arrested her attention. Benoît, Clouet, Dupré fascinated her, and when she saw the Wallace collection in London, wax miniatures became her ambition. Formulas for wax and for colors were not available. Remember, it was a dead art. Miss Mundy experimented, failed, and experimented again. She returned to New York and experimented some more. At last she discovered a process—known only to herself—whereby beeswax does not darken, nor melt under extreme heat, nor does the color fade.

In Boston Miss Mundy found that many of the wax miniatures she was asked to mend—she has quite a practice—had cracked because of the cloth and glass backgrounds. So she does her own, wax on wax, which explains in part the softness of her lines.

And Ruth Burke? For three years she studied at the Boston Museum, specializing in metal work, and later taking up enameling. Then she went abroad, where she entered the atelier of a Roman goldsmith, to make herself adept in Etruscan gold work. In Florence she learned repoussé silver under a student of Benvenuto Cellini's work. Next came London, with study under Mrs. Eleanor Halley—and the Wallace collection. Now, all unknown to Miss Mundy, Miss Burke settled down to unearth a process for wax miniatures, and she met with much the same diffi-

culty. Nobody knew, and an original formula—which is quite different from Miss Mundy's—had to be worked out through experiments. All of Miss



Done by Ethel Frances Mundy

Burke's study in metals influenced her work—and herein lies the difference between Miss Burke and Miss Mundy. Copper plates, enameled, instead of the wax, give Miss Burke her backgrounds, so that her lines are clear almost to sharpness.

An ancient art modernized and an ancient art unchanged. Comparison leaves one in a quandary, and we can only pay homage to the endeavors which have brought to the twentieth century a touch of the fifteenth.



A Ruth Burke Miniature

Watch Your Planks

By Carrie Chapman Catt

NOW that three historic conventions in the blistering heat of summer days have agonized over the contents of their respective platforms, one notes with amazement that those in authority regard them lightly. Senator Borah, in an interview on his way back to Idaho, where he is a candidate for re-election, said: "Party platforms will have very little to do with the results of the coming election. The voters will look mainly to the character of the candidates." Mr. William M. Butler, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, when asked about a political issue, replied that the main argument of the Republicans would be Coolidge and Dawes. Senator Wheeler, Democrat, from Montana, announced his withdrawal of support from his party presidential nominee not because of anything in or out of the party platform, but because he holds Mr. Davis to be contaminated by Wall Street associations. He becomes the candidate for Vice President on the third ticket less because of any pronouncements in the platform than because he puts his faith in LaFollette. One might make a long list of similar evidence that it's the man in the campaign who carries the standard who counts, rather than the pronouncement of the party programs.

We are supposed to have traveled farther in the business of self-government than our neighbors, and there are those who are harsh in their criticism of certain Spanish-American republics because they follow leaders instead of sponsoring issues. Are we not harking back to the same stage from which we are supposed to have evolved? Certainly it should be platforms and not men that decide the national elections, otherwise as a nation we merely "stand pat" and there is no progress.

Child Labor—Who'll Cure?

A careful examination of those parts of the platforms that specially concern women will reveal a studied effort to evade definite statement, and therefore to reduce the platform to a vote-catching device instead of a program of principles and action.

These platforms furnish little appeal and smaller confidence in definite things to be done when and if the party is put into power.

Women are interested in the Child Labor amendment—taking care of children is their business. When the Republican platform reached Cleveland,

it urged "prompt ratification" of the amendment. When it left the Platform Committee the word "ratification" had become "consideration," which approaches the meaningless. When Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt's Women's Committee recommendations reached the Democratic Platform Committee they included "prompt ratification," but when the Committee got through with its work, it would take a Philadelphia lawyer to figure out what the child labor plank meant. The party pats itself on the back with the words: "Without the votes of Democratic members of the Congress the Child Labor amendment would not have been submitted for ratification." Then, "We pledge the party to co-operate with the state governments for the welfare, education and protection of child life." Does that mean ratification of an amendment? As you choose! The LaFollettes are for prompt ratification, but that is a cheap promise since they have no state legislatures to ratify.

Women voters therefore will do well to mother that Child Labor amendment and not trust too much to any party.

Law Enforcement

Women are terribly in earnest in their stand for more efficient law enforcement, and especially of the Eighteenth Amendment. Both the dominant parties promise to enforce it. The LaFollettes do not deign to mention it. The Republicans pledged to place the prohibition enforcement field force within the classified civil service, but added, "without necessarily incorporating the present personnel." The Democrats too promise "to extend the provisions of the civil service to the internal revenue officers." These promises seem of good intent, but William Dudley Foulke, president of the National Civil Service Reform League, who knows more about civil service than any man in America, declares the pronouncements of both parties on civil service to be "grotesque perversions of truth." He agrees with both parties when each denounces the other for its

Through an unfortunate transposition of lines, on page 10 of the July 12th WOMAN CITIZEN, "Favors Secretary of Education and Relief in Cabinet" (Item 5), was credited to the Democratic rather than the Republican platform, where it belongs. Please take your pencil and transfer "Favors Secretary of Education and Relief" (5) to the opposite column, following the words "No expression," in your copy of the CITIZEN.

failure to enforce the law—though when the Democrats declare the Civil Service Commission to be packed (it has three members only—a Democrat, a Republican and a woman non-partisan), his comment is that the charge is a "meandering into the misty moonshine of imagination." Mr. Foulke sees no reliable mention in either platform to place enough of the prohibition officials under civil service to take the enforcement out of politics. It is clear that on this line "we, the people," must hammer yet awhile.

Wayne B. Wheeler, national counsel for the Anti-Saloon League, announces himself satisfied with the prohibition enforcement planks in both platforms, and considers the absence of an endorsement of the wet plea for the legalizing of wine and beer in either platform to indicate a great dry victory. But the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, through Captain William H. Slayton, Managing Vice President, is of another mind, and says: "If the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment itself had been requested by the Democratic Party to write its platform for it, it could have written nothing which could better express the fundamental principles which have made it a powerful agency in the fight for the abolition of prohibition tyranny and the return to sound principles of government."

A rereading of the platform of the two parties by an outsider seems to give no warrant for the expressed satisfaction of Mr. Wheeler, Dry, or Captain Slayton, Wet.

Prohibitionists, "watch yo' step," and remember there will be a '28.

Words on Peace

The attitude of the two parties and the third ticket on War and Peace is still more bewildering. One reads through long paragraphs of words more or less high-sounding, but nowhere is there a program laid down leading on definitely, clearly, toward the abolition of war. The platforms all indicate that they are concessions made to an undoubtedly increasing public opinion for a program that eventually will abolish war, but they are mainly words, words. The only definite thing except endorsement of the World Court in the Republican platform is that it opposed the League of Nations, the organization of nations set up for the sole purpose of abolishing war and the only one of the

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Glimpses of the Deanery, Miss Thomas's Home on
the Bryn Mawr Campus



FOR twenty-eight years president of Bryn Mawr College, M. Carey Thomas stands high in those famous lists of our "twelve greatest." But no lists and votes were needed to fix her place among American women or among college presidents. Miss Thomas brought Bryn Mawr College up; she was appointed Dean of the Faculty and Professor of English to organize it, in 1884-85; held that dual post until in 1894 she became President; and was President until she retired, in 1922, to become President Emeritus. Her administration was marked by such features as the establishment of uniform admission examinations with severe standards and classical emphasis; a highly trained Ph.D. faculty of men and women of equal salaries and academic rank; emphasis on research and graduate teaching. And it was under her that Bryn Mawr organized the first school of Social Economy and Social Research in connection with any college or university in the United States, purely graduate in nature; and under her that Bryn Mawr established the first summer school for women workers in industry.

Miss Thomas has always been identified with the woman movement. She was the

M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr



The Paul Manship Bust of M. Carey Thomas

first woman college president to come out publicly for woman suffrage. That was in 1896. As President of the National College Equal Suffrage League she worked steadily from 1897 to 1913. She was one of the founders of the International Federation of University Women, and has been active in the American Association of University Women. Her influence was potent in opening the Medical School of Johns Hopkins University to women on the same terms as men. Lately, Miss Thomas has been putting her time and energy into working and speaking for the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations.

Born in Baltimore in 1857, she gathered academic degrees from Cornell, Leipzig, Zurich and a number of honorary degrees, besides studying at Johns Hopkins and the University of Paris. The beautiful life size bust of her pictured here was done in Greek marble by Paul Manship, and is to be presented to the college by the Alumnae Committee of the M. Carey Thomas Prize.

Editorially Speaking

Campaign Definitions

WHEN President Coolidge the other day applied the old witticism concerning orthodoxy and heterodoxy to the present debate over the word progressive, "What is progressive is my doxy and reactionary is your doxy," he hit a nail on the head. The words regular, radical, reactionary and progressive are being hurled about so indiscriminately these days as to drive us to the what's what—that is, the dictionary.

Republican leaders after the Cleveland convention with much apparent satisfaction pronounced their platform highly progressive, but other Republicans declared they would vote against Coolidge because he and the platform were both reactionary. Bryan (William Jennings) said the Democratic platform was the most progressive the party had ever adopted, but other Democrats rejected it and the nominee because they were both "tied fast to an outworn system." The LaFollette platform is described by a mild-tempered newspaper as one of "extravagant radicalism leaping at the sky and getting nowhere," but the Communist, Mr. Foster, is filled with rage at its conservatism and declares it to be twenty years behind the time. It is reported that in Wisconsin the LaFollette party is split over local nominations, each side calling itself progressive and the other reactionary. Senator Wheeler leaves his party because John Davis is hopelessly allied to big business and Samuel Untermyer says Davis "is the only candidate peculiarly fitted to combat the menace of big business."

In truth the "regular" votes his party ticket straight no matter who is on it or what is in the platform. He obeys and asks no questions. The "radical" wants something we haven't got and wants it now without taking the intermediate steps. The "reactionary" is scared at each new idea and wants at least to stay where we are, although he would prefer to go back where we once were. The "progressive" wants to go forward slowly, cautiously and without shocking anybody. In each presidential campaign there is the same confusion, men leaving the party they have served and going over to its rival, while quite as many desert that rival party and come to the other, and all because they believe they are leaving a reactionary party and going to a progressive one. Third parties have been numerous in our history and they have all called themselves progressive, but usually have difficulty in finding issues clear-cut enough to gain a permanent following.

The confusion appears to be due to the probable fact that a large number of people are radical, reactionary and progressive all together—that is, a man may be a radical on industry and a reactionary on general government, or one may be a progressive on peace, child labor and law enforcement and be a reactionary on industry. At different periods in his life a man or woman may place emphasis on different subjects and thus be classed as a radical in 1916, a reactionary in 1920 and a progressive in 1924. These bothers are nothing new. It is a universal psychology, an incident which must not be mistaken for an event.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



In Praise of Conventions

IN a recent editorial Ida Clyde Clarke takes American women to task for making so much of the conventions of their organizations. She calls "conventioning" "women's favorite indoor sport," and says that women are "thinking in pennies for their causes, and spending thousands on themselves" for conventions, in railroad fares, hotel bills and fine clothes. She gives most of the conventions small credit for

results because she says "the interest is centered on organization politics and in listening to reports which one could better read at home," and she questions whether the money could not be put to better use.

It is a point, undoubtedly, that has been considered by many a thoughtful woman—whether she would not better give the money to the work of her organization rather than spend it for the trip to the convention—but to such a woman a national convention means much more than just a trip: she gets new ideas and increased inspiration, she learns through the experiences of other women, and she brings back tangible help to the work of her own organization which she could not have got any other way. Even more important is it that women of the South, the self-centered East, the Middle West, and the Pacific Coast, should get together to learn to know and respect each other. Such contact is a help in deciding our complicated problems, not sectionally but with regard to the interests of the country as a whole. If only for the one thing that people need more than almost anything else—to know each other better—the convention is worth while.

No, we do not agree with Mrs. Clarke. We believe that the exchange of views of thousands of women has broadened the viewpoint, enlarged the horizon, and increased the capacity for usefulness of thousands of women.



"Defense Day"

ONE religious group after another goes on record against the proposed "Mobilization Day" on September 12. The list is now a long one. The churches and the women, as usual, are lifting up their voices against a public danger.

Secretary Hughes said on May 15: "So far as we can see into the future, we are safe from the slightest danger of aggression. We know that in no power and no possible combination of powers lies any menace to our security."

This being the case, what sense is there in asking a nation of 110,000,000 people to go through all the motions of mobilizing for war? Though some of the European nations really live under the shadow of possible war, they, none of them, ever indulge in a general mock-mobilization of this kind in time of peace.

A universal military demonstration of this sort, in a country the size of ours, means an enormous outlay of time, energy and money which might be better spent. Rev. Samuel Guy Inman says, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July:

"For what the United States Government paid for the Pershing expedition into Mexico, it could have built and equipped in every town of Mexico of over 4,000 population a high school, a hospital and a social centre, with an endowment of \$700,000. Yet a proposal for the establishment of a North American college in Mexico City, advocated by the most distinguished educators of the United States and Mexico for the last ten years, has languished because a beginning cannot be made on furnishing the \$5,000,000 needed."

Some of the persons who favor this demonstration are animated by the best of motives. There are others with whose objects we have less sympathy. Many men high up in the War Department are advocates of an "arm-to-the-teeth" policy for the United States, and are always eager to get large appropriations for the army and navy. The more they can arouse a martial spirit among our people, and an interest in and admiration for the army, the easier this will be. It has also come out that the great munitions-makers in the principal European countries systematically worked up war scares from time to time, subsidizing alarmist articles in the press, for the

purpose of selling their wares. There is no reason to suppose that the great munitions-makers in the United States are less energetic or more scrupulous than those of other countries. They can be trusted to back military demonstrations of every sort, and anything that tends to focus the minds of our people upon war. But the women and the churches have every reason to object.—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.



WE have just been listening to a radio interview conducted with H. Grindell-Mathews, inventor of the "death ray," which has a point for this Defense Day controversy, in that it makes one realize again how far behind war plans are peace plans. Here is an invention that Mr. Matthews thinks of as a weapon of defense—designed to prevent air raids, for instance; but common sense tells that an electric beam so powerful that it can stun or kill at a distance is not likely to remain a defense weapon.

And how long before some one else will invent a deadlier ray? No—the war plans, the defense plans, are far ahead of the peace program even now. Peace must hurry to catch up. That is the essence of the objections being made so widely against Defense Day (to give it the label President Coolidge prefers).

Defense armament is necessary, in the opinion of all except the absolute pacifist. The CITIZEN has consistently taken the common-sense attitude that the means of defense cannot be abandoned until there is common international action. But with preparation for war already weighing heavier in the balance than preparation for peace, a demonstration that in the very nature of things cannot fail to stress military ideas, is serious. The theory is one thing—the "fire drill" idea Secretary Weeks has set forth; the actual effect of the day, both here and abroad, is another matter.

Since Miss Blackwell wrote the above editorial, the whole subject has been thrust into the field of partisan politics, and, as always in such cases, it has taken on higher color, tenser emotion. Those who oppose have every right to protest against being illogically labeled "pacifist"—in the extreme sense of the word, and against partisan charges. And whether opposed or honestly approving, if the celebration must take place we shall do well to insist as far as humanly possible that it shall be marked by the fire-drill spirit—quiet, sane, free from bunkum and jingoism.



The Child Labor Roll-call

ARKANSAS has the glory of being the first state to ratify the child labor amendment, passed in the last days of Congress. Georgia has the unenviable distinction of being the first to refuse to ratify, and her Senate has passed a resolution giving its reasons. They are that the amendment would destroy parental authority, "give irrevocable support to a rebellion of childhood," destroy local self-government, change our form of government, and "place in the hands of Congress power to destroy agriculture and manufacturing at will." We cannot attack the sincerity of the argument from this angle—which is much like that of Mr. Child on page 30 of this issue, and will have separate answer.

But one can't help thinking the argument for state's rights in Georgia would be more impressive if Georgia did, indeed, exercise her right to look after her own children; if the doctrine of state's rights and the cotton interests of the state didn't happen to coincide. According to the 1920 census there were 88,934 children between the ages of ten and fifteen employed in gainful occupations in Georgia—20.8 per cent of the total child population. Over 108,000 children between seven and thirteen were not in school when that census was taken. Georgia, the National Child Labor Committee says, has no educational requirement for children going to work

nor for physical examinations; no provision for compulsory part-time school attendance for employed children.

It is a poor state from which to hear that "said proposed amendment is merely a hypocritical pretense at an effort to protect childhood from slavery, and is really intended to enslave the childhood of this Republic."



The Farmer Problem

WHEN Congress adjourned there was a great cry that it had proved a traitor to the farmers. Probably the real reason it had done nothing was that it didn't know what to do, for when the same men met in their party conventions they did not know what to promise the farmers. Many words are devoted to the farmer's needs, but the astute farmer will find precious little promise of actual help. It is clear that the reason is not want of sympathy, but that statesmen in Congress, convention or private life do not know how to help the farmer. The truth is that so long as the farmer remains a gentle nature-lover he should not go in debt. When he is ready to adopt the syndicalist methods of the industrial worker, and collectively sells his potatoes, wheat and corn to the carpenter and mason at his price or not at all, just as they sell their services to him, the farmer will have better times, although it may be a sorry day for the rest of us. Meanwhile, wheat prices are soaring so high that the farmer is likely to vote to put his trust in God and the same old ticket. The farmer's fate, which promised to be the most discussed issue, and probably decide the election, is likely to be entirely removed from the list.—C. C. C.



Our Wasted Fruit

Peaches and watermelons rotting in freight cars in the Jersey meadows, two thousand more carloads sold at prices which did not pay freight charges, three million bushels of peaches thrown away in Georgia; this has been the situation the past

weeks—tragic for the fruitgrowers of the South, who are not only receiving nothing for their labor, but are being obliged to pay for the privilege of sending their produce to market. It is a situation which repeats itself from year to year, with one crop after another. Is it not time that something really effective were done to improve the relation in the United States between producer and consumer?

We should like to know, in the first place, if other markets besides New York, within reach of Georgia, had all the peaches they wanted, and if more of the crop could not have been sold if it had been better distributed. Has co-operative marketing been tried in Georgia? In California it seems to have handled produce economically and with the least possible waste. Sunkist oranges, Skookum apples and other similar products are good examples of co-operative marketing which has worked to the advantage of growers and has given the public an article which is uniformly good at uniformly fair prices. In the case of a perishable fruit like peaches, would not factories for canning and making jam of overripe fruit, which co-operators could install, effect a big saving?

But, to be really effective, any kind of marketing must be combined with daily government reports showing the state of the market in the entire country. What is the Department of Commerce doing to work out a solution of this problem? Certainly, in these United States, we must find a way to supply tables with the fruit nature supplies so bountifully, and give the fruitgrowers a reasonable price for their labor.

What the American Woman Thinks

At Three Conventions

By Belle Sherwin

President of the National League of Women Voters

EVEN old-stagers who have attended national political conventions every four years for a generation found something unusual, if not unique, in each of the conventions meeting in the month between June 10 and July 10, this year. To many women one or another of these conventions was a wholly novel experience. The observations women made, whether of the traditional or the unusual thing, were sharply etched upon fresh impression plates. The record of their impressions will be a positive help toward seeing things as they are, a step forward on the way to things as they might better be. Such impressions will be worth while as companion pieces to current hasty conclusions about women in politics.

A small number of men and women attended all the conventions in person. A vast number did the same thing—for the first time—by radio. Many features, common to the two major conventions at least, were marked by thousands of men and women, over and above the drone of the roll-call of the states. It is safe to say that there is already a widespread understanding of nomination by convention which schools of citizenship could hardly have created in a decade. It is quite possible that some of the dead husks of the system may, in consequence, be stripped off more easily so that all the world may see how little real corn there is in the ear.

The thousands of radio fans who tuned in, individually, in farm houses and city apartments or who listened in groups in every conceivable sort of meeting place from coast to coast, may wish to perpetuate national nominating conventions as a national pastime. But each and every one of those listeners-for-the-first-time knows now what cursory newspaper reading or careful instruction had never brought home, namely: how the gallery dominates procedure; how artificial are so-called demonstrations; how recounts are inspired; how slowly delegates catch a tip from the political leaders; how rapidly after the tip "takes" the delegations stampede in confusion to a final vote.

Apparently these and other wasteful,

empty, bargaining, unrepresentative methods of naming the President and Vice-President of the United States are taken for granted by delegates to the manner born and brought up. But many of the women who before 1924 only knew political conventions in a book and many, many of the radio audience have begun to say that they cannot believe in the permanence of customs which would be so much honored in the breach.

These new acquaintances of convention methods should be sought out promptly by the supporters of the Direct Primary. All over the land there are now new potential defenders of more representative nominations for public of-



fices. Fresh ammunition against returning to a convention system has been stored throughout the country in unexpected places.

At each of three of the conventions there were women, newcomers to conventions and otherwise, who expressed independently of each other almost identical desires in the interest of their respective parties. Their wishes commonly took the form of practical suggestions which they wanted to make at once. The suggestions were directed toward very definite ends and are worthy of consideration.

For instance, the women severally marveled at the physical difficulties under which some of the committees in each convention performed their work. Every woman proposed possible provisions for saving time, promoting order and securing an atmosphere favorable to clear thinking; such provisions as an attention to detail before the event would have secured; such provisions as the women themselves were accustomed to making at home and in meeting places.

The instinct was strong in these women to help their own parties even as they would help their immediate families, not merely to appear at their best but to be so. This lay back of the desire, vigor-

ously expressed, to see written into the platforms of the parties those things which are the deep concern of women today, and to see them written there in unequivocal terms. Many women agreed in the opinion which they individually voiced that explicit platform statements would establish party credit; that evasions were not only shabby but damaging, creating a party deficit.

At the Resolutions Committee hearings one other tendency and desire of the women became apparent. They were there in behalf of certain measures, a part of a throng of advocates each of whom sought in a few hurried, noisy moments to gain the favorable consideration of a group of weary men—all men except in the case of one convention—for an issue of nation-wide importance. As speaker after speaker turned away, their brief moment ended, the conviction grew among the women that a more adequate way should be sought and found for bringing to platform makers the interest which large numbers of the people have in what national government—through parties—shall undertake to do in a given period.

In the allotted time on a crowded calendar in each of three conventions it was impossible for the men and women who spoke at the Resolutions hearings to avoid the appearance of being special pleaders urging a cause each without relation to any other matters, and to a platform or party policy as a whole. Such limited urgency seemed unfair to every one concerned, to those who urged and to those who listened.

A better means of creating mutual understanding would involve finding more time for preliminary conversations which should not prevent the reality of forming a Resolutions Committee by a democratic process.

Why "Protection"

By Ethel M. Johnson

NO part of the equality program of the Woman's Party is believed to be so far reaching in its effect as the demand for industrial equality."

With this statement of the officials of the National Woman's Party most of the opponents of their industrial program would agree. It is because many believe that the economic results of the blanket amendment would be more far reaching and very different in effect from

what its supporters anticipate that they oppose its enactment.

There are unquestionably inequalities affecting women in some of the existing laws. The National Woman's Party is rendering valuable service in calling attention to these inequalities and urging their removal. The League of Women Voters and the other organizations that are working to promote the interests of women are in accord with the Woman's Party on the question of removing legal discrimination against women. They differ, however, as to the method to be employed, and as to what constitutes discriminatory legislation. They believe that where existing laws are unjust they should be corrected through state legislation dealing with each measure that requires attention rather than through a blanket amendment to the Federal constitution which might annul desirable and undesirable legislation alike.

Beyond the problem of removing legislative disabilities, however, is the larger problem of removing the economic disabilities of women—low wages and limited opportunities in industry, in professional service and in public service. This is a problem for education, for technical training and organization, more than for legislation. The most that legislation can accomplish is to assist in removing some of the difficulties.

One of the New York State officials of the National Woman's Party, writing recently for the *CITIZEN*, admits that the Woman's Party is not a labor organization and does not presume to say what is the best method for improving labor conditions. Yet the party insists upon an industrial program which labor organizations and other organizations in touch with labor problems regard not only as unwise, but definitely injurious to the interests of working women. It is significant that the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers' League—both organizations cited by the representative of the Woman's Party just referred to as leaders in safeguarding women wage earners—are among the foremost opponents of the blanket amendment.

The Woman's Party claims that the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will not affect existing legislation for the protection of women; that it simply means that future legislation will apply equally to both sexes. Eminent jurists and authorities on constitutional law do not agree with this opinion. They are convinced that the enactment of the proposed amendment will endanger the present laws and may result in their annulment, and many believe that to defer further legislation for women in industry until identical legislation can be secured for men will mean postponing indefinitely needed protection for thousands of working women.

What are some of the problems of women in industry that make special

legislation necessary? There are, according to the latest census returns, approximately eight and a half million women wage-earners in the United States. Union leaders estimate that there are about 200,000 organized working women in the country. That is less than one out of every forty gainfully employed; and approximately one out of every twenty in industry. Obviously this is too small a proportion to afford adequate protection to the mass of women wage-earners.

A large part of the women industrially employed are quite young, many of them under twenty-one years of age. A considerable proportion are foreign born—in some states as many as one-third. An increasing number are married women



Rachrach
Miss Johnson is Assistant Commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Labor. Her editorial is partly in response to Mrs. Whittic's article in the *CITIZEN* of June 28.

with young children. These women are not organized as men are, and it is very difficult to organize them. Men, through collective bargaining, have been able to some extent to determine the conditions of their employment, to limit their hours and raise their wages. Women, lacking organization, have been helpless in this respect without special legislation.

To answer the claim that such legislation is responsible for low wages and limited opportunities for women, it is only necessary to contrast the conditions existing before the passage of protective labor laws with those following; or to compare the wages and industrial opportunities for women in states having high standards of protective legislation with those in states without protective laws.

It should be recognized, however, that protective legislation for women is remedial, not preventive. It deals with the results of economic disabilities and does not remove the causes. As long as these causes remain, so long will special legislation be necessary.

Among these causes, in addition to the physical limitations of women, are lack of organization, lack of training, and persistence of the traditional attitude toward women's work and education. Back of the lack of training which characterizes the majority of women in industry is lack of adequate opportunity for fitting women for the more respon-

sible positions in industry. And back of this again is lack of recognition of the importance of providing as thorough and serious preparation for work in the case of women as in the case of men.

The mass of women in industry are not directly competing with men. They are employed largely at hand work and simple machine processes. Not only is the heaviest and most hazardous work in industry performed by men, but much of the more skilled work also. Women are competing with one another and crowding the unskilled and semi-skilled employments. Their wages are low because they are unskilled and unorganized.

Whatever the ultimate solution of the problem, the fact remains that at the present time the only protection available against industrial exploitation for thousands of working women is that afforded by the laws regulating their hours of labor, restricting night work, and establishing a minimum level below which their wages may not fall.

To claim that women workers do not need protection is to ignore industrial conditions and industrial history. It is only a few generations ago that there was identical treatment under the law for men, women and children in industry. Then women and children worked fourteen and sixteen hours a day in the textile mills. And in the coal mines of England women worked underground harnessed to carts like beasts of burden. One of the great achievements of the last century has been the removal of such conditions from industry through the gradual building up of a body of humane legislation—largely through protective labor laws for women and children. The result of this legislation has been to improve conditions for both men and women employees.

A more liberal point of view is that taken by those who approve the principle of protective legislation provided it applies equally to men and women. This point of view, however, overlooks the fact that casting aside the legislation that has been secured for women through years of effort is not the way to bring about improved legislation for men and women both. It overlooks the fact that certain existing legislation for women is based on their physical characteristics and could not apply equally to both sexes. Such, for example, is the law regulating the employment of women before and after childbirth. This viewpoint also disregards the attitude of a large body of organized working men, who prefer to secure improved working conditions through organization rather than through legislation. It is for these reasons that organized labor, organized working women, and organizations of women throughout the country that are acquainted with the conditions under which women work, oppose any amendment which endangers protective legislation for women.

The Woman Voter

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Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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The Executive Committee Meeting

THE midsummer Executive Committee meeting of the National League was held July 9, 10 and 11 at the summer home of the president at Willoughby, Ohio. The Executive Committee this year is composed of the president, the three vice presidents, the secretary and the treasurer, and, excepting only the treasurer, all of the members were present. Miss Marguerite Owen, acting executive secretary, and Miss Marguerite M. Wells, director of the fifth region, were also in attendance all three days. On the last day Miss Owen concluded her duties as executive secretary and they were formally assumed by our new executive, Miss Gladys Harrison, of Minneapolis, who joined the Executive Committee for that day, since she was en route from the West to Washington.

The reports of the League's activities in connection with the various political party conventions, the fate of our planks and the suggestions for bettered procedure four years hence made up one absorbingly interesting session. Listening in on an excellent radio to the last night session of the Democratic convention, it was difficult to believe that we were not in the midst of the stirring scenes in Madison Square Garden, instead of in perfect seclusion at the Sherwin farm.

Reports on organization and finance showed satisfactory progress. It was thrilling to know that Mrs. Park's *Record of Four Years* had already run through the first edition and that a second printing had been necessary; that stories about the League inspired by the Buffalo convention are about to appear in some magazines hitherto closed to us, and that, by request, complete files of our publications have been supplied to several of the most eminent journalists of the country. The Get-Out-the-Vote campaign, even this early, was reported in flourishing condition in nearly half the states. League policy was established in connection with a number of important subjects, which will be of assistance to the state Leagues, with which the first vice president, Miss Lathrop, is communicating about the initial steps for ratification of the child labor amendment.

In response to inquiries from various sources as to the tion was adopted:

"Whereas, peace by increased military preparedness is League's attitude on mobilization day, the following resolu-being advocated in many quarters, and

"Whereas, the Executive Committee of the National League of Women Voters believes that in other countries this policy has proved unsound, and, in reality, has been one of the causes of war, and

"Whereas, mobilization of all the citizens of the country on a specified date has been proposed; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee of the National League of Women Voters, in meeting assembled, July 10, 1924, expresses the belief, in accordance with the historical American spirit of moderation, that excessive military and naval preparedness is unwise and not in keeping with traditional American policies. The Committee further reaffirms its support of the policy of international co-operation for the peaceful settlement of difficulties and emphasizes its belief in the World Court, participation in conferences and committees for the elimination of the causes of war and for the gradual reduction of armaments by international agreement."

The Executive Committee will meet again in September.

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, *Secretary*.

Political Platforms Published

"AS a matter of service to those more thoughtful voters who may wish to have for convenient reference or comparative study" the official platforms of the national political parties, the National League has just issued a unique and timely publication. In neat pamphlet form, the League has printed the platforms of the Prohibition, Republican and Democratic Parties and the Conference for Progressive Political Action—the four parties to which the League presented planks, based on items selected from its own program of work.

The pamphlet contains a short foreword, the League planks as presented to the parties, and the platforms adopted in four political conventions. As the foreword says, "The platforms deserve careful reading," and "members of the League will be interested to note that many items in the adopted program of the League which were not presented as planks were embodied in several platforms." A helpful feature is noted in the printing in bold type of those passages in the platform bearing directly on the subject matter of the League's planks.

It is believed that this is the first time that so many party platforms have been published together for purposes of study. Every League member will find this publication useful and a starting point for interesting summer conversation. It may be purchased from national headquarters for five cents a copy, or one hundred copies for four dollars.

With League Staffs

ALL the untiring energy and breadth of vision which Miss Gladys Harrison devotedly gave for several years to the Minnesota League are now being intimately felt in Washington headquarters. She assumed her new work as executive secretary of the National League on July 15. Miss Emily Child, who was manager of the Minneapolis League, has been appointed to the post vacated by Miss Harrison's elevation to national work.

Another newcomer to the National League staff is Miss Hazel Hart, of Zanesville, Ohio, as secretary of the Department of Organization. Miss Hart is well qualified for organization work, by reason of her wide experiences in American Red Cross service. She can boast of a seven years' record of varied responsibilities, beginning with volunteer service in her home town chapter in 1917, then followed by six months abroad in a French-American canteen, and on her return to this country, a year's duty with the home service division of the Chicago chapter. Miss Hart's demonstrated ability was next shown in her work as executive secretary

at Chillicothe, Ohio, which was followed by field work with the Lake division of the Red Cross, and finally more intensive and important field duties under the supervision of Washington headquarters. Miss Hart has also delved into charities work, and she places much faith in its training values for other public work.

Mrs. Sarah Sandridge Matthews, of Norfolk, the new secretary of the third region, brings to the League a happy combination of seasoned intelligence and a crusading spirit. Her active suffrage work was followed by her successful efforts in the organization of the Norfolk League, and more recently she has been doing effective work as third vice-president of the Virginia League. She has always been one of the leaders in Norfolk's civic life. Mrs. Matthews was an English teacher before her marriage, has filled the exacting position of registrar of the University of Virginia summer school for twelve years, and has also taught English to the summer students.

The second region is welcoming Miss Margaretta Williamson, a native of Washington, D. C., as its new secretary to succeed Miss Florence Harrison. Miss Harrison is now manager of the Minneapolis League. Miss Williamson's interests since her graduation from Goucher College in 1913 present an admirable background for her new work with the League. For several years she was with the United States Children's Bureau, entering the Bureau during the administration of Miss Julia Lathrop, and continuing until she had reached the post of assistant chief of the industrial division. In 1920 she became director of the women's division of a state and city employment service in Cleveland, and for the last two years was identified with one of the leading scientific management shops there. During the war Miss Williamson organized women's employment bureaus in many of the southern states for the United States Employment Bureau.

About League Planks

NO comparative statement of the content of the platforms of political parties in respect to the League's planks has been made in *The Woman Voter*. In the issue of June 28 reference was made to the League's representation and the fate of its suggested planks at the Republican convention. Copy for that issue was written almost before the echoes of the report of the resolutions committee had died away. In the next issue, July 12, it was impossible to say anything about planks presented to the Democratic Resolutions Committee, as the copy went to the printer before the Committee made its report.

This current issue is the first one since the rumblings of all conventions have subsided. Therefore, so long after the events, the League is disposed to omit discussion of platforms. It realizes that many factors and forces contributed to the drafting of these platforms, and even of those paragraphs which embody the ideals set forth in the planks presented by the League.

A Keynote Speech

WHEN Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, former national living costs chairman, appeared before the Conference for Progressive Political Action to deliver what history will record as the first keynote speech by a woman, a wave of admiration swept not only through that large political audience, but through every League in the country. In her charming gentle-voiced manner, Mrs. Costigan "professed her political faith" on July 4 in Cleveland. Space permits a report of only a few "highlights" in her speech, as follows:

"The fundamental righteousness of equal suffrage having been conceded, millions of women are dedicating themselves to the new tasks implied in good citizenship. They are no longer asking favors, but are seeking the place where they can most effectively work side by side with men.

"These women believe in throwing out secret caucuses,

rubber stamp machines, political conventions controlled by selfish interests, and corrupt practices in higher office.

"Such women unreservedly favor nominations by direct primaries, uncontrolled conferences, both national and international, of free men and women, and the merit system in government.

"They are particularly endeavoring to establish a commonwealth of equal educational opportunities for everyone in which little children need no longer labor for their daily bread; in which sufficient food, fuel, and shelter are within the reach of all.

"Untrammelled by party traditions; not yet bound to party regularity, women stand free to choose the party obligations which must be justified by progressive public service. Their aims are less selfishness in business, and more humanity in government."

Political Institutes and Schools

ONE of the two regional institutes of government and politics to be held by the League this summer took place in San Francisco, California, June 23 to 27, inclusive. Sessions of the institute were held at the League headquarters, with the exception of one open evening meeting at the St. Francis Hotel in co-operation with the San Francisco Civic Center. The institute was under the management of the California League, in co-operation with the University of California, Stanford University, and the State Department of Education.

In writing of the institute at the close of the second day, Miss Marion Delany, president of the California League, says: "Of the many interesting adventures the National League has embarked upon this is one of the most thrilling." Miss Delany's enthusiastic letter, as well as the fact that the institute attracted an attendance of some seventy students, testifies to the success of the adventure.

Mrs. Frank G. Law, chairman of efficiency in government for the California League, and Miss Ethel Richardson, chairman of education, acted as chairmen of the institute. They were assisted by a committee of arrangements which had among its membership Miss Delany, Mrs. H. N. Herrick, president of the Northern Section; Mrs. A. S. Heineman, president of the Southern Section, and the presidents of many local California Leagues. Mrs. E. B. Standwood, former executive secretary of the California Board of Charities, acted as chairman of the committee of arrangements and proved simply invaluable, a correspondent writes. Through the efforts of Miss Richardson, the State Department of Education agreed to accept attendance at the institute as the equivalent of the two units required by American institutions for the Special Teacher's Certificate in Citizenship. This offered an added attraction to teachers and altogether about thirty of them attended the institute.

An interesting and very successful experiment was that of having the morning session opened by a speaker whose address was followed by an hour's discussion in the morning, and another hour and a half devoted to discussion in the afternoon. The entire day was thus devoted to some one topic, with ample opportunity for the expression of all points of view. A League leader acted as leader of the discussion for the day. The response during these discussion periods was characterized by Miss Delany as "remarkable." The California League was unusually fortunate in being able to present so excellent a program, including such topics as "Modern Forms of Government," "The World in One Boat," "Development of Government in America," "Taxation and Budget Making," "America's Foreign Policy," and "The Reparation Deadlock and America's Opportunity." To sum up in one final quotation from Miss Delany's letter: "Altogether the institute was a very useful event for the California League."—H. M. R.

At Asheville, North Carolina, another success was recorded in the citizenship school conducted July 14 to 19 by the North Carolina League in co-operation with the Asheville

Normal summer school. The first lecture was given by Miss Louise Alexander, of Greensboro, former president of the North Carolina League, and a widely known lawyer and policewoman. In her four lectures she discussed the legal status of women in this country. "Municipal Government" was the subject of a series of talks by Mayor John H. Cathey, of Asheville, and Miss Hattie Berry presented an interesting review of the Democratic convention and also discussed farm credits.

Mrs. Harris T. Baldwin, chairman of the living costs committee of the National League, delighted her audience of home-makers with five lectures, dealing with the relation of good government to improved living conditions. Mrs. Baldwin lectured for the United States Department of Agriculture before her marriage, just a few years ago, and it is repeatedly said that Uncle Sam lost a good speaker when Mrs. Baldwin answered the call of home-making.

Three representatives of the newspaper profession, J. Hilden Ramsey, editor of the *Asheville Times*; Charles A. Webb, owner of the *Asheville Citizen*, and Charles K. Robinson, editor of the *Asheville Citizen*, contributed by speaking on the merit system, the primary, county government, "Moulding Public Opinion Through the Press," and "The Press a Factor in the Election of Public Officials and the Enactment of the Laws." An international relations mass meeting was featured by the address of Dr. Samuel G. Inman, executive secretary of the American Division of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin-America. Mrs. Albert H. Putney, a recognized authority, also gave three lectures on international relations. In addition to the regular four lectures a day, there was interest in the special course arranged for women interested in the practice and theory of political speeches.

The Ohio League was sponsor for a citizenship school conducted July 18 at Lakeside, with Mrs. H. B. Mallette, of Lakewood, secretary of the League, presiding. Genuine interest was indicated in the representation of twelve local Leagues and the average attendance of two hundred at morning and afternoon sessions. "The Elections of 1924" was the topic, and such speakers as Miss Juliette Sessions, former president of the Ohio League; Mrs. Carl T. Knirk, of Lakewood; Miss Charlotte M. Conover, of Dayton; Mrs. W. E. Henderson, of Columbus, and Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, National League secretary, contributed to the success of the school.

It was voted to repeat the school at the same place next year.

A report of the fourth regional institute conducted at the University of Michigan will be given in the next issue.

Good Wishes

MRS. RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER, whose name has become so familiar to the readers of these pages as the editor of this department, ever since its inception, has retired from our publicity department. Mrs. Gardiner resigned in order to devote herself to the writing of fiction, to which she has been wishing for a long time to give more attention. Mrs. Gardiner became a member of our publicity staff directly after the Baltimore convention, at a time when the League peculiarly needed just the service she was able to render in presenting the object and the program through the magazines of the country. Our heartiest good wishes follow Mrs. Gardiner into her new field of endeavor, and it pleased us to have her assure us that the League may call upon her for special service at any time that we may need her.—E. J. H.

Leagues and League Work

IN the minds of many, the most important announcement made at a luncheon July 15 given by the Zanesville (Ohio) League was the report of 308 new members, bringing the League's total enrollment considerably above eight

hundred. The drive is still on, and each member is asked to bring a new member to the next luncheon, August 5. While this announcement inspired great applause and discussion, it did not detract from other enjoyable features, such as the addresses of women who attended the Republican and Democratic conventions and the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The speakers were Miss Rose Moriarty, member of the Ohio Industrial Commission; Mrs. Sinclair Elliott, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, of Girard, Ohio, National League secretary; Mrs. Minnie Siddall, of East Cleveland, and Mrs. Eleanor Bailey Johnson, of Zanesville. Three hundred guests attended the three-hour gathering.

NATIONAL LEAGUE officers had the pleasure of welcoming Mrs. Neil R. Wallace, of Birmingham, Alabama, and Mrs. Emmett Hildreth, of Eutaw, Alabama, at national headquarters the first week in July. Mrs. Wallace and Mrs. Hildreth, who are recognized League leaders in their home state, stopped off in Washington on the way home from the Democratic convention to take what they called "a week's training" in organization work. They have volunteered to do intensive work for the Alabama League during the summer and fall months. While in Washington they were the guests of Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, second vice president.

THE membership of the National League does not need to be told of the achievements, charm and inspirational power of Maud Wood Park, its president for four years, but, nevertheless, it takes great pride in the reference to Mrs. Park contained in a survey, just made public, of the work of half a hundred Radcliffe women. As publicly stated, "from Maud Wood Park to Helen Keller and from Katherine Fullerton Gerould to Mary Caroline Crawford, the list shows that the women of Radcliffe have been vital forces for good in their communities."

CONGRATULATIONS to the Delaware League upon the first issue of its *Monthly News*! In its attractive eight-page folder style, similar to the weekly publication of the New York League, this "baby" in the League periodical family gives great promise for the future. It contains a few words by Mrs. Maud Wood Park as to the purpose of the League, a congratulatory message from Miss Sherwin, a delightful intimate report of the National Republican Convention by Mrs. Malcolm McBride, vice president of the Ohio League, and news about the city and county Leagues. While the first issue does not contain the name of the editor, it is not hard to guess that Miss Blanche J. Swayne, the new executive secretary, had a great deal to do with the instructive and readable pages.

IN the interest of permanent world peace, and with the hope of adding to the number of those who are well informed on this subject, the Jefferson County (Alabama) League, in co-operation with Howard College, offers a scholarship for the fall term at Howard to the student in the summer school who submits the best essay on some phase of world peace. The essay must be based on a course of lectures to be given this summer and on collateral reading. There will be five lectures and the contestants will be required to read at least three books or six magazine articles from a selected list. Mrs. L. F. Harris is chairman of the League's Committee on Permanent World Peace.

THE Charlottesville (Virginia) League believes in following things up. In resolutions adopted at the June meeting it not only congratulated city commissioners for electing women to the school board, but also asked the commissioners to "inform the League if this wise and just policy of recognizing the ability of women to serve helpfully and the justice of their claim to representation will be followed at future elections of school trustees."

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

CONNECTICUT: The West Hartford League won second prize in the *Woman's Home Companion's* competition on "How We Got Out the Vote."

DELAWARE: At a meeting of the Delaware Federation of Women's Clubs on July 11, Mrs. Henry Ridgely, of Dover, vice president of the Delaware League, spoke on the subject of the League's Highway Tour through the state to get out the vote. The Federation passed a resolution offering its co-operation.

ILLINOIS: These eloquent figures are from Illinois:

Primary vote cast in 1920.....	994,353
Primary vote cast in 1924.....	1,301,155
Percentage of increase, 30.7.	

KANSAS: The popular conception of a cover design suitable for a magazine for women is a Harrison Fisher lady or an infant. Art editors should note that on the July cover of *Progress*, "the official voice of the Kansas League of Women Voters," there is a list of all the appointments which the Governor of Kansas controls and below is the date of the primary election, when nominees for Governor will be voted upon. It is a great event to reach the age of twenty-one years, and in the Fourth of July parade in Wichita important looking citizens marched, carrying banners which announced that they had just done so.

MASSACHUSETTS: The Melrose League won third prize in the *Woman's Home Companion's* competition on "How We Got Out the Vote."

MINNESOTA: Another proud state reports:

Primary vote cast in 1920.....	348,270
Primary vote cast in 1924.....	443,204
Percentage of increase, 27.2.	

The Minneapolis League won first prize in the *Woman's Home Companion's* competition on "How We Got Out the Vote."

MISSOURI: "The League of Women Voters did good work Thursday in getting voters to register for the August primaries."—From an editorial in the *St. Louis Star*, June 30, 1924.

New names added to registration lists in 1922	41,577
New names added to registration lists in 1924	60,582
Percentage of increase, 45.5.	

This victory was not brought about without effort. Here are some of the things which were done under the generalship of Mrs. George Gellhorn:

The endorsements of sixty local organizations were secured. Two hundred and fifty thousand cards and circulars were distributed.

Speakers went to industrial plants and talked to the employees, and to other ready-made audiences.

Employers distributed notices in pay envelopes.

Churches announced registration day from the pulpit and inserted notices in their bulletins.

Motion-picture theatres ran slides several days before registration.

Radio programs included speeches on the importance of registering.

The newspapers generously featured the campaign.

The telephone company installed two extra telephones without cost so that the information bureau could keep up with the inquiries.

A telephone corps of 1,000 men and women was organized, each person agreeing to telephone 100 persons and supply information concerning registration to them.

An automobile service was organized for those who were unable to go without assistance to the polls.

NEBRASKA: Mrs. Leroy Davis, president, announces that the campaign to get out the vote started on August 2 when Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, second vice-president, and Miss Ruth McIntosh, regional secretary, met Nebraska women in conference in Lincoln.

NEW YORK: The New York League is planning to take advantage of the eighty-five county and other agricultural fairs in the state to further interest in the get-out-the-vote campaign. Based on wide experience, New York women agree that the general appearance of an exhibit booth is an important consideration. They recommend the use of stiff, glossy, colored paper for decorations and banners, instead of fragile crêpe paper. They also advise the use of the American flag as the "one absolute necessity."

PENNSYLVANIA: One of the best plans for getting out the vote so far published by a state League is the Pennsylvania plan. On a single sheet there are outlined all the essential facts for a campaign and a League leader in the smallest community may read it, tuck it away in her bag for daily reference, and proceed to get out the vote. Registration requirements, with dates and warnings, are listed first. Then there is an announcement of the League's automobile caravan which will tour the state, bringing speakers, literature, et cetera, all available for county meetings. After this are listed the best ideas which have been tried by other Leagues, and many new ones. Among the latter is the suggestion that, with proper ceremony, Leagues erect signs in conspicuous places showing the number of votes cast in that community in 1920 and what the twenty-five per cent increase means in figures. After that there is a paragraph on the total national and state figures for 1920 and the number necessary to be voted in order to raise the 1924 vote twenty-five per cent. The plan ends with the date of the election in bold letters at the bottom of the page.

VERMONT: Mrs. W. H. Jeffrey, chairman of efficiency in government for the Vermont League, has assumed the job of getting Vermont voters to the polls this autumn. Mrs. Jeffrey was a recent visitor at Washington headquarters to obtain first-hand suggestions for the campaign.

WASHINGTON: Mrs. Jennie Prater, of Seattle, has been appointed chairman of the get-out-the-vote campaign for the state.

WEST VIRGINIA: The banner state to date!

Primary vote cast in 1920.....	194,050
Primary vote cast in 1924.....	321,460
Percentage of increase, 64.6.	

Mrs. Morris Jacobs, of Wheeling, is director of the get-out-the-vote campaign.

ANN WEBSTER.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

A Woman Secretary of State

MISSOURI Democrats will have a woman nominee and the state a woman Secretary of State if the plans of Kate Shockey Morrow of Warrensburg and her supporters are carried out by the voters.

A department which employs about a hundred assistants whose work includes handling automobile licenses, caring for land records, publishing state laws and many other things requires a business head—and it is as a business woman that Mrs. Morrow is asking for support.

She said recently, "I am a business woman seeking a business office, in which I hope to make a record of which you may entirely approve."

Mrs. Morrow has the backing of many influential men as well as women among the Missouri Democrats.

A Prize Home

THERE are home-makers and home-makers in America, but here is a new kind. She is Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane, and the home she (with her committee) made won the \$500 prize offered by the Better Homes in America organization.

All plans for the house were designed and drawn by Dr. Crane, and those who have seen the house suspect that its compactness and convenience, particularly in the kitchen arrangements, had much to do with the decision.

Dr. Crane had the support and cooperation of a group of Kalamazoo citizens in carrying the plan through.

A Move for Modesty

IF all the members of the National Council of Catholic Women sign the pledge recently sent out from headquarters—and live up to it—there will be at least 700,000 modestly dressed women in the United States, for the pledge, which calls for a defense of Catholic standards, specifies the matter of dress (though it does not define the standard).

This is no new effort on the part of the Council, for ever since it was organized in 1920 publicity has been given to the Council's conviction that there is a need for higher standards in dress and that the rank and file of the Council should help to set the standard. Resolutions to that effect have been adopted and constant attention called to them in the Council's monthly bulletin. The recent pledges are simply a follow-up to this publicity.

Added interest has been shown in

this effort recently because of a similar movement which, according to newspaper reports, is under way in Italy. The Pope, attracted by the campaign against immodest dress for women undertaken by the Catholic Women's Diocesan Clubs, has offered a medal to the club designing the most modest—and at the same time attractive—style for women.

Women Lawyers Meet

TWO days of convention and then monthly meetings by mail—such is the plan which the Women Lawyers' Association has worked out. The second annual convention met in Philadelphia July 7 and 8; the "meetings by mail" will be held throughout the year in the thirty-two states where the membership of the Association has extended.

Rose Falls Bres, the newly elected national president, commenting on the development of the Association, writes: "Since the organization in 1899 of the Lawyers' Club (later the Women Lawyers' Association) its main purpose has been the fellowship and cooperative spirit created by monthly meetings held in New York City, until last year when the Constitution was changed to permit active functioning of the local Councils. Now that the work once carried on in New York alone is progressing throughout many states, we believe the time has come for more serious concerted effort."

It is Mrs. Bres's intent to send out with the cooperation of the General Council topics for study and discussion on such vital issues as law enforcement, child labor, taxation and international policies. The study of these questions and the subsequent reports to the national organization will decide the Association policy.

Three Out of Eight

"JUNGLEING" may not be an entirely new occupation for women, but new finds are made when women go "a-jungleing." Dr. William Beebe's party of eight naturalists which returned recently to New York from a five months' research expedition in British Guiana included three women, Miss Isabel Cooper, artist, known to CITIZEN readers; Miss Ruth Rose, statistician, and Mrs. Tee-Van, assistant scientific artist. The particular prize of the party as a whole was a coitinga's nest, and the particular prize of the women of the party, a boa constrictor, eight feet long, their own capture.

Mrs. Soledad Chacon—Governor

THE Democratic Convention lasted—so we are told—and while it lasted a woman sat in the Governor's chair in New Mexico. Mrs. Soledad C. Chacon (whose record, by the way, in its regular advance from office to office, Secretary of State, Lieutenant Governor, through the death of the incumbent, and finally acting Governor sounds quite like that of a man officeholder) assumed the duties of Governor when Governor James F. Hinkle crossed the state line on his way to the Convention. Since this is the first time a woman has ever performed the full duties of a state Governor we don't believe she minded a bit being left behind.

As acting commander-in-chief of the National Guard she signed many requisitions for supplies for the encampment and as acting Governor, in addition to routine work, she made one appointment on a State Board. We almost wish the Convention had lasted a little longer—just to give her more time at the job.

Yachtsmen Who Are Women

ON September 3-5 people along Hull Bay near Boston will be watching a yacht race—nothing unusual about that—except that the yachtsmen are women. It's another "first time for women," as far as we can learn—"the first yachting title event for women held in American waters." The Boston Yacht Club is the instigator.

Greybull's New Mayor

GREYBULL, Wyoming, boasts three thousand prosperous inhabitants, two oil refineries, six churches, thirty teachers, much else, of course—and a woman mayor—this last something new and the occasion for this note.

Miss Elizabeth Wiley was recently elected mayor on a platform calling for strict economy, a business administration with law enforcement by legal methods and cooperation for the good of the town.

She has had executive training as president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and business training as the owner and manager of a book and candy shop. As for "cooperation for the good of the town," it would seem that a woman who started the public library "with books from her private collection, which she kept on shelves made out of orange boxes set on end, and who gave her time and her store,

and chairs and tables from her private fund" (quoting from a letter from Dr. Hebard) has already exhibited some of the art of "cooperating for the good of the town."

Concha Espina's New Park

THE city of Santander, Spain, is showing appreciation this month of her daughter Concha Espina, world-famous novelist—author of "The Red Beacon" and "Mariflor." The Concha Espina Park, containing a marble bust of the novelist and a fountain to play in her honor, will be opened, amid a gay party, and while the guest of honor is still living.

A War Job Finished

THE work which the American Committee for Devastated France under the leadership of Miss Anne Morgan has been carrying on since 1917, was successfully concluded last month—the headquarters, records and the permanent work which has been established being turned over to the people of Blerancourt.

Business Women Meet

THE hostesses were the Indiana business and professional women, the guests some fifteen hundred women from forty-seven states and Hawaii, and the entertainment was the approved convention program—business and pleasure.

The sixth annual convention of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs which met in West Baden, Indiana, July 19-26, was remarkable both for the evidence of the growth which the organization has made during the past year and for the program laid down for the coming year.

With 132 new clubs added this year the Federation now numbers 584 clubs, with state federations in forty states.

There were representatives of almost every known profession and business, but with all this diversity the delegates stood together on a program which endorses the child labor amendment, a federal department of education, permanent federal employment service, the World Court, strict enforcement of all laws. Especial interest was shown in the educational program, an important feature of which is the scholarship funds. About two-thirds of the clubs now have loan funds from which more than \$20,000 is at present in the hands of girls ambitious to finish their education.

In addition to this program particular emphasis was laid on the civic and political duties of business women. Miss Adelia Prichard, reelected president of the national organization, stressed it in her opening address. Mrs. Marten K. Northam of Evanston called for united effort in her plea for the child labor amendment, and Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky urged the necessity of more active women voters.

More About C. P. P. A. Women

MRS. E. P. COSTIGAN of Colorado, one of the sixteen women members of the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, has been appointed by the Chairman, William H. Johnston, one of five representatives of the C. P. P. A. to serve on the Joint Executive Committee for the La Follette-Wheeler campaign. Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans of Massachusetts has been appointed woman representative from the other groups of the La Follette-Wheeler supporters, this Joint Executive Committee to be headed by Senator La Follette's campaign manager, Representative John M. Nelson of Wisconsin. The total membership of the Joint Executive Committee on campaign strategy, is eleven, the other members representing various labor bodies and political groups who are supporting the independent presidential ticket.

Thus far, since the inauguration of the plans for this year's convention, not a committee nor a subcommittee of the Conference for Political Action has been appointed without at least one woman member, and for the July 4th convention at Cleveland Mrs. Costigan was chosen to make the "keynote" speech for women. Although neither Republican nor Democratic conventions gave any representation to women on their convention platform committees, the Progressives had four women on their platform committee, and at least two women each on their organization, rules and credentials committees.

The women who have accepted membership on the National Committee of the C. P. P. A. are Mrs. Costigan, Rose Schneiderman, Elizabeth Hauser, Elisabeth Christman, Fannia Cohn, Isabel Kendig, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Mrs.

Gilson Gardner, Frances G. Axtell, Mrs. George W. Coleman, Jane Addams, Mrs. Victor Berger, Jennie Buell, Sadie Scott, Bertha Hale White and Ethel M. Smith.

Mrs. Costigan, on behalf of the Joint Executive Committee, has called a conference of these and other progressive women for an early date in Washington to lay plans for increasing the woman membership of the C. P. P. A. and giving support to the La Follette-Wheeler campaign.—ETHEL M. SMITH.

What Texas Primaries Say

The recent Texas primary indicates that the next governor of Texas may be a woman—Mrs. Miriam Amanda Ferguson. Mrs. Ferguson stands second among the Democratic candidates, and "those who know" say that most of the votes cast for the eliminated candidates will go to Mrs. Ferguson in the final August primary (Texas having two primaries). And in Texas, of course, the Democratic candidate for governor can count on being governor.

Junior Month

EVERY July twelve college Juniors from twelve of the Eastern women's colleges are chosen to represent their respective institutions at "Junior Month." These colleges are Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Swarthmore, Smith, Mt. Holyoke, Elmira, Goucher, Radcliffe, Wellesley, Connecticut, Wells and Barnard. And "Junior Month" is interesting enough to keep these girls in New York during the heat of July, giving up trips to Europe, mountains and seashores.

To call "Junior Month" a course would flatter many a college course—but it is a course of the most approved variety, conducted by the New York Charity Organization Society, with an anonymous Board member meeting all

As It Was in the Beginning

By Elizabeth N. Kidwell

A Neolithic maiden in a prehistoric day

Sought to further culture in her humble little way;
She painted reindeer in her cave in colors red and blue,
And the neighbors came to watch her and to marvel at her, too.

She took their rough-hewn arrow-heads and polished them with stone,
She taught them how to fashion knives from bits of carven bone,
She shaped the clay of river-beds to bowls of useful size,
And men said, "Such a maiden as a wife would be a prize!"

And so the chieftain of the tribe dropped in one night to call,
While she was thinking, as she chiseled bison on the wall,
How men might one day leave their caves and dwell in huts of clay,
And so she said, "I'm busy, now," and "Won't you go away?"

But the chieftain proved persistent, and he said, "My dear, behave!
In spite of Art, you know, a woman's place is in The Cave."
But he wondered, when he'd dragged her home, unconscious, by the hair,
Why the God of Discontent crept in to brood forever there.

the expenses. It aims to give the college Juniors a vivid survey of the field of social work and some practical experiences. The young collegiate who has dreamily listened to lectures on this world of ours is suddenly thrown into it. At "Junior Month" she listens to lectures, too, by experts in housing, health, prison reform, delinquency, etc., but the number is limited. After them she goes to the institutions described and sees how they are run, what they do. The juvenile court, a boys' reformatory, a prison, are no mere names to her now. She has her own cases—she is a social worker connected with one of the district offices of the organization. She goes to a tenement, stumbles up the stairs, brings out delinquent Sally, and leads her to the Neurological Institute for an examination; or perhaps she has to deal with a man just returned from jail, or get Billy off to the tuberculosis preventorium.

Vocationally "Junior Month" is excellent. These twelve are in a position to say whether or not they personally desire to make social work their vocation. And they are able to enlighten their college companions who have thought social work simply teaching English to foreigners, or sending tenement children on fresh air parties. Besides they have a first-hand knowledge of certain social conditions, and even if they do not enter social work they become more intelligent members of society.

Gradually "Junior Month" is enlarging, is becoming known not only in colleges, but in the world outside. It has been an experiment—is now a firmly established institution.—ELIZABETH L. WATERMAN.

A New Calling List

IT may be true that the "art of making calls" is dying, but it is being revived in a new and interesting way by the Women's Church Committee on International Good Will—whose official "caller" is Mrs. Ida Clyde Clarke. This neighborhood visiting is to include neighbors in Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia.

Mrs. Clarke is acting as the representative of this recently organized committee whose purpose is to "develop a spiritual understanding so complete between the women of America and the women of other lands that it shall render future wars impossible."

WILL the high school girls who wrote papers about "Is Woman Suffrage a Success or Failure in Your Town—Why?" in our contest please take this as acknowledgment? The papers have now been sent to the judges. As they are all busy people, we won't predict when the results can be announced, but we feel reasonably certain for the next issue, September 6.



The Bookshelf

By M. A.

EDWIN MUIR is a young Scotchman whose critical writings have been attracting attention for their clarity and their individual viewpoint, as well as for a certain broad understanding. In "*Latitudes*" he writes of many things, of authors and against profundity, of art and in behalf of new truths. He has a fine flair for epigrams and his conclusions are sufficiently unusual to start long trains of thought.

People who enjoy following the development of an author's ability will be interested in "*The Isle of Thorns*." It is a reprint of an early novel by Sheila Kaye-Smith, and it shows many of the same traits which have won fame for "Joanna Godden" and her other late books. It is the story of Sally, who would go gypsying through England, and could not decide whether she preferred to pay the price demanded by respectability or the different price of "freedom." A little unsure in its psychology, a bit unreal, it contains that intense love of outdoor things, and that sense of the importance of human passion which seems to relate Miss Kaye-Smith to the older English novelists.

"*Pandora Lifts the Lid*" was written by Christopher Morley and Don Marquis, those two favorite columnists who are responsible for so much that makes life a little more joyous. It should be a masterpiece of gay humor. It is about six wealthy pupils of an irreproachable girls' school, a poet with socialistic leanings, the world's richest capitalist, rum runners, an uncle, and an island. It would make a pleasant and harmless book for girls.

Two books of poems stand at the end of the Shelf. David Morton's "*Harvest*" is a group of sonnets meant for a quiet, detached, half-sad mood. They are all in a minor key, all expressing beautifully some half-seen, dim-remembered beauty.

July and August seem to be sleepy months in the offices of those adventurous folk who publish books. One suspects that more than her share of work is thrown on the furry shoulders of the office cat, while editors and managers rush off to confer with promising (no pun) authors in Europe.

Stark Young, critic and dramatist, is abroad again, and lovers of his subtle and penetrating prose will look forward to the printed fruit of this trip. Meanwhile he leaves "*The Three Fountains*" to show what kind of a mind he takes

traveling. The book is a collection of sketches, essays, incidents, concerned chiefly with Italy. They are not at all the stuff of which guide-books are made, although they were written in such well, and ill, known places as Rome, Florence and Partinico. They carry a deep sense of the life of the Italian people, going on through centuries of varying rule, a product of the very soil displaying itself in work, and play, and religion. Mr. Young has keen insight, and a breadth of understanding sympathy which suggests that Italy, rather than Texas or New York, is his spiritual home.

Two other books of essays are interesting from varying viewpoints. Stuart P. Sherman, former professor of English at the University of Illinois and now ruling the literary destinies of a New York newspaper, has followed his "Americans" with "*The Genius of America*." He finds that genius "animated by an incomparably profound moral idealism," and after praising it he ably defends Puritans, state universities, and service as an ideal of life. His subtitle, "Studies in Behalf of the Younger Generation," must be in the same sense in which a stern parent sorrows over a spanking.

Women also seem to annoy him, outside of the kitchen, although he preserves an irritated courtesy toward all of them, however misguided they may be. He is a bland and earnest writer, intelligently representative of a good, solid chunk of American opinion.

As a writer of blank verse, May Sinclair shows many of the same traits that have made her prose so distinctive—incisive narrative, devastating descriptions, a power of words that is startling. "*The Dark Night*" tells of the love of Elizabeth for the poet Victor, her loss of him, and what happened when he went blind. In spite of beautiful lines, the poem has all the unreality of life seen in a mirror.

It is another slim volume. Why doesn't some poet save up and publish a fat one? The Shelf hasn't had one since Edward Arlington Robinson's, but, then, he is a master.

- Latitudes*, Huebsch, 1924. \$2.00.
- Isle of Thorns*, Dutton, 1924. \$2.00.
- Pandora Lifts the Lid*, Doran, 1924. \$2.00.
- Harvest*, Putnam, 1924. \$1.75.
- The Three Fountains*, Scribner, 1924. \$2.00.
- The Genius of America*, Scribner, 1924. \$2.00.
- The Dark Night*, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.00.
- Woman and the Labor Movement*, Doran, Cloth \$1.50, Paper 50 Cents.

"WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT," by Alice Henry, is a book full of valuable information, much of it not easily accessible elsewhere. It should have a wide circulation among both women and men, and should be placed in all reference libraries. The author sketches the steady growth of organization among women in industry in this country, from the "Female Labor Reform Associations" of 1851 to the present International Federation of Working Women.

The author discusses from a standpoint of long experience and ripe intelligence the importance for women of organization, its difficulties, and its achievements (showing, for instance, how much women's wages actually went up in various trades, following organization), and its bearing upon men's work and upon the general welfare. She shows the need of legislative protection for working women, and holds that such laws should be "respected and valued as a means of raising standards in one field and for one group, just as, by law, many other groups, miners, railway men and federal employees, have had their standards raised year by year, without in any sense in their case that it was a concession to weakness." At this time, when there seems to be a concerted attack upon welfare legislation, this book has especial value.—A. S. B.

The Independent Nominee

(Continued from page 11)

erty is taxed, and won. He was responsible for Wisconsin's adoption of a bill providing for a state commission to regulate and control railway rates within the state—ancestor of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

He was elected Governor in 1903 and continued his program for progressive government.

Elected to the United States Senate in 1905, he at once started a campaign for conservation of coal and pushed railroad legislation. Spoke nineteen hours against the Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Bill.

The National Progressive Republican League was organized at LaFollette's Washington home in 1910. In 1912 he sought the Progressive nomination for the Presidency.

Mr. LaFollette opposed the Federal Reserve Act, offering an amendment which was, in effect, a substitute.

He opposed American participation in the World War and was practically ostracized for his attitude. A resolution was introduced for his expulsion from the Senate in 1917, because of his alleged unpatriotic utterances, and he was pointed at with scorn as a pacifist. He went through that as through other storm and stress periods, and has no apologies to make. Since the war he has

opposed large appropriations for Army or Navy, has favored the bonus for former service men, "not as a charity but as a right," and voted to extend relief to Germany.

He has consistently voted for all child labor and woman suffrage legislation.

He voted against the eighteenth amendment, but urged a referendum. Voted against the Volstead Act.

Senator LaFollette opposed the Esch-Cummins railroad bill, was against returning the railroads to private owners and has declared himself in favor of Government ownership as a "final solution of the transportation problem."

Although he contributed to the making of the McKinley tariff bill, Senator LaFollette has in recent years opposed what he terms "prohibitive tariff."

Opposed Mellon tax plan. Advocated reduction of taxes through heavier tax on capital and cutting expenses of military preparedness.

Has worked for public control of all natural resources.

Has attacked "judicial usurpation" and believes in curbing the power of judges by constitutional amendment.

Senator LaFollette denounced the Four-Power Treaty and has severely criticized the foreign policy of the State Department.

He voted for the expulsion of Senators Lorimer and Newberry and denounced Secretary Fall, Secretary Denby and Attorney General Daugherty in the Senate.

Favors Filipino independence.

In short, Senator LaFollette has been against most of the policies and programs of the Republican party and also against the Democrats in most things. He has been for LaFollette and the Progressive movement and has only been with either party at the points when it was what he termed progressive.

His wife is his active assistant at all times and his son, Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., his lieutenant in political matters.

LaFollette looks the part of the individualist. One would never mistake him for any one else, or any one for him. His hair is thrown back as if he were impatient to have it out of the way. There is a certain grimness in the lines of his face and his eyes look out sharply from their deep setting. He is at his best when he is on his feet addressing the Senate, and the galleries, for while he is by no means of commanding stature, he is so bent on making his point that he becomes an effective figure, the personification of menace, of adjuration, of invective, of appeal. Oratory has always been a passion with him.

From the time that he won the prize at Beloit, Wisconsin, with an oration on "Iago" to the day that he discussed the constitutional duty of the Senate in the last session of Congress he has enjoyed, obviously and fully, speaking in public. He is not a magnetic orator but he is

an insistent one. He marshals his facts and drives them home with unflagging vehemence.

"Fighting Bob" was the title he won years ago, and has kept.

The first reaction to the naming of the LaFollette ticket was that it was an effort to throw the election into Congress by making it impossible for either the Democratic or the Republican candidate to obtain a majority of the votes in the Electoral College; but the LaFollette expectations are running much higher than that. Experienced politicians say that there is nothing so unreliable as midsummer prognostications. However, there are certain conditions which the progressives say cannot be ignored.

There is, first and foremost, the attitude of labor. The railroad brotherhoods, with one exception, have openly declared in favor of the LaFollette ticket, and *Labor*, their organ, is supporting him wholeheartedly. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, has been withheld from political activity, endorsed LaFollette and Wheeler without supporting a third-party movement. Labor is undoubtedly largely for LaFollette, which carries uncertainty of political outcome into the industrial centers. The farming districts were all set for a LaFollette-Wheeler sweep because of adverse crop conditions, but now with booming prices calculations would seem to be upset. Mr. LaFollette brushes this aside as a temporary phase having no bearing on the fundamental questions at issue.

As for the reaction of the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties, the third ticket is recognized as a factor not to be underrated. But though it undoubtedly disturbed them at first, after they had taken the measure of the extent to which LaFollette is likely to damage the prospects of their respective tickets, they were inclined to believe that they had magnified his capacity for drawing largely from the old parties. This attitude, especially, is taken by the Republican leaders, who believe he will draw more largely from the elements that were prone to vote the Democratic ticket than from the Republican party.

Those who dread LaFollette as an apostle of radicalism and confusion are recalling for comfort how Abraham Lincoln met the report of his secretary, John Hay, about a rump convention in 1864. President Lincoln, on hearing about the insurgents, reached for a Bible, and turning to the twenty-second chapter of First Samuel read: "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt and every one that was discontented gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain over them, and there were with him about four hundred men."

Thus was David's gathering in the cave of Adullam described. There were about the same number present at the insurgent convention of 1864 and something more than that at the progressive convention in 1924, but made up of similar elements.

On certain issues which are being used to plague the Republican and Democratic candidates Mr. LaFollette has maintained silence. One of these is prohibition.

It is understood that when pressed to declare himself on this point he will merely point to his record and assert that he has always been opposed to sumptuary laws. One of the sources of his strength in the large cities and industrial centers will be, it is declared, his strong stand in behalf of personal liberty, which includes the right to eat and drink what and when one chooses.

Another controversial point which is proving embarrassing to other candidates is the Ku Klux Klan, on which Mr. LaFollette has not yet spoken. It is known that personally he is opposed to the Klan or any organization making racial or religious discriminations.

All of these are minor matters with Mr. LaFollette, submerged in the dominant issue of control of the government by the plain people. He will hammer away on this issue and refuse to be diverted into byways during the campaign, even by the energetic Charles G. Dawes, who is to undertake in the Middle West an arraignment of his record.

"Where LaFollette stands on fifty living issues," is the title of a pamphlet just published by the LaFollette managers. It is a compilation of excerpts from his statements on public issues during the last twenty years. It shows how staunchly he has supported the direct primary and woman suffrage; how fervently he has denounced child labor; what his stand has been on the tariff and tax reduction. It gives prominence to his fight for Government ownership and control of railroads, of coal and of public resources and it includes his protest against judicial usurpation.

Mr. LaFollette publishes in Madison, Wisconsin, a monthly magazine which bears his name and in which there are always several signed articles by him. The July number carries a streamer across the front page with the words: "I am ready to enlist with you to wage unceasing warfare until the American people have been restored to the full enjoyment of their political and economic rights. Robert M. LaFollette."

Lukewarmness is a rare attitude toward Mr. LaFollette. Probably more extravagant adjectives and epithets have been his portion than have fallen to the lot of any public man for many years, not even excepting Theodore Roosevelt. His followers and admirers are wholehearted. So are his enemies. The for-

mer see in him the hope of the people; a leader devoted to their cause with unquestioned sincerity, equipped with a clear insight and a seasoned knowledge; the man in the country able to mobilize the many groups with grievances, or progressive convictions. His enemies see in him a dangerous radical, a man disloyal both to party and country.

Every one concedes him two points—an astounding fund of information on the subjects in which he specializes and a superb fighting power.

Shortly the country will be aflame with the conflict, of which LaFollette will be one of the conspicuous figures. Is he a Menace or a Moses? The people will answer on November 4.

Summer-time Health

By Gulielma F. Alsop

PHYSICIAN AT BARNARD COLLEGE

ENJOYMENT of a country vacation depends upon two tastes: a delight in nature—in trees and flowers, in mountains and sailing clouds—and a delight in muscular activity. But those of us who live in cities have tried to accustom ourselves to an utterly different range of pleasures, so that, when summer comes, we turn back with a primitive instinctive rush to those more enduring country delights—and begin by overdoing.

We spend the first clear Sunday at the beach and come home burnt to a crisp, to regret with every stinging, burning motion of our arms, or even with every smile, our recent acquaintance with the sun. After the swim our companion says "Let's take a brisk walk in our suits before we dress," and, in spite of a penetrating, cold wind, we pretend to an enjoyment which our chattering teeth and bluing finger-nails deny, and which our bodies resent in stiffness or a bad cold for the next week. We join a hiking party up the nearest mountain and faint on the way up from a weak and overburdened heart and inelastic arteries. Then we swear never to climb another mountain! On Monday we are ready to write a letter to the newspaper extolling the wisdom of those who stay at home.

And in this very natural reaction against the discomfort of our excesses lies the danger of losing the benefits of a vacation. There is nothing more health-bringing than a good, solid coat of tan. Tuberculosis is fast being conquered by the vitality and resistance given the body by an acquired coat of tan. But that medicinal, life-giving tan is acquired inch by inch, minute by minute, not by any sudden, excessive exposure of a soft, white, winter skin to a hot sun. The skin then is not tanned, but scorched and blistered, and the superficial layer is destroyed, to the great and lasting discomfiture of the sporty seashore bather. When exposing an habitually clothed skin to the sun, one must remember that the skin can stand, at the most, twenty minutes of clear sunlight; quite likely in the case of a tender blond skin not more than ten minutes. Protect the skin, then, by any and all means. Wear a large, wide-brimmed shady hat,

even with a bathing costume; wear a cape over the neck and shoulders and arms when not in the water, and sit under a parasol. Also rub all the exposed part of the body with a good ointment before going on the beach. For brunettes, whose skins are harder, a good vanishing cream, well rubbed in, is sufficient. For a blonde, a more oily and protective ointment may be necessary. Keep the tube of ointment in the pocket and anoint the skin four or five times during the day.

After the day at the shore or in the mountains is over do not wash your skin for at least twenty-four hours, if it is at all inflamed or tender. Wipe off the skin with olive oil on a soft cloth. The second day use warm water, but no cold water and soap until the skin feels perfectly comfortable. If you are staying longer in the country, use the cold cream lavishly before going out in the sun and wind, as well as a method of cleansing after exposure. In about a week the skin of a normal person will begin to tan comfortably so that sun baths can be taken.

These are usually taken in a bathing-suit, either before or after going in the water. There is absolutely no objection to a sun bath in a wet bathing-suit if the day is warm and there is no wind. The danger to be avoided is a rapid chilling of the whole body. When you are cold in a wet bathing-suit, go in and dress at once. When you are not cold take a good warming sun bath after your swim. Come home from your vacation with as much of your body tanned as possible.

Mountain climbing is one of the best methods of strengthening the heart muscle, but it must be done in moderation and when the climber is in good physical form. Do not select all the mountain peaks in view to run up the first week of your vacation. Set them as the goal for your last week. No one who gets out of breath and feels her heart thumping in her ears, and gets purple in the face, ought to climb a mountain or even a hill. She will push up her blood pressure dangerously or overtax her heart. My plea is not to refrain from climbing mountains but to put yourself in good shape by graded exercise in order to climb.

Knowledge of what to eat enhances the benefit of a summer vacation as much as the knowledge of how to exercise. As eighty per cent of the potential energy of the food we eat goes to produce heat, it is a self-evident fact that the body needs fewer heat-producing foods in summer than in winter. The heat-producing foods are proteins (meat, eggs, fish) and the carbohydrates (starches and sugars). If you are at all overweight, cut your carbohydrates hard, and take meat on alternate days only. If, however, you are having much more physical exercise than is your custom in winter, this increase in exercise may make the same demand for calories in your food as does the cold of winter. In other words, you may feel very hungry and want daily meat and eggs.

The more one perspires the more comfortable one is in the heat. This necessitates a free use of drinking water. If, in the middle of a hard game of tennis, the player is very thirsty and takes two or three glasses of water, she thereby puts one or two extra pounds of weight into the stomach, which will of necessity slow down the game. A half a glass of water, even a mouthful, just to satisfy the thirst, is better than a large drink during the game. After the game is over the player can drink all she craves, although, if extremely hot, it is wiser not to drink a large amount of ice water or any iced drink.

There is very little to be said in the way of hygienic advice to women about their summer clothes. They already wear as little as the law allows. It remains for the serge-coat-wearing part of the race to adopt some sensible summer covering.

A vacation well used should present the worker with a well-tanned skin, a slim and muscular body (chest circumference at the level of the fourth rib should be twenty per cent. larger than the largest abdominal circumference with tape measure) and steady nerves—the result of sun and air and exercise.

Women Play Leaders

(Continued from page 9)

School of Social Work and frequently lectures on community organization at women's colleges. Summer play streets for children, clubs for lonely folks and neighborly holiday celebrations are some of her achievements for better recreation for Boston.

Specific branches of public recreation, particularly drama and athletics, have claimed a number of women. Such national community drama organizers as Elizabeth Hines Hanley, Edna Keith and Nina B. Lamkin have helped bring into existence many little theatre groups and community drama councils now flourishing on their own initiative. Constance D'Arcy Mackay and Elizabeth Grimball stand out among the women

who have aided the spread of community drama through research and writing.

Athletics for women and girls is a field in which some women play directors have specialized. Their problem is to build up an athletic tradition for the American girl without exploiting her. Among the women who have led in the national effort to arrange programs of girls' athletic recreation which stress the play spirit and not the spirit of star competition are Blanche Trilling of the University of Wisconsin, who heads the Committee on Women's Athletics of the American Physical Education Association; Lillian Schoedler, Executive Secretary of the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation, and Ethel Perrin of the American Child Health Association.

Ruth M. Findlay, director of work for women and girls for the Oakland, California, Department of Recreation, believes that the most effective future for girls' athletics lies in emphasizing team play. She has worked out a noteworthy system of play days for grammar and high-school girls and of athletics for girls in industry. "Team play develops a Colonel's lady—Judy O'Grady sisterhood," says Miss Findlay.

Working with the more than seven thousand women who are, as professionals, shaping America's play life is a vast army of woman volunteers who are furthering the cause of more play and better play. Women's clubs are making it one of their main objectives. Teachers and social workers and health workers are promoting it. Housewives and business women are finding time to act as volunteer play leaders and to serve on playground or Community Service committees. Especially effective has been women's support of legislation for play and physical education.

A number of women of leisure, means and vision have been devoting them all not only toward improving play facilities in their own localities, but toward the expansion of the national service of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Eight such women are now serving on the Association's Board of Directors.

Many of the women mentioned in this article, as well as clubwomen, educators, mothers and social workers, will attend the Eleventh National Recreation Congress, to be held in Atlantic City October 16-21. Fully as many women as men were among the 567 delegates to last year's Congress in Springfield, Ill.

Women are feeling a particular satisfaction in furthering supervised municipal or community play because better recreation has a bearing upon almost every problem of today. An adequate, wholesome and attractive supply of public play in any given district helps to lessen crime and juvenile delinquency, physical unfitness, the social evil and industrial unrest.

The C. P. P. A. Platform (LaFollette's)

1. Use of the Federal power to crush private monopoly.
2. Enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assemblage.
3. Government ownership of nation's water power. Strict public control and conservation of all natural resources, including coal, iron, oil and timber lands.
4. Retention of surtaxes on "swollen incomes," restoration of tax on excess profits, on profits undistributed to evade taxes, progressive taxes on large estates, and repeal of excessive tariff duties, especially on trust-controlled necessities of life.
5. Reconstruction of Federal Reserve and Federal farm loan systems.
6. Laws to guarantee to farmers and industrial workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.
7. Creation of a government marketing corporation to provide a direct route from farm producer to city consumer.
8. Aid to cooperative enterprises by national and state legislation.
9. International action to effect the economic recovery of the world from the effects of the world war.
10. Repeal Esch-Cummins law. Public ownership of railroads.
11. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and of the power to punish for contempt without trial by jury. Abolition of "tyranny" of the courts.
12. Election of all Federal judges without party designation.
13. Prompt ratification of the child labor amendment and subsequent enactment of a Federal law to protect children in industry.
14. "Removal of legal discrimination against women by measures not prejudicial to legislation necessary for the protection of women and for the advancement of social welfare."
15. A deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea.
16. Revision of Versailles Treaty in accordance with the terms of the Armistice. The promotion of firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and guarantee public referendums on peace and war.—C. C. C.

The Index of the new volume of the WOMAN CITIZEN from June 1, 1923, to June 1, 1924, is now ready. It will be sent to all libraries on the CITIZEN subscription list. Clubs and individual subscribers may obtain a copy free by sending to the Subscription Department, the WOMAN CITIZEN, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

THE FIGHTING AMERICAN—In this picture low comedy is occasionally given an edge of shrewd farce, and a ridiculous tale of gallant adventure and simple clowning becomes more than ordinarily funny.

It is about a college youth who suffers the commonplace fate of expulsion both from his university and his father's beds and boards, and more or less at loose ends goes off to China. There he finds a hobo friend become a general, engages in an undermanned but serious-minded revolution, and rescues a beautiful girl from the revolutionists. If you don't believe all this it doesn't matter, for the picture makers show you at the beginning that they have their fingers crossed. We think the tired business man, as well as his small son, will like it; we mean, will like it as well as his small son. A Universal picture, directed by Thomas Forman.

WANDERER OF THE WASTELAND—This is a typical Zane Grey picture, from his novel of the same name, but it is done in colors throughout, and very successfully. The coloring is consistently realistic and sometimes beautiful. The story is a Western one, about a man who becomes a recluse and wanderer on the Arizona deserts through fear of a murder charge. There are interesting scenes, some excitement, and a little brutality. A Paramount picture, directed by Irvin Willat.

CAPTAIN JANUARY—The little girl actress, Peggy Montgomery, better known as "Baby Peggy," has the most

prominent rôle in this children's story of a child. The picture is an adaptation of Laura E. Richards's ever-popular novel of the same name, and is a story of a lighthouse keeper on the New England coast, and a little girl waif washed ashore from a wreck who becomes his adopted daughter. *Rags*, a dog; *Ophelia*, a greedy pelican, and *Imogen*, a cow, are also part of the family. Hobart Bosworth as the old New Englander is the second star of the play; the pelican, third. Children will like it very much. A Principal Pictures production, directed by Edward F. Cline.

THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—As simple as its title; a short but impressive picture of the exact moment of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, with some interesting preliminary scenes from the dignified conventions of olden days, and a good atmosphere of American colonial politics. One of the Chronicles of America pictures of Yale University Press production, directed by Kenneth Webb.

BROADWAY AFTER DARK—This is that plot which plotmakers are so fond of, of the sophisticated and blasé frequenter of boulevards and Broadway, who seeks to find the real things of life by living a while—always a short while—in a cheap boarding-house, and who finds salvation thereby. Broadway is brought in as the most convincing character in the cast, with Irene Castle, Fred and Dorothy Stone, Elsie Ferguson, Paul Whiteman, and others. A Warner Brothers picture, from Owen Davis's melodrama of the same name, and directed by Monta Bell.

Bryan

(Continued from page 8)

with the Democratic National Committee, outside the Bryan headquarters in the corridor of the Waldorf-Astoria. With a sudden smile which completely transformed his features, the big Governor swept aside the horde of reporters and admirers in Mr. Davis's wake, and walking up to his running mate laid his broad hand on his shoulder in a friendly pat.

There was something boyish and unpremeditated about it, which seemed to please his involuntary audience. Then he went back to pack his shirts for his homeward journey.

Bryan won his election as Governor of Nebraska on the Democratic ticket with a plurality of 75,000 in a Republican year, when the G. O. P. rolled up large majorities for most of the lesser state offices. His term expires next January, but the Democratic primaries have already renominated him with eighty-two per cent of all votes cast, carrying every county in the state. He has likewise been nominated by the Progressive Party (Farmer-Labor) by seventy-eight per cent of all votes cast at the April primaries, a substantial indication of an inning with the "farmers, wage-earners and masses of the people," for whom his legislative program avowedly has been framed.

In those sections of the country where party lines are less drastic and independence is more flagrant, the Democrats count upon him to appeal to the suffrages of communities concerned with those policies for their physical well-being which the Governor has translated into action. Take, for instance, that feat of the Nebraska Executive during the hardships of last winter, when he flayed the Nebraska coal dealers as profiteers and then brought in Illinois coal and sold it at \$8.50 a ton in open market.

Charles W. Bryan was born at Salem, Illinois, in 1864, and was twenty-four years of age when the family moved to Nebraska and he became identified with the life of Lincoln. After a term as Mayor of the town he was twice defeated for the gubernatorial chair before capturing the office. His nomination as Vice-President by the Democratic Convention came when the sudden action of the Chairman, Senator Walsh of Montana, had prevented a threatened movement toward his own nomination by acclamation. The later refusal of Senator Walsh to reconsider threw the tired delegates into confusion. The break toward Bryan, favored by many leaders and approved by John W. Davis, occurred unexpectedly in the middle of the first roll call, and the count gave him the nomination by an overwhelming majority at 2:30 A. M.

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Of the position of women in the parties Governor Bryan said:

"For thirty years I have been an advocate of political equality, and with us in the West women are so usual in politics that we have ceased to consider the question."

Watch Your Planks

(Continued from page 12)

kind that has ever existed. When a party opposes the only machinery existing to end war, yet substitutes no other, that party cannot be said to have a permanent peace program. The outstanding thing in the Democratic platform is a proposal to refer the question of our adherence to the League to a non-partisan referendum, which neatly passes responsibility out of its hands for the present. The La Follettes have made bold pronouncements with no definite program to carry them out.

It is clear again that "we, the people," will have to disentangle the peace vs. war controversy, find a program and mobilize public opinion to the point that all parties will take the loud speaker for it.

Meanwhile, whether it be Coolidge, Davis or La Follette, the one thing that seems most eminently certain is that the post office, ambassadorships and judge-ships will be passed over the same old partisan pie-counter to the faithful who have cried the virtues of their ticket to most effective purpose. The candidates themselves, let us be grateful, are all honest, decent, patriotic citizens. No one of them if elected will disgrace us.

Meanwhile, all voters should drive onward to platforms that are definite, well-considered programs of action, and to candidates the honored representative of the parties selected to carry them out. Then, and only then, shall our feet tread the path of steady progress.

Women in 1928 should see to it that some of their sex with intelligence and courage are on the resolutions committees in all parties and not altogether petitioners before them.

MISS JULIA LATHROP writes us that there was an inaccuracy in the article about her in the July 12 CITIZEN which ought to be corrected. The article said that "it was Miss Lathrop who was responsible for the first juvenile court law, and who was active in the building up of the Chicago Juvenile Court—the first of its kind." Miss Lathrop says that the juvenile court law in Illinois was a gradual development and the result of many efforts by many men and women.

The statement should have been modified to show that Miss Lathrop was one of those responsible for the law.

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY rises to say that she was made Honorary Vice President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, instead of Honorary President, as the caption with her photograph claimed, in the June 28th number. It seems that only past presidents may be honorary presidents.

With Our Readers

Mr. S. R. Child, who writes the following letter, is a highly respected Minneapolis lawyer who has been a staunch friend and generous helper to the suffrage cause. He is an official of the National Commissioners for Uniform State Laws.

The CITIZEN need not tell its readers that it favors the Child Labor Amendment, but we are glad to give Mr. Child a chance to call attention to the dangers he sees in the form of the proposed amendment. In the next issue there will be an answer to the point he raises here, and further discussion is invited.

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN.

YOU have kindly given me a 400-word space to tell why the proposed Child Labor Amendment is unpatriotic, disloyal and revolutionary. This I must do by tracing from the beginning our political status, by demonstration rather than by argument.

1. We the people of each state inherited

absolute self-government, won by our fathers in the Revolution.

2. Those rights have never been thus far given up or taken away. We gave up to the Federal Government in the Constitution sufficient powers only to preserve the states in the Federal Government.

3. This amendment proposes to empower "Congress to restrain, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age."

4. This authorizes Congress to send into the homes of the people of the villages and onto the farms agencies to supervise through detective and espionage methods, and to despoil us of our personal liberty.

5. We the people of my state (or any other state) never have consented that three-fourths of the states should have any power to impose upon the other one-fourth any such right of tyranny, and none before has ever been attempted.

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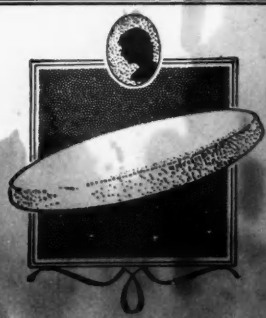
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GLEASON'S Parliamentary Digest

The Digest was written by a woman who has been for seven years the National Superintendent of Parliamentary Law for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; she was for four years Parliamentarian of the Los Angeles District Federation of Women's Clubs, and is now Parliamentarian for seven different organizations and has had much experience in teaching and presiding. Mrs. Gleason knows the needs of our women and wrote the Digest, to be used as a text as well as reference book, for the purpose of making it easier for our women to study and understand parliamentary procedure. Why not form a Parliamentary Section in your Club and study the Digest? Hundreds are doing it; "Knowledge is Power." The Digest is based upon "Robert's Rules of Order Revised." 1923 Revised Edition, \$2.00. If your book-store does not carry the Digest, send direct to the author.

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6. What the people of the several states did was to bestow upon the Federal Government the general powers expressed in the preamble, and the nineteen powers given to Congress in Section 8, which see.

7. No amendment since adopted or even proposed by Congress, ever suggested any other, further or different powers.

8. And such power of amendment does not exist, for parts of the Federal Government to impose upon the other parts political machinery for the destruction of personal liberty, any more than would the power exist to re-establish a monarchy over the people of the states, from which they were released.

9. This Child Labor Amendment warns us how the Federal Constitution, instead of being the palladium of our liberties, according to a growing sentiment may be the purloiner of those liberties.

I concede the high motives prompting this amendment, and that the object is desirable, but it is being accomplished in an undesirable manner. The object is, however, now being accomplished through the state legislatures, by promoting the Uniform Child Labor Act put forth by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and endorsed by the American Bar Association; by promoting and stimulating state interest in Child Welfare legislation, the most advanced form of which exists in my own state, into which my sympathetic acts have entered.

S. R. CHILD.

Minneapolis, Minn., July 14.

I JUST read an article in your magazine, entitled "The Price of Bread." Everything in your article is true in regard to the wheat growers here, and when wheat was selling at eighty cents per hundred flour was being bought at three dollars, and the elevator men were putting grand articles in the paper asking every one to "eat one more slice of bread each meal." The wheat had to be sold because the bankers held a mortgage on same (money borrowed to buy seed and pay part of the expense of raising).

All the money the farmer got to spend for clothes, doctors' bills, etc., he was forced to steal by letting the hired men sell a load or two of wheat in his own name.

You know that since the war wheat has been about the only thing exempt from price-fixing, and during the war it was about the only thing on which a price was set by the government.

Last year the low price was blamed to "oversupply," while Russia was starving and we were becoming bankrupts.

MRS. ELIZA BUCKLAND.

Thornton, Idaho.

Mrs. Root has asked space to bring a post-convention thought before women. She was among the women devoted to Mr. McAdoo's candidacy.

IN 1920, the Republican National Convention confounded the multitude of advocates of Herbert Hoover's Presidential candidacy by giving him but nine votes in spite of his conspicuous popularity with the educated element of the electorate, outside, as well as inside of, his party. In 1924 the Democratic National Convention rejected the candidate with the greatest number of votes from the greatest number of states and nominated instead a candidate who was the choice of jaded delegates, overpowered by noise, financial stress and by physical and mental fatigue.

Are such proceedings symptoms of party infirmity and disease, or are they growing pains incident to the progress of democracy? Can these convention farces be prevented by installing the machinery for Presidential primaries?

In the Republican Convention of 1920, four men contested the nomination, each one an irreconcilable to the candidacy of the other three. When a dark horse was nominated all four contestants united for the election of one who was directly antagonistic to two declared policies of two of the most prominent candidates and to the insurgent attitude of the third candidate.

Before the last Democratic Convention, where the outstanding candidates locked horns on the wet and dry issue and upon the principle of "equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none," years of time, thousands of dollars of money and monumental amounts of energy were expended by believers in the enforcement of law and the application of the principles of democracy to industry and to governmental affairs.

Before the battle, the foremost candidates failed to reach an agreement because loyalty to important principles was said to outweigh personal consideration; and those principles could be preserved only by the nomination of proper candidates. But after the battle, the combatants decided to do the impossible—compromise on principles—and to unite in the common effort to elect the ticket!

To those women who suffered and sacrificed greatly to stand by the principles represented by their respective candidates in the arena for the nomination, this seems a most amazing and disheartening exhibition of party-olatry. If compromise was possible and justifiable—why the battle? Why the enormous waste of time, money and energy in holding the lines for the sake of principles only to have principles relegated to second place to give precedence to party harmony—and the prospect of success at the polls?

Has the time not come for women voters to study the economics of party campaigns and the ethics as well as the etiquette of convention tactics when these are such as to draw blood from sincere seekers after civic righteousness as they crusade for those declared principles, only to have their fighting representatives voluntarily submerge the vital issues they have championed—after the tragedy of battle?

NELLY HALL ROOT.

Long Beach, California.

I WANT a word on Mrs. Catt's article, "The Kluxers." She says perhaps the members know their objects, but nobody else does. She then proceeds to criticize them sharply for things *some one* says are their objects. I am opposed to oath-bound secret orders; but we have them, many of them, and it is no worse for them than for others, but they have a good reason for their hiding their identity. They rub shoulders with "bootleggers" and gamblers and other lawless doings, and by their not being known they can report them to law authorities.

I am sending under another cover some copies of the "Fiery Cross," a prominent paper of the Klan. Each number contains the Klansman's creed and for the enlightenment of the CITIZEN readers I ask that you publish it and any other enlightening thing you see in the papers I send. There are always two sides to every story and all ought to be seen.

And now another word. The edict has gone forth that the people of the United States shall mobilize on September 12—the whole nation's citizens to be a training camp; "think war, play war." What will the nations of the earth think of us, professing peace and talking disarmament, though so strong that no nation would attack us? Let the women of America speak in thunder tones; let every woman's organization send its compelling protest to President Coolidge, and he as commander-in-chief of the martial forces of the nation can recall it.

SARAH EDGERTON.

Amboy, Ind.

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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director Editor
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Advertising Manager Associate Editor
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART WINIFRED L. RICH

The *Woman Citizen* is published bi-weekly September to June and monthly July and August (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City, Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City. By subscription, \$2.00 a year, postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. LIII Old Style.
Vol. IX New Style.

No. 6

OUR OWN DINGBATS

ON top is a thick crust of late and lost copy, frantic telegrams, and uncalled-for heat. ♦ ♦ ♦ But just one week under it are wavy-shored lakes sprinkled with picture-book islands; masses of petunia on gray rocks (the one place in the world they belong); the fragrance of sun-on-pines; a tangle of moonlight with sunset, and a rainbow thrown in; flaming Mars ♦ ♦ ♦ and an admirable absence of town anywhere on the horizon. ♦ ♦ ♦ Not to mention the presence of gooseberry tart and lemon pie fit for Edward Albert Christian, etc., himself ♦ ♦ ♦ We liked our Canadian vacation, it may be surmised, and are still thrashing about in protest. ♦ ♦ ♦ We'll even loyally say the lake was warm, though our teeth may chatter in reminiscence. ♦ ♦ ♦ (Heavens, how we wish they would!) ♦ ♦ ♦ And we hereby recommend the swimming book listed by Dr. Alsop elsewhere in this number. We swam up to about page 35, and with such a good start we expect to do all the advanced swimming before the winter is over. ♦ ♦ ♦ On the rug. ♦ ♦ ♦ We may add proudly that we can row without blistering our hands, which proves considerable skill. ♦ ♦ ♦ Though our joint oarsman might offer another explanation. ♦ ♦ ♦ We found in our neatly heaped-up desk an intriguing letter from one who says he is a mere man (but to us men are never mere), asking: What is a dingbat? ♦ ♦ ♦ We're sorry to keep him waiting (if he had signed his name, we wouldn't), but we want to see how many bright scholars know the answer. ♦ ♦ ♦ There is no prize, and this isn't an intelligence test ♦ ♦ ♦ nor yet is it a bluff. ♦ ♦ ♦ We just want to glean some statistics on knowledge-of-dingbats. ♦ ♦ ♦ Well, the Prince of Wales has finished his athletic voyage and capped it by spending twelve hours of his first day on land riding on the train. ♦ ♦ ♦ If that is vacation, we almost vote for work. ♦ ♦ ♦ Up where we were there is a profile rock. ♦ ♦ ♦ Queen Victoria to the life. ♦ ♦ ♦ Query: Who would it be, to the life, in Mexico or France? ♦ ♦ ♦ A bear was reported one day by a boy who had seen something lumber by in the woods and had tried a shot. ♦ ♦ ♦ But he was like a governor-general of India, reported in the "Continent." ♦ ♦ ♦ His "shikari" was asked what sport they had on a bear-shooting expedition, and he answered, "The sahib shot beautifully, but God was merciful to the bears." ♦ ♦ ♦ We have a new ambition. ♦ ♦ ♦ To find out all about why customs men on the Canadian border do what they do. ♦ ♦ ♦ How they decide when to believe you and when to hunt. ♦ ♦ ♦ And above all to find out if any two would give the same advice about such an emergency as a dilatory trunk. ♦ ♦ ♦ The moral is, keep your trunk with you if you have to hold it in your lap or ride with it on the baggage truck. ♦ ♦ ♦ We've just looked, and found Mars right here in New York. ♦ ♦ ♦ He does miss his lake, though.



Mrs. Mabel Cory Costigan
Mrs. Glenn E. Plumb

© Bachrach
Elizabeth Christman

Women Leaders of the Progressives

groups supporting the La Follette ticket besides those included in the C. P. P. A., it takes a good many words to identify the leaders—a difficulty that will disappear if a third party develops from the movement. Mrs. Costigan made the keynote speech for women at the C. P. P. A. convention—a pioneer woman keynoter.

Next, to the right, is Elizabeth Christman, also a member of the C. P. P. A. executive committee. Miss Christman is well known in women's trade union activities: she is secretary-treasurer of the National Women's Trade Union League and of the National Glove Workers' Union. She was chairman of the Woman's Division of the War Labor Board during its lifetime. At least three other committeewomen have the same background of trade union interests—Ethel Smith, who is recording secretary of the Executive Committee, Women's Division, Fannia Cohn, and Rose Schneidermann.

Miss Hauser, well known to CITIZEN readers as Secretary of the League of Women Voters, brings to this movement her experience as an active suffrage leader and as secretary to the late progressive mayor of Cleveland, Tom Johnson.

Mrs. Glenn E. Plumb, of Chicago, is vice-chairman of the Women's Division of the campaign in charge of the mid-Western states. Mrs. Plumb was director of the Red Cross for Chicago, South Side,

Elizabeth J. Hauser
Mrs. Glendower Evans

during the war. Opposite her is Mrs. Glendower Evans, member of the Joint Executive Committee of the campaign, really the campaign committee. Mrs. Evans was a member of that original Minimum Wage Board of Massachusetts whose work led to the establishment of the first minimum wage board in the United States. She has a record of twenty-eight active years in the labor and suffrage movements.

Other members of the C. P. P. A. national committee are: Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, suffrage leader, speaker and writer; Isabelle Kendig, Mrs. Gilson Gardiner, Frances G. Axtell, Mrs. George W. Coleman, Jane Addams, Mrs. Victor Berger, Jennie Buell, Sadie Scott and Bertha Hale White.

Mrs. Basil M. Manly is vice-chairman of the Women's Division Executive Committee, and Isabelle Kendig, executive secretary.

THIRD in our series of "samples" of the national committeewomen in political organizations here are five out of the sixteen committeewomen of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which nominated Senator La Follette for the presidency. Progressive women are taking an active part in the campaign for the La Follette-Wheeler ticket, with its possibilities of a third-party development, and a Women's Division is organized and well under way. Its chairman is Mrs. Mabel Cory Costigan, who is shown in the left-hand corner above. Mrs. Costigan is vice-president of the Consumers' League, and until this year was chairman of the Living Costs Committee of the League of Women Voters. She is a member of the executive committee of the C. P. P. A. as the organization is called for short, and Secretary of the Joint Executive Committee of the La Follette-Wheeler campaign. Since there are other

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

SEPTEMBER 6, 1924

Number 6

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Campaign

SINCE the latest CITIZEN appeared all the scheduled speeches of presidential and vice-presidential acceptance have been made, and speaking tours are getting under way. Unusually slow in starting, the campaign has at last begun. Very briefly, the speeches of acceptance may be summarized as follows:

JOHN W. DAVIS, Democratic candidate for President, at Clarksburg, West Virginia, August 11: The keynote is honesty in government. Mr. Davis attacked the present administration, recounting "multiplied scandals," and obstruction to the investigations. He attacked the Fordney-McCumber tariff; the Mellon taxation theory; Republican foreign policy. On behalf of the Democrats he promised clean government; progressive legislation, including the prevention of child labor—without specifying the means; conservation of natural resources; labor's right to collective bargaining; tax revision in the interest of the poor man more than the rich; and law enforcement. Among proposed measures of farm relief, he offered removal of tariff discriminations and development of cooperative markets, with a hint at reduction of transportation rates. Mr. Davis spoke positively for the World Court, for any concerted move toward disarmament. He affirmed his own belief in the League of Nations and in the United States joining it; but said we should not enter "until the common judgment of the American people is ready for the step." He promised the fullest possible official share in League activities. Without mentioning the Klan by name, he affirmed the necessity of religious tolerance.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, speaking at Washington on August 14, stressed the need for economy and common sense in government. He discussed in detail, with many figures, the achievements of this administration in handling the problems, financial and administrative, left on its hands by the preceding one. He claimed that the government is sound, and that when individuals in it have

been dishonest they have been investigated and indicted "without favor but without malice." He again endorsed the World Court; future conferences for further limitation of armament; covenants for outlawing aggressive war; aid to Europe without involvement, or surrender of independence. He stressed the service to Europe of the Dawes plan. His recommendations for the farmer's relief were along the lines of navigation and cooperative marketing, with the protective tariff continued. He promised further reduction of taxes and further economy in administration. He pronounced for law enforcement and for a child labor amendment; for "national defense as a concrete mode of action."

CHARLES W. BRYAN, Democratic nominee for Vice-President, made his speech at Lincoln, Nebraska, on August 18. He emphasized honesty, and devoted a large part of his speech to the farmer's troubles, advising lower rail and water rates, and lower tariff.

At Evanston, August 19, CHARLES W. DAWES, Republican nominee for Vice-President, made his speech largely an attack on Senator La Follette and the progressive movement, calling it a "movement of untried and dangerous radicalism."

SENATORS LA FOLLETTE and WHEELER, leaders of the Progressives, made no speeches of acceptance, but the campaign was opened on Labor Day with a speech by Senator La Follette, heard as this department was closing. It was a clear, explicit statement of the Progressives' motives. In proclaiming war on Privilege they mean, he says, the great corporations of wealth that fix the price to all of us of coal; of sugar; of railway tickets; of meat; they mean the banking combine, which fixes interest rates. They mean "the whole private monopoly system," protected by many laws and connected with both the old political parties. He said the Progressives offer immediate action to free government from the special interests and restore the government to the people. Senator La Follette favors the repeal of the Esch-Cummins law. He stands for

a developed cooperative system in the farmer's interest, and says that the salvation of the farmer depends, not on Europe's markets, but on the development of a home market well enough paid to consume more of the farmer's production, at good price. The Progressives stand for ratification of the child labor amendment.

Senator La Follette was the first nominee to denounce the Klan by name. This was in a letter written and published early in August. It was understood at the convention which nominated him that he wished to keep the emphasis on the single issue of special privilege and private monopoly, but when the Klan issue became insistent he denounced it roundly. The next Klan pronouncement was a paragraph which Mr. Davis added to a campaign speech delivered at Seagirt, New Jersey, on August 22. The strategy here, according to newspaper analysis, was that this outspoken statement of what he had implied before was necessary if the states of New York and New Jersey were to be won. Third, the next day, came General Dawes's speech in Maine. There the Democratic candidate for Governor is the author of the minority plank on the Klan which split the Democratic convention; he is running against a Republican candidate who is supposed to have Klan support. General Dawes, known to be opposed to the Klan, spoke against it as a menace instead of an aid to orderly government, but said that many of its members were inspired by worthy motives. The opposition papers have, of course, made much capital of his reference to Herrin, Illinois, as a place where, if ever, Klan methods were defensible—unfortunate, because a few days later there was a fresh outburst in that violent community.

Europe Signs Up

THE month of August was marked by an event of probably great historical importance: The acceptance of the Dawes plan by all the governments involved. The points agreed on by the powers assembled at the London Con-

ference were summed up in the CITIZEN for August 9. Next came the arrival of the German delegates at London and the beginning of negotiations concerning the evacuation of the Ruhr. Naturally, there were ups and downs, the most serious disagreement coming over the date at which the year allowed for completion of evacuation should begin. The Germans surrendered on this point, and the year begins with the signing of the agreement, rather than with last April, as the Germans wished. In the course of negotiations Premier Herriot went home to get the explicit consent of the French Cabinet to military evacuation of the Ruhr as the French concession leading to peace. He got it, was cordially acclaimed, returned triumphant. There is a pleasant story that at the successful close of the conference Premier Macdonald, shaking hands all round, took Chancellor Marx of Germany to Premier Herriot, joined their right hands, smiling genially while the two cordially tightened the grip.

Macdonald said of this agreement, "We are offering the first really negotiated agreement since the war."

The protocol adopted by the conference was signed by the British Premier, as president of the conference, the secretary general, the allied secretaries, the German secretary and a representative of the Reparations Commission. Nothing is said in it about the evacuation of the Ruhr, which is handled separately between France and Belgium and Germany. After this agreement was reached Premier Macdonald wrote to the French and Belgian premiers, citing the fact that his government had never recognized the legality of the occupation or agreed to the interpretation of the Treaty on which it was based, but that it now "notes the agreement" and urges that evacuation be hastened.

It may be helpful to sum up again the high spots in the Dawes plan: It calls for an allowance of four years for Germany to work up to full execution of the plan. Payments are drawn from taxes and mortgages on German railroads and industry, and under full execution would amount to about \$650,000,000 annually. A new German bank is created in which reparations are to accumulate, control to be divided among Germans, Allies and neutrals. Future reparation payments are to be varied according to an "index of prosperity," dispute over this to be arbitrated by the League of Nations. A \$200,000,000 loan is to be floated in the world market to help with the payments and finance the bank.

Owen D. Young, who made so important a contribution to the Dawes plan, is to be temporary agent general for reparation payments. He is on his way to his Berlin office, and has called for the first delivery of reparation payments.

The League Assembly Meets

SEPTEMBER 1 is the date of opening for the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, which promises to be the most popular session so far. Newspaper reports from Geneva say that the city is crowded with about twenty thousand visitors, and that there are scores of cards for every seat available. The chief issue before the Assembly this time will be security and disarmament, but just what turn the subjects will take is uncertain. The treaty for mutual guarantees, which was drafted by the League Disarmament Commission and submitted to various nations for their opinions, was rejected by Premier Macdonald, and it is expected that he will have some counter proposal to make. The treaty was also rejected by the Dutch Government, and our Government refused the opportunity to express a view. The French favor it. Roughly, it provides for treaties promising military assistance in case of need.

The American draft treaty of security and disarmament prepared by the group headed by Dr. James T. Shotwell of Columbia will be presented, and a good many hopes are pinned to it. This draft, summarized in this department in an earlier issue, will be treated more fully later.



It is to Loren R. Barton that we owe our cover this time—a young artist marked by variety of mood and interest expressed as best pleases her through pencil, brush or needle. First attracting attention as an etcher, she has turned more and more to portraits in oil, where her high ambition lies. Her exhibition in New York City this fall will, however, be in water colors.

Southern California claims Miss Barton (though Massachusetts was her birthplace); the California Art Club, the Chicago Society of Etchers and the Print Society of England are a few of the organizations whose rolls list her name, but her pictures belong to the whole country—witness those in the California State Library, the Chicago Art Institute and the National Museum.

Britain and Russia

AFTER much storm and stress the British and the Soviet governments signed some sort of treaties looking toward a settlement of their financial differences. The conclusion of negotiations almost immediately followed what seemed a complete break between the Soviet envoys and the British; but Premier Macdonald was determined that this should not happen and succeeded in patching up an arrangement. The treaties are practically an agreement to make another and more definite treaty later. The Soviet Government does not specifically withdraw its repudiation of the debts of the former Russian governments, but promises to satisfy certain British claims, and it is understood that Britain will accept far less than full satisfaction. On the other hand, there is a tentative promise of a British government guarantee for a loan to Russia, so much desired. Parliament is to discuss the treaties when it meets again.

Mr. Filene's Prizes

SOME time ago Mr. Edward Filene, of Boston, offered prizes in France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy, along the general lines of the Bok award, for the best plan to restore security and prosperity in the country named and in Europe, through international cooperation. Prizes amounting to \$10,000 were offered in each country. All the contests have been made, and the first prize-winning plans have been made public. They are the result of the French contest. The first-prize plan recommends a League of Europe, to be included in the League of Nations, while the second prize-winner proposes a combined reduction of armaments and treaties of mutual assistance.

Institutes of Politics

A YEAR from now it is expected that the Furnam Institute of Politics will be an institution. Some suspect it already is. The first session, and a remarkably successful one, was held August 5-16 at Greenville, South Carolina, under the auspices of Furnam University and friends in Greenville. This, the first institute of international politics in the South, offered a full program of lectures and discussions, led by professors from the leading universities of both North and South. The Board of Advisors includes representatives from ten states and it is their hope and that of the Directors, Professors Cullen B. Gosnell and E. H. Henderson, that the institute will become an all-Southern affair. It is not setting up to rival the famous Institute at Williamstown, but to supplement it, since Williamstown already overflows.—September 1, 1924.

The Junior Senator From Montana

By Evelina P. Kean



HE glare of the oil conflagration threw into bold relief two figures little known before to the general public—two figures that remained clearly outlined even after the principals in the case had subsided into the shadows. These were the two senators from Montana—Senator Walsh and Senator Wheeler, the junior Montana senator, who has been chosen as the vice-presidential nominee on Senator LaFollette's ticket.

A brief sketch of Senator Wheeler's career will show that although he is a Democrat his being linked with a nominal Republican is not far fetched.

Burton Kendall Wheeler was born of Quaker stock in the little town of Hudson, Massachusetts, February 27, 1882. The family ran well back into colonial days, having settled in Sudbury, Massachusetts, in 1640, and most of the line were tillers of the soil; Senator Wheeler's father, however, was a shoemaker and manufacturer on a small scale.

The youngest of ten children in a family blessed with none too munificent resources, Burton Wheeler soon learned to depend upon himself. Having gone through the public schools and worked for a while at odd jobs in Boston, he decided to study law at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Here he undertook all manner of work, including cutting lawns and tending furnaces, to eke out his slim resources. Life was very much of an adventure to this eager and energetic youth, especially the summer in which, while selling books through the countryside, he met Lulu White. Several years later he traveled half across the continent to claim her as his bride. Now they have a family of five robust children, who, from all accounts, partake liberally of the Wheeler energy.

In 1905 he went out to Butte, Montana, to start the practice of law with nothing to back him except his law degree and his personality. Naturally his first clientele was drawn from the poorer classes—laboring men, miners and small farmers. These contacts gave him an intimate view of political and economic conditions among the masses in a state notoriously run by Big Business. There was a real "cause" here, he felt; besides, the idea of something difficult and a bit hazardous appealed to his temperament. He decided upon a political career. In 1910 he was elected to the Legislature with the approval of the powers that be. But that approval

did not last long. They soon found that he intended to act according to his own notions, which were not necessarily theirs. Among other things he supported Thomas J. Walsh in the senatorial campaigns, and despite the opposition Walsh received from the copper companies because of his independence of action, he was elected in 1912.

On the recommendation of Senator



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Senator Burton K. Wheeler

Walsh, Wheeler was appointed United States District Attorney by President Wilson in 1913. He proved a vigorous and fearless prosecutor. But here again he did not always prosecute where and in the manner that "the interests" desired. Moreover, when the war hysteria branded as crimes of treason acts that ordinarily would be unnoticed mannerisms, Wheeler refused to prosecute without good cause. He was derided and proclaimed pro-German and Bolshevik, losing some of the friends that he had drawn to him. Senator Walsh was up for re-election in 1918 and Wheeler resigned from the office of District Attorney so as not to embarrass his political supporter.

But he had no intention of abandoning a political career. In 1920 he ran

This is the last in our series of sketches of leading nominees, published to furnish a non-partisan acquaintance with their records. President Coolidge and Mr. Davis were sketched as candidates before nomination. General Dawes, Mr. Bryan and Senator La Follette appeared in successive issues after the three principal national conventions.

for governor of the state of Montana. He was nominated on the Democratic ticket, but went down in the Republican landslide. That defeat did not discourage him—it gave him more cause for fight. There was to be a senatorial election in 1922. He decided to enter the race. By this time his political slant was clear to all. "The interests" were surely against him—and the interests owned practically all the newspapers in the state. That was a great difficulty but not insuperable. Wheeler had a vast number of friends among the laboring classes and associated with him were able organizers. A state branch of the C. P. A.* was formed and it reached every labor union and every farming community. All this meant work. Montana is eight hundred miles from end to end. If the press was not open to them, they nevertheless kept the issues well before the public by means of a weekly multigraphed sheet. It was a telling campaign. Wheeler received more votes for the Democratic nomination than his three opponents combined, and then beat the Republican nominee by a wide margin.

His first act of political significance in Washington was to obstruct the election of Senator Cummins as Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee. It was a bold stroke and rather an unusual thing to do. But railroad legislation is a subject dear to the heart of a progressive. When the heads of committees have been decided upon by the party leaders they are usually ratified by the Senate. A *pro forma* vote being taken on all names at one time, Senator Wheeler demanded a separate vote to determine the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee. A bitter fight ensued, ending in the election of Senator Smith.

Next came the Daugherty investigation. Senator Wheeler having introduced a resolution asking for Attorney General Daugherty's resignation, the Attorney General asked for a hearing. Senator Wheeler then came back with a resolution demanding an investigation of the Department of Justice. He succeeded in having himself appointed to the committee of investigation and finally succeeded in forcing the resignation of the Attorney General. But the story of the proceedings is fresh in the minds of all, as is also the story of how the Department of Justice secured an in-

*Conference for Progressive Political Action.

(Continued on page 24)

"The Real Mrs. Catt"

By Mildred Adams



THROUGH all the discussion of the twelve greatest living women one name rode serene and undisturbed, appearing on almost every list, unquestioned and unchallenged. It was the name of Carrie Chapman Catt.

Known as "the brains of the suffrage movement," president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for thirteen years, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance from its foundation in 1902 until last year, when she became its honorary president, honorary and acting president of the Pan-American Association for the Advancement of Women, she is famous all over the world. She has spoken on every continent and in nearly every country, and women in far lands to whom American words are unknown in meaning and difficult in pronunciation can say proudly, "Mrs. Chapman Catt."

One can go on piling up her titles and honors till they reach the top of a mythical statistical tower, and still fail to know the real Mrs. Catt. The older generation of suffragists, working shoulder to shoulder with her, watched her develop through campaign after campaign. But to the thousands of women in the rank and file, and to the younger generation who have only to sit still and let Time bring them twenty-one years in one hand and the ballot in the other, she is a revered and heroic figure about whose head myths are beginning to gather.

If she thinks of herself at all—and there are those who doubt it—it is not in those terms, not as a "Lost Star of the Pleiades" (a term which was recently applied in deepest admiration) but as a busy woman who gets a lot of fun out of the thick of things.

She has been in the thick of the things of two generations. Carrie Lane was born in Ripon, Wisconsin, just before the outbreak of the Civil War. Her parents were of sturdy American stock with a love for farming, and while she was still a small girl they moved down into Iowa and settled on a farm. Here she grew up as a part of the busy country life, went to the district school, and graduated from the nearest high school when she was sixteen. Her father assumed that that was enough schooling for a girl, but young Carrie, leader of the then modern generation, made her own decisions. She fed her hungry mind in the Iowa State College at Ames, where she did four years' work in three,

and paid her tuition by working in the library. At graduation she again showed that she was the kind of girl that made the 1880's ask dolefully, "What is the world coming to?" She began the purely masculine study of law in a lawyer's office. At the end of a year Mason City asked her to become the principal of its high school, and later its superintendent of schools.

The year 1885 brought her two events which at the time could not have seemed comparable in importance. She heard Lucy Stone speak on suffrage, and she married Leo Chapman, a newspaper editor. The speech so impressed her



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Mrs. Catt in 1924

that she returned home to found a suffrage club which flourished until the ratification of the federal amendment made it unnecessary. Her marriage took her to San Francisco, where her husband's sudden death left her to make her own business way. The experiences which that crude and sometimes cruel young city forced on the attractive widow stirred her deeply. She decided to devote her life to making business and professional conditions more tolerable for women.

The evidences in her speeches of a remarkable mind, and the platform presence which made people ask, "Who is that beautiful and talented young woman?" attracted the attention of eastern suffragists. They invited her to make the first of many speeches which have stirred state conventions, and then enrolled her as a professional suffrage

organizer. Her first campaign was in South Dakota, among people who were too worn out with the struggle for food to waste any strength on such frivolities as a change in the social order. The experience changed her whole point of view. She decided that however much the right to suffrage was a matter of ethics, the winning of suffrage must be a matter of politics. Later campaigns vividly confirmed that conclusion.

In 1890 she married George Catt, a former classmate at Ames, who became a noted civil engineer. He was completely in sympathy with his wife's ideals, and, what is perhaps more remarkable, with the work she was doing to realize them. All his life he encouraged her spirit, contributed to her causes, and urged her to greater effort. They made a success of married life under conditions which might well have discouraged less devoted people, for his business frequently took him in one direction while she was traveling for suffrage in another.

For the next twenty years Carrie Chapman Catt traveled from state to state, making speeches, directing campaigns, gaining the experience with parties, politicians and voters which went to make her a great leader. The early suffragists were propagandists rather than systematic organizers. By the early nineties Susan B. Anthony, then president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, realized that a new age was demanding new methods. Casting about among the younger workers for signs of a leader's genius, she selected Mrs. Catt to be her companion on a prolonged speaking tour of the Southern states. At the same time the young suffragist was made chairman of an organization committee to formulate new plans and policies. The resulting work was so successful that when Miss Anthony retired in 1900 her inevitable successor was Mrs. Catt.

She served four years and retired to become the first president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which she had founded at Washington with five national branches. Now, that same alliance has thirty-eight member countries, of which twenty-six have given the franchise to women.

The death of her husband the next year left her alone, to work without his encouragement for the cause they both believed in. Despite that shock and the strain of uncertain health, she put through the formation of the Woman's Suffrage Party of New York City. The



At Thirty



At Five

This is the way Carrie Lane looked when she had earned her first penny by knowing the 2's in the multiplication table—the best in the class. At the right she is superintendent of schools at the graduation of her first class.



At Twenty-five

idea of organizing women on the lines of a political party, to work for enfranchisement, captivated the imagination of suffragists and the press the country over. Within two years the new organization had been generally adopted and the suffrage struggle had become not only a huge organized campaign but a laboratory for political education. Undoubtedly this one brilliant conception contributed more to the final victory in the United States than did any other single factor.

In 1910 her health, worn by night travel, constant speaking and the strain of a hard campaign, failed her so completely that after an almost fatal illness she was ordered to rest for two years.

The way in which she spent those years is characteristic of her inability to interpret rest as doing nothing. She set out on a trip around the world with Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the leader of the Dutch suffrage movement, to see what women were doing in other countries. The two women "rested" in a cholera epidemic in Palestine, where they were quarantined in uncomfortable native quarters. They "rested" making speeches, and listening to the grave and lengthy welcomes of native potentates and princes, visiting villages and traveling in primitive conveyances. They "rested" in a typhoon in the China Sea, lying in their berths and making a game of catching the loose possessions which rotated past them with the mad motion of the ship.

At the end of her "rest" Mrs. Catt returned to the United States and plunged back into suffrage work. It was an excited group of women who welcomed her. The New York state suffragists claimed her immediately as their leader, and she became chairman

of the Empire State Campaign Committee in 1914. Hardly were their plans formed and their state campaign under way when the National Association decided she was the only woman in the country who could plan and carry out a campaign which would result in the victory they all felt must be just over the horizon. New York state yielded her to the country's need, and in 1915 Mrs. Catt became president of the National Woman Suffrage Association for the second time. Five years later the United States granted suffrage to the women who had been waiting for it for sixty years.

The end of the federal campaign and the hard fight for ratification left her exhausted in mind, spirit and body. Not only was there the sense of great emptiness which inevitably follows the completion of a job which has occupied thirty busy years. She was worn and bruised by the strain of continuous work at highest speed, by the last-minute attacks, the futile lies and recriminations that burst in a final tirade on the weary heads of the leaders. She retired for two solid years of rest and relaxation.

And her retiring was as characteristic as her rest of ten years before. She went to her farm at Juniper Ledge, and took refuge in her jelly closet! Privileged folk who have seen it declare that it is the most successful jelly closet in

Considering the number of requests we have for "something about Mrs. Catt," we expect our readers' gratitude for this article. We ourselves are grateful to the League of Women Voters for their "Twelve Greatest" contests, which was used to secure Mrs. Catt's consent to appear in these pages.

existence, perfectly arranged, full of shining rows of jellies, jams and preserves that would make a county fair exhibit melt and run away with envy. Its building, and first filling with hundreds of jars of fruit, was her recreation in that single period of private life. The products she presented to her friends as Christmas presents.

Publicly her interests are now divided between Pan-American activities of women and international peace. The Pan-American League for the Advancement of Women was temporarily organized as an outcome of the 1922 Pan-American Conference of Women held in Baltimore. Part of 1922 and 1923 she devoted to traveling through South American countries in her capacity as acting president of the Pan-American League.

She is a born leader in appearance as well as in achievement. Her face is calm and composed, radiating a sort of benevolent spirituality that is impossible to define. Her brows are gable-pointed over keen blue eyes, whose depth of color is emphasized by the clothes she wears. An extraordinarily mobile mouth tells tales to people who know it well, in spite of its habitual firmness. It twists upward at the corners when something carries an amusing tang, holds a one-sided sweetness when she is being polite to casual strangers, as though half of it, and her, were unmoved and unconcerned. Its quirks are invariably upward; even sickness cannot make it droop. In some indefinable way, which cannot be attributed to eyes, or face, or any trick of manner, she exerts a personal magnetism whose attraction is very sure.

(Continued on page 28)

The Democratic Party

The Friend of Women

*This page is
supplied by the
Democratic
National
Committee*



THREE party platforms are offered to the voters at the election in November, and three candidates for the office of President of the United States stand pledged to carry out the principles therein. Women who expect to vote realize that they must be intelligent in their study of the platforms and of the men who stand behind them. The Democratic party questions, however, whether the majority of these voters take enough thought of a third consideration—whether the man who has been nominated belongs to a party that has both the *will* and the *way* to carry out his pledges.

The Democratic party as the party of new ideas and progressive legislation is more sympathetic by far with the ultra-liberals than with the lagging conservatives. Yet it calls attention to the fact that no third party at this time can claim to have the necessary machinery to effect desired ends in legislation. Third parties have arisen in the past, and have served to crystallize the attention of society toward some phases of industrial or social ills. So far as those ills have ever been corrected, however, it has been through a responsible majority in Congress, guided by a President who had the ability to lead his party. Leaving out past history, the Democratic party, during the administration of Woodrow Wilson, has to its credit a record of achievement that alone forcefully argues its right to a return to power and responsibility. It has pledged itself to catch step once more with the march of progress that began in the last Democratic administration (and was so abruptly halted when the Old Guard element of the Republican party came into power in 1921), and to go forward to still greater heights of achievement. The whole truth is—the Republican party *won't* do what the women want. The so-called Progressive party *can't* do what the women want—because it hasn't the machinery. If the women of the country want progressivism in government they must know that it is through the Democratic party alone that the reforms they long for can be won.

Women Want Conservation

The Democratic party believes that women will not be willing, as the present head of the country is willing, to wave aside with silent gestures the shocking revelations of the Senate investigations. They know that valuable natural resources, upon which the

nation must depend in time of peril, have been parceled out to Republican favorites. They will not forget that men in high authority in this administration were bribed to the everlasting shame of the nation.

What Mr. Davis would be expected to do in a like situation, contrasting sharply with the listless attitude of the present Executive, might easily be determined from an incident in his political career. As a young member of the Sixty-second Congress Mr. Davis undertook the prosecution of the impeachment proceedings against a then condemned Federal judge, who was charged with taking personal financial reward for the exercise of his official duties. His trial of this judge was conducted in a quick and effective fashion and the unfit judge was speedily removed.

Peace Program Desired

American women have not been satisfied with the foreign relations policy of the United States during the past three and one-half years. They see plainly that no thought-out plan, no program of action, no open-handed policy has been followed. Peace and international cooperation to prevent war are issues dear to women's hearts and everywhere they will read with interest the recent words of John W. Davis:

I want the government of these United States not to tiptoe behind closed doors, for fear the Senate may overhear it. I want it not to sit abroad with unofficial observers, peeping through every international keyhole. I want it not to absent itself from every council of the nations where the destinies of men are to be decided. I want the United States as a nation to stand as an equal among the nations of the world and do her full share to bring about for all mankind a full and lasting peace.

Democratic Tariff Doctrine

The candidate of the Democratic party has pointed out that there can be no reduction in the cost of living until the high protective Fordney-McCumber protective tariff of the Republicans has been removed from the statute books, and a fair tariff, such as the Underwood-Simmons Act of the Wilson administration, is substituted.

Women are the purchasing agents for all of the 25,000,000 families in the United States. It is estimated that the retail value of the commodities purchased by women every year is \$40,000,000—about \$1,600 to a family. Under the present Republican tariff there is a tax on nearly every article and commodity in common use in the American home. The aggregate of these Republican tariff taxes increases the expense of

every American home by at least \$125 a year. It is for women to demand and to secure an honest tariff revision.

Progressive Welfare Laws

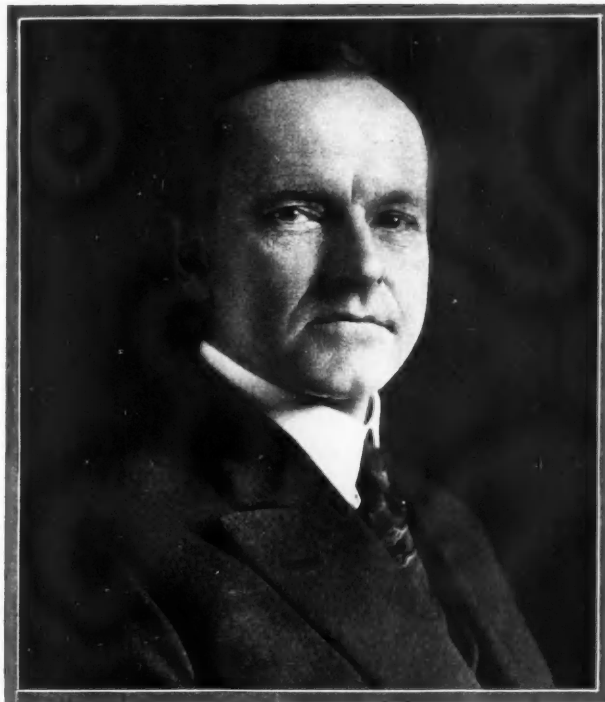
American women are mindful of the fact that they owe a debt of gratitude to the Democratic party for its ardent and persistent advocacy of all those welfare measures in which they are especially interested. Answering with action the agitation of this generation of women for these various laws, Woodrow Wilson through a Democratic Congress secured the enactment of the first two Child Labor Laws. Both laws, to be sure, were later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. But the movement thus begun resulted in the final passage by Congress of the Child Labor Amendment last June.

The principle of equal pay for women for equal work, an eight-hour day, the half holiday, the minimum wage, and laws governing the regulation of women in industry, were first recognized by the Democratic administration under Woodrow Wilson. The various bureaus created for the protection of women and children reached their highest efficiency under the great War President. As soon as the Republicans were put into power, appropriations for both the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau were cut to the bone with the result that many important plans for expansion had to be abandoned, further progressive legislation failed of enactment, and proper enforcement of the measures of relief already provided by law was not exacted. Mr. Davis has given his assurance that these important policies will be carried on to fuller efficiency.

The spoken words of Mr. Davis himself best sum up the reasons Democrats have in asking for votes:

We want, my friends, to offer to the American people, first of all, common justice. We want it in our legislation; and we declare that a tariff law which takes from one man in order to enrich another . . . is, in its nature, inherently unjust, and must be modified. We say that their system of tax reduction which favors those at the top as against those at the bottom is also inherently unjust, and cannot be ratified.

Then we want not only common justice, but we want to offer to the American people common honesty. And when I speak of common honesty, I do not mean only that we shall keep our fingers out of the public pocket. . . . I mean that we shall be fair with the American people; that we shall speak the truth as we see it, without fear, favor or affection; and that in administration of this government we will not only endeavor to select honest men for public office, but will take on ourselves the responsibility of seeing that they remain honest after their offices have been attained.



Wallinger.

A Tribute to the Women of America

From an address by President Calvin Coolidge before the Daughters of the American Revolution at Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C., April 14, 1924.



OOD citizenship is neither intricate nor involved. It is simple and direct. It is everyday common sense and justice.

"The determination of national policy that will be made in next November will turn quite as much upon the attitude of the women as upon the judgments of the men. So I come to you women—to say that your country wants not only your votes but your influence in all coming elections. By this I do not mean to appeal in behalf of any party. *I appeal in behalf of our common country.*

"Surely the womanhood of the nation, who go down into the valley of the shadow of death for their sons and daughters, cannot long neglect to participate in elections that they and their children may continue to have the advantages of a government that is clean and wise and sound.

"As it was the initiation of America which made manhood suffrage a modern ideal for the world, so we want now the initiation of America to make citizen suffrage a demonstrated success for the world.

"I have absolute confidence that if American womanhood will exercise the right of franchise after fair, considerate and mature deliberation, voting for what is right as their best judgment shows them the right, the right will mightily prevail."

This page is supplied by the Republican National Committee

Why Women Support the Progressive Ticket

By Mabel Cory Costigan

This page is supplied by the LaFollette-Wheeler Campaign Committee

Senator LaFollette's Record

OF course, we can count on Senator LaFollette! That is what public-spirited women have always said when legislation for fundamental popular government and for human welfare has been discussed in Washington. And well they may say, for

LaFollette has untiringly worked for *women's suffrage* and for all measures to insure the *welfare of women and children*.

LaFollette has always been the leader in the Senate in promoting *labor legislation*. He has supported every measure for the economic relief of the *farmer*.

LaFollette has consistently stood for *government by the people*. He has advocated the initiative, referendum and recall, the popular election of senators, the direct nomination and election of the President.

LaFollette has always fought against *monopoly control* of the necessities of life.

LaFollette's starting the oil investigation is only one evidence of a long record of struggle for *conservation and development of natural resources*.

LaFollette's record shows an uncompromising stand for strictest *law enforcement*.

LaFollette has fought for *tax reduction*, publicity of tax returns and has opposed *tariff duties* which foster monopoly.

LaFollette's *railroad policy*—reasonable returns to investors; reasonable rates for the public; no inflated valuations; with Government ownership and democratic operation, safeguarded against bureaucratic control, as the final solution.

LaFollette proposes to insure *peace* through international arbitration, reduction of armaments, abolition of conscription, referendum on war, and abandonment of imperialistic foreign policies.

LaFollette voted for

The Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution

The Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution

The Child Labor Amendment.

Robert M. LaFollette has more constructive legislation to his credit than any other living American statesman. For forty years he has devoted his life to the preservation of genuine democracy, and protection of the public from exploitation by predatory interests.

Justice and popular government have

had no more powerful and constructive advocate in our generation.

Senator Wheeler's Record

The Progressives are likewise proud of their nominee for Vice President, Senator Burton K. Wheeler was elected to the United States Senate in 1922 on the Democratic ticket, against the opposition of party bosses. As a new member Senator Wheeler forced the Senate to conform to rules which had been violated for generations, and to elect the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee. He was a leading advocate of relief for agriculture through the establishment of a government marketing corporation to eliminate speculation and profiteering. Senator Wheeler became famous as the successful prosecutor of Attorney General Daugherty before the special Senate Committee.

Women's Public Aims

This is a most important day for the recently enfranchised women of America. As yet untrammelled by party traditions; not yet bound to party regularity; placing principle above party, and ideals beyond compromise, women stand on the threshold of the national campaign of 1924 free to choose or to reject the party obligations which must be justified, if at all, by progressive public service. These women under the spur of such cherished public ideals have no desire to promote "more business in government." Instead their aims are less selfishness in business and more humanity in government.

The foremost interest of women everywhere is human welfare. Women have always ardently sought to protect children, ameliorate suffering, lift up the weak and bind and heal the wounds of war.

Palliatives, however, are not enough; the modern world demands prophylactic treatment. And at last women are coming to realize that in order to help humanity they must know and understand the economic causes and economic effects which will enable them to render serviceable aid in applying proper remedies for the age-old evils—poverty, sickness, monopoly, high living costs and war.

Governmental Failures

We see about us not only a war-weary world, but also a nation many of whose citizens are financially distressed, without opportunity and hopeless. We have learned by ample experience that we cannot trust the leadership of old-line politicians—the control of govern-

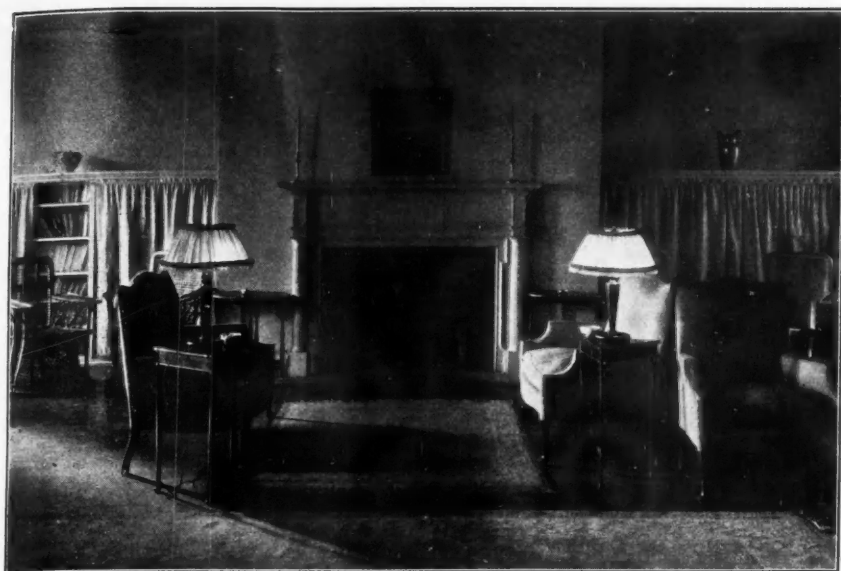
ment which withholds aid from the nation's farmers, who, with fields yielding plentiful harvests, while people in Europe starve for bread, are yet obliged to mortgage their farms because they cannot sell their wheat and other crops at paying prices; the heedless policy which allows the normal law of supply and demand to be so manipulated that with plentiful building materials at hand, when people most need houses supplies are curtailed and mills shut down. What claim may be made to statesmanship for those who hurry to make free gifts to private interests of the great remaining coal, oil and water-power sites of the nation; for those who refuse to stretch out a helping hand to other countries, unable to see that in helping them we help ourselves; for those who refuse to substitute law for war when the precious blood of innocent sons of anguished mothers of every nation in every land is crying upward from the ground for permanent peace!

Appeal to Progressives of All Parties

It is tragically true that there are in each party sincere, progressive men and women who strive to make their party right, but who, when the party goes wrong, still announce their determination or willingness to "support the ticket." They go forth cheerfully to campaign against fine, progressive candidates on other tickets, all in the name of partisanship and party solidarity.

We appeal today for united action to this group of progressive men and women within all parties. In addition, we look with particular confidence to the large and growing groups of people in the United States who, as yet, belong to no party, but are convinced that in neither of the major political parties will they find the social and economic program which will protect the rights not only of capital and labor but also of unrepresented consumers, the average men and women of the republic. These are the forces of citizenship which welcome the LaFollette-Wheeler Progressive Party.

It is an association of free men and women, Progressive Republicans, Independent Democrats, Socialists not bound by party traditions, Independents wearing no party labels of any kind, patriotic citizens loving their country and its people so well that they are willing to ignore their differences, and meet on common ground to rescue the Government from special privilege profiteers and to restore it to its source of power, the people.



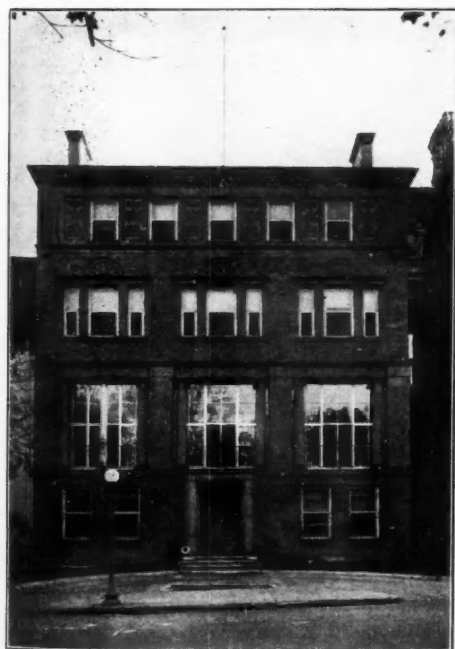
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The National Club of University Women

NO national clubhouse of women's organizations has a longer international reach than that of the American Association of University Women. College and university women not only from all over the United States but from all over the world may foregather here at 1634 Eye Street, Washington, D. C. Behind the front door of that attractive building in the lower left-hand corner of the page are the executive offices of the Association and the National Club itself, and the American headquarters of the International Federation of University Women as well. The building has had a past. Once it housed the Russian Embassy and, later, the Men's City Club. Its rooms are spacious and comfortable—the lounge above, for instance, and the writing room in the center. Many of the rooms have been furnished by the alumnae of various colleges.



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© National Photo

In the right-hand corner is Mrs. F. G. Wilkins, chairman of the Club Committee, who has the responsibility of running the club. The guest list is a roster of the great, and the club has been the meeting place of notable women from everywhere. As this is written, many Association women are on the way back from the meeting of the International Federation of University Women in Norway. One of them, Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College, has just been made its president.



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Mrs. Wilkins

Portias Undisguised

By Zora Putnam Wilkins

Author of "Letters From a Business Woman to Her Daughter"

SHOULD women become lawyers? Surely it is too late to ask that question today, when there are more than one thousand seven hundred women lawyers in the United States; when they have their own law associations, as well as belonging to those of the men, and when, besides being admitted to the men's law schools, they have in one instance a law school of their own.

From 208 women lawyers, judges and justices in the United States in 1890, the number had grown in 1910 to 558, and by the time the 1920 census was taken to 1,738. About five hundred of these are in the two states of New York and Massachusetts. There is a Women

Bitter practical experiences have taught many a woman the need of legal knowledge. Legatees of large estates, involved in litigation, have found themselves with only the vaguest ideas how to take possession of, protect and manage their inheritance. The increasing complications of inheritance taxes and income taxes make it desirable for women property owners to understand what is required of them. The organization of modern business has spun a whole network of commercial law which the business woman can ill afford to ignore. Courses in commercial law are offered more and more not only in institutions of college rank, but in all the better high schools. This makes a familiarity with its fundamentals desirable not only for business women but for teachers as well.

Decisions bearing on the relations of employer and employee are gradually building up a code of industrial common law. With this the woman factory owner, the employment manager, the industrial nurse will wish to acquaint herself. Social service is a field which

ner, men usually admit that this is the main basis for their opposition," said the Dean of the Portia Law School with a quizzical smile, when he was asked to explain the attitude still sometimes encountered.

One nationally known law firm a few years ago employed a woman lawyer and entrusted to her the preparation of many important cases. But when they came to trial, the actual pleading was handed over to some young fellow whom she had to instruct and reinstruct before he appeared to represent the firm in court. Naturally he obtained whatever public credit was connected with the successful issue. After some time she called for a showdown. Was she never to plead the cases she prepared? A few days' dignified con-



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Flora Warren Seymour

Lawyers' Association with members from thirty-eight states of the Union as well as from Porto Rico, Canada, Australia, France, Italy and Turkey. Women have penetrated to every branch of the legal profession, are presiding on the bench in many cities, one is a state Supreme Court justice, and one is even Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

But why do women study law? Is it only that they are in frantic haste to push their way into all the fields from which they were once jealously excluded? Or are there special reasons?

In fact, there is an abundance of reasons why women should familiarize themselves with the law of the land, even if they do not intend to practice in the courts. Changes in their political and economic status within the past few decades have made it much more essential that they be fully cognizant of their rights and duties. Today women, married and unmarried, have on the whole the same rights and liabilities as men.



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Mabel Walker Willebrandt

has attracted a multitude of women, both as an avocation and as a profession. There a knowledge of law is of incalculable value.

For the pioneers the way was not easy. Just as in every other profession and business new to women, barriers of prejudice had to be surmounted. Even today these have not been entirely broken down. "Women never have practiced law; therefore they never should practice law. Driven into a cor-



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Rose Falls Bres

sideration; then the answer came: "It will not be the policy of ———, ——— and ——— to be represented in court by a woman." She saw that her future was not there, but in her own hands. She opened an office for herself, and at present has a practice which might be envied by many a man in the legal profession.

Yet the old handicaps are fast being removed. While in some instances the clients still cling to the superstition that "a man must be better," in legal circles the women are almost universally received as equals. Miss Harriet Weiler, secretary of the Massachusetts Women Lawyers' Association, replied to a question on this point: "The men urge us to join their associations, and show no discrimination whatever." Women were admitted to the American Bar Association six years ago.

The present situation is probably correctly summarized by the *Women Lawyers' Journal*, which says:

Women practicing law in the courts of New York City, Boston, Chicago or San Francisco are many, and because of their number and being seen day after day in the usual routine, they have come to be recognized rather generally outside as well as within court circles, but in smaller circles, and especially in Southern states, where a woman lawyer is still unusual, the public is not so well acquainted with the fact that being a woman is no bar to being a good lawyer.

Where there are only a few women at the bar of a small city they are in demand on special occasions in clubs to speak and once in a while they may be called upon by local papers to give a strictly feminine view of a legal subject, but they fight up hill and against heavy odds for clients and for fees from clients who do come to them.

It is only a little over half a century since the first woman in America was admitted to the bar. In 1869 Myra Bradwell passed the Illinois bar examinations and qualified for legal practice in that state. It was 1882 before a woman entered the legal profession in Massachusetts. When Leila Robinson applied to take the bar examinations in 1881 a test case before the Supreme Court resulted in the decision that the law did not permit women to practice. The following year a special act of the Legislature was passed which corrected this discrimination and allowed women to be admitted to the bar.

Today women are eligible to become lawyers in every state of the Union. Virginia was the last state to pass the necessary legislation. There was some question what the situation was in Delaware, where it happens that no woman ever has been admitted to the bar. In answer to a question put in 1921, however, the attorney general of the state went on record with the opinion that there is nothing to shut out women. The law says "persons," and the attorney general was willing to be quoted as recognizing women as "persons."

The prevalence of coeducation in the colleges of the West made women's access to legal studies there easy from the first. In the East the way was for some time more difficult. To be sure, even in the old centers of education there were some institutions where women had equal rights with men. Boston University, founded in 1876, has always taken pride in the fact that women have never been excluded from any of its departments. Harvard and Columbia still jealously keep their law schools for men. New York University is open to women. And in Virginia, the latest of the states to legalize women lawyers, women may obtain their legal education at the University of Virginia or at the Law School of Richmond University. Indeed, in practically all states there are at present adequate opportunities for women to qualify as lawyers.

One of the most interesting developments is the Washington College of Law, founded by Ellen Spencer Mussey in Washington, D. C., in 1896, primarily for the legal education of wom-

en, though men are not excluded. In the last graduating class the men and women students were about half and half. Mrs. Mussey had studied law in her husband's office, but she was refused admission to law schools; she founded the school because she knew the need.



Emma F. Scofield

The Portia Law School, established and maintained exclusively for women, was founded in Boston sixteen years ago. It has nearly 150 graduates and a long list of special students. Starting in 1908



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Harriet Weiler

with two students and its present dean, Arthur B. MacLean, as instructor, it now has a teaching staff of twenty persons and an enrollment of over three hundred women students. This institu-



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Anna Moskowitz Kross

tion has the distinction of being the only law school exclusively for women in the United States, and probably in the world.

But what is to become of all these budding Portias who issue from the gates of the law schools? Are the courts to be packed with women lawyers?

Will the mirror and the powder puff supersede the legal cuspidors?

To suppose that every woman who passes the bar examinations will become a trial lawyer is to misapprehend the conditions prevailing today for men lawyers as well as women. Among a hundred men in the legal profession hardly half a dozen will stand out as recognized trial lawyers. To the few brilliant ones court appearances bring publicity and reputation, and sometimes money as well. But the overcrowded dockets in such states as New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts make court work time-wasting and costly. A lawyer with a general practice, to watch his case properly, must spend much time for which he cannot possibly charge his client. These disadvantages and others are still more applicable to criminal law. Hence the lawyers in the larger cities avoid these branches of legal work. A legal practice directed toward keeping the clients out of court pays better and makes fewer demands.

It is not surprising, then, that women as well as men are turning to the more rewarding branches of the profession. In fact, especially in New York, specialization has become more and more the rule. Under these conditions women have established themselves in lines of work where they prosper equally with the men and indeed in some cases have a decided advantage over them just because of their sex.

The handling of divorce cases may be cited as an example. A very large proportion of the applications for divorces is made by women. The evidence needed to win these cases is usually of a character which the plaintiffs naturally dislike to reveal to anyone. Too often they are inclined to tell only part of the facts, perhaps withholding just what would be decisive. Experience has shown that a woman lawyer talking with a woman can find out more in fifteen minutes than a man could in two hours, more perhaps than a man could ever find out.

But here again the tact and understanding of women lawyers make them extremely well adapted for what might be called the social hygiene of law as opposed to legal surgery. Through their efforts many divorces are prevented and the break-up of homes, which so often entails undeserved suffering to the children, is prevented. A notable example of success in this work is Judge Jean Hortense Norris in New York City. Appointed City Magistrate in 1920, she divides her time between the Domestic Relations Court and the Woman's Court. "The Domestic Relations Court," Judge Norris says, "is not unlike a drydock. Here the wrecks of marriage, the derelicts of divided homes, come creeping in. It is our task to reconstruct and rehabilitate—to fit the

(Continued on page 25)

Editorially Speaking

The Campaign Pages—10, 11, 12

IN presenting the three official pages from the three leading committees in the campaign for President of the United States the WOMAN CITIZEN believes that it is doing a public service. These pages have been filled by the national Executive Committees with no editing on the part of the CITIZEN. While the plan to carry the official word of the leading parties under the cover of one magazine has been discussed for some time past these pages were filled in response to a telegraphic request which gave the Committees very short notice.

The WOMAN CITIZEN stands for the widest possible knowledge on campaign issues. It believes that American women wish to hear all sides of important public questions. It advocates a fair field for all candidates. It believes that an open-minded study of the issues as presented by the leading candidates will make for a more thoughtful and intelligent judgment at the polls on election day. The CITIZEN hopes that similar pages will appear in following issues.



"Ma Ferguson"

WHAT a splendid slogan "Me for Ma" would have been for a woman suffrage campaign! And what a good one "No Ma for Me" would have made for the antis! The first has been the war cry of Mrs. Ferguson for Governor of Texas in the Democratic primary, the second that of the opponents. A wise man from Mars would be justified in supposing that Texas was contesting a question of women's rights or privileges. Not so.

A careful search among the queer happenings of American politics for an odd case would reveal nothing half as strange as the turn of things in Texas.

It was the year 1916. The Democratic cohorts were met in St. Louis to nominate a president. The suffragists were there under yellow umbrellas lining the street from the Jefferson Hotel to the Convention Hall, lest the delegates forget that the crisis of the suffrage movement had come. The Resolutions Committee sat up a night or so spending some foolish wrangling hours over the suffrage plank. The bedraggled committee were at last ready to report, but a minority report was also announced. The Governor of Texas was to sponsor it. His name was Ferguson. He made an immortal speech. Abridged, it was this:

He opposed the proposed favorable plank, because God had determined the place in the world for women, and that was in the home, far removed from the limelight of politics. God had made women for obedience to men and men to take care of politics. The Bible opposed woman suffrage, and he stood by God and the Bible.

Eight years have passed. Governor Ferguson was, meanwhile, nearly impeached on nine counts by the Legislature, the charge being the misappropriation of funds; that is, the process of impeachment was all complete except the final pronouncement. At that point, between the end of the trial and the pronouncement of guilty, Mr. Ferguson resigned, and there was no Governor. He never recovered from political ambition, however, and still wants to be Governor.

Meanwhile, the Klan had been organized and had taken a stand for prohibition and, consequently, against Mr. Ferguson, who was the friend of all things wet. The Klan beat the ex-Governor at the polls two years ago, and this year he again proposed to be a candidate and win vindication, but

the courts gave the opinion that he was not eligible owing to his near impeachment. So, from the screened silences of his home, he ruthlessly yanked forth his wife—Ma Ferguson, she is called—and, contrary to God and the Bible, set her up as a candidate for Governor. She remained, for the most part, in the place to which God, her husband and her own inclinations had assigned her, while the impeached ex-Governor careened over the state, campaigning. He had been the recognized friend of the brewers in a long series of political struggles that outdistanced any in the entire country for intensity, vilification and alleged dishonesty. The wet forces, therefore, came out for "Ma" because they have followed her liege lord through whisky, beer and bootleg mixture to the present. All the male anti-suffragists in Texas have been out on the stump for that "godly, home-loving woman, Ma Ferguson."

As events shaped themselves politically, the Klan continued the chief Ferguson opponent. Those who were neither wet nor Klan had no other choice than a vote for one of them. So bitter has been the fight that the wets became eloquent defenders of religious liberty and the Klan laid aside the slogan "Jew, jug and Jesuit" and begged Jews and Jesuits to join in the war against the jug.

Out of this amazing muddle, in which an untrained woman is nominated for Governor by anti-suffragists and wets on a professed issue of religious liberty, one fact looms up clear and strong: God and the Bible were opposed to woman suffrage when the wets were united in the belief that women would mainly vote dry, but now that a woman has been found who can assist in serving in the cause of the wets, God and the Bible have removed their limitation on women's wits. Man, it is said, is a reasoning animal.

A Democratic nomination has hitherto equaled an election. The Republican candidate is said to have withdrawn in Mrs. Ferguson's favor. It is, therefore, expected that Mrs. Ferguson is, at this moment, as good as elected Governor. She may surprise Texas as much as Texas has surprised the country, for it now develops that during the period that she was the mistress of the Governor's household in Austin she never served liquor upon her table, and in the interview which immediately followed her election she is reported to have said:

All I have to say about prohibition is that it is settled. It's the law, so why discuss it? However, I will tell you that I will veto any liquor bills that come before me as Governor. . . . I know that I will be personally responsible for my official acts, and I shall accept that responsibility. . . . In reference to the administration of fiscal affairs of the Government, reduction of taxes, management of the penitentiary and other business of the state, I feel sure that Mr. Ferguson's judgment is better than mine.

But with reference to matters affecting education and social affairs, and particularly the interests of the home, the women and children, the efficient enforcement of the laws and maintenance of peace and order, I feel that my judgment is as good and in many respects better than that of my husband, and with reference to such matters I shall be guided by my own judgment in the light of such knowledge of conditions as I shall be able to acquire.

Perhaps, after all, Texas has immortalized herself.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



THE CITIZEN offers cordial good wishes to Mrs. Ferguson, destined, apparently, to be the first woman governor in the United States. We are, of course, heartily enthusiastic about the election of women to public office. Not just women as women, regardless of qualifications. We believe in the best person, man or woman, in every office. But that reservation leaves plenty of room to shout for more and more women in high elective positions.

To Convene or Not to Convene

MUCH interest has been aroused among club women by the criticisms of their conventions and the suggestion that the money and time would better be spent in furthering the work of the clubs. A CITIZEN correspondent—who forgot to give her name—makes a plea that convention programs, instead of being given over to speeches by experts, should be made up largely of discussions, questions and answers, and experiences by the delegates themselves.

She writes that she has made a point of finding out how the average woman reacts to the usual convention and finds that her capacity to assimilate lectures is overtaxed, that when she takes part in a discussion and hears the experiences of other women she has something more definite to take home. She makes the further very practical suggestion that such sessions should not be left to chance but be carefully planned beforehand with leaders, and certain methods and suggestions "planted" in the audience. We quite agree with this viewpoint; indeed, the most successful conventions we have seen have been worked out after this plan.



Common Sense About Child Labor

REPUBLICANS and Democrats united to pass the National Child Labor Amendment through Congress; but women should not therefore suppose that it will be ratified without a struggle, or without the need of active work. As Mrs. Catt has pointed out, both the great parties were asked to recommend its *ratification*, in their national platforms, and both failed to do so.

The ratification of the amendment has to contend not only with a sincere though antiquated states' rights sentiment, but with the much more formidable opposition of organized greed. This takes every possible disguise, and appeals to every kind of prejudice. The most fantastic objections are urged, both in letters to the daily press and in special literature. A favorite argument is that if Congress is allowed to "limit, regulate and prohibit" child labor, it might go to a ridiculous extreme in doing so.

The *Farmers' Protective League* of North Carolina (one of the principal child labor states) has just sent out, under the heading, "Justly Called Unadulterated Bolshevism," an article by a bishop, protesting against the amendment, and saying that Congress could make it illegal for a mother to let her daughter under eighteen wash the dishes. The bishop probably favors a national marriage and divorce law; yet if Congress were empowered to make one it could give every married partner the right to divorce the other at pleasure, at a moment's notice. The bishop would probably say that such an objection to a uniform marriage and divorce law would be silly; that every state legislature already has the right to pass a law providing for immediate divorce at the pleasure of either party, but no state legislature has done so; and that if no state has done it individually, the representatives of all the states, assembled in Congress, would be very unlikely to do it collectively.

Every state legislature now has the power to limit, regulate and prohibit child labor, and most of the states have already passed child labor laws; but none of them has gone to any such absurd extreme as to forbid a son or daughter under eighteen to help do chores about the farm. It is fantastic to suppose that all the states would do it collectively.

Every national legislature in the world has the power to regulate and prohibit child labor, except the Congress of the United States, which is debarred from doing so by the United States Supreme Court, upon a legal technicality. No national legislature in the world has framed so preposterous a child labor law as the opponents of the amendment profess to fear. Is there any reason to suppose that our Congress has less sense than other national assemblies?

In view of the enormous influence exercised by business interests over national legislation, there is more reason to fear that the national child labor law, when we can get one, will be too mild than that it will be too sweeping and drastic.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.



Get Out the Vote

THE campaign to get out the vote started by the National League of Women Voters has spread to many other organizations and shows signs of being a really nationwide effort. An objection has been raised that deserves attention: it is the danger of stimulating a vote that may not be based on understanding of the issues involved. More—a writer in the Connecticut League of Women Voters Bulletin asks what difference it would make if the non-voters should vote, when—as in so many elections—there is no sharp line-up of issues. This writer thinks people will vote when there is really something at stake.

Of both these points of view leaders in the campaign have taken account. The idea is to associate with the duty to vote, the allied duty to find out what is involved. Certainly the League has stressed this dual duty in a score of ways. But even if zeal outruns wisdom, and some voters—more voters—are urged to the polls who know little about the case or the candidates, there is a chance that the mere exercise of the franchise may stimulate them to new interest.

That people will be more likely to vote when there is something vital to vote about may be admitted—an incentive to help make platforms real expressions of real issues. Many feel that they have something real to vote about this year. If all who do, make good by voting; and all who can find at least enough difference to justify a choice, do likewise; and all who are willing to try out the voting booth as a bit of education follow suit, the totals will tell a better story of majority rule this fall. We believe you can safely risk a bit of missionary work along this line, and call your attention to page 31.



Who Are Your Peers?

A SHORT story by Edith R. Mirrieles in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August makes a very prickly point. It is the story of a retired professor of history in a select suburb, who is suddenly accused of murder. Though the evidence is against him, he is not in the least disturbed: he is innocent, he has lived honorably in this town for years, he has complete confidence that no one of the town officials concerned would take the charges seriously and that a jury of his peers, if it came to the worst, would laugh at them. Then his lawyer brother bursts the bubble; he discovers, with a few questions, that the professor doesn't know, and didn't help choose, any town officials. "If you think the cheapest skate there is likes being elected and run by the scum of a town"—says the lawyer. He searches into this jury of his brother's peers idea. The two run down the telephone directory for a guess at the men they might draw. One by one the names of the professor's close acquaintances are checked out—teachers and doctors, like himself—exempt. The names they get are those of an odd-jobs man, a garbage collector, a driver—all likely to be indifferent to the professor, "one of the little high-and-mighties from West Brookins."

The professor gets the point. "All my life I've prided myself on being a good citizen. I haven't been," and reading the ancient passage that provided for trial by his peers, he ejaculates: "My peers! My superiors! The men I've left alone at Runnymede!" The situation is potentially repeatable—almost anywhere. The thought of what might happen to you if you, innocent, were charged with murder, may not be the best incentive to good citizenship; but even that would be good as a starter.

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Studying the Tariff

IT is hard for some who look upon the tariff question as a decidedly "stupid" technical proposition to believe that women voters are actually interested in its intricate workings. Even advanced students admit it is an involved subject, but the National League finds it holds no terrors for politically minded women who are determined to know more about campaign issues than the personality of candidates.

On the heels of the recommendation by the National League for the study of the tariff, adopted by the convention this spring in Buffalo, comes word from Asheville, North Carolina, of the extraordinary interest displayed in a lecture on the tariff given by Mrs. Harris T. Baldwin, national living costs chairman. Mrs. Baldwin gave four lectures at the citizenship school conducted by the North Carolina League in co-operation with the Asheville Normal School's summer sessions. Of all her lectures, dealing with home economics, co-operative societies and the work of the Federal Trade Commission, the lecture on the tariff proved to be most popular.

An observer at the morning hour devoted to the tariff writes that Mrs. Baldwin's presentation of the subject and the ready response from her audience were "inspiring." As Mrs. Baldwin traced the political aspects of the tariff, its relation to each home-maker, and detailed the features of the tariff bills since the McKinley administration, there was evidence of intense interest. Then came questions. Women from the farm and the city joined in an eagerness to know all about the tariff. They wanted to know about the sugar tariff, and how it affects the ever-changing price of sugar, and they showed deep interest in the duty on bread-knives. They had always known about the duty on Paris gowns—even if they had not had the pleasure of paying it—but to them bread-knives were in quite a different category.

Questions did not come from the women entirely, for one professor in the summer school thought the lecture so important that he sent his whole class to hear Mrs. Baldwin's discussion. The students asked many questions, but "it was the women from the home" whose inquiries had "real meat" in them, the observer says.

A Tour in the Middle West

WHEN Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, second vice-president, returned last month from a trip to four Middle Western states in behalf of the League's get-out-the-vote campaign she said she felt very much like a traveling salesman who had the job of selling something and at the same time could learn something about his country, and even "size up" the political situation! But, while Mrs. Cunningham enjoyed

visiting new territory and observing politics, like every worthwhile salesman or saleswoman, she had something good to sell. She had the job of selling the idea of voting this fall—certainly something which should not require selling to good American citizens.

She found her proposition a salable one! In Arkansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and Iowa Mrs. Cunningham conferred with leaders, addressed meetings, was the honor guest at several luncheons and, in all, started the ball a-rolling for a big drive for a seventy-five per cent vote this November. She brought back to Washington headquarters glowing accounts of the interest in the League's campaign, a campaign which had its inauguration by the National League 'way back in 1922. She found Leagues everywhere working for a real drive, and, what was most encouraging, a ready response from many organizations invited to co-operate.

Her first visit was in Little Rock, Arkansas, where she helped organize a state-wide get-out-the-vote committee, in which many state organizations are members. She found great enthusiasm displayed there, so much so that the original room for the conference was not large enough to hold all those desiring to attend, and adjournment was taken to larger quarters. Among those active in the conference were Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Mrs. Frank W. Gibb and Miss Erle Chambers, a member of the Arkansas state legislature. Mrs. Cunningham took occasion to pay tribute to the work for ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, which resulted in Arkansas being the first state to approve of the Amendment.

The next stop on Mrs. Cunningham's itinerary was St. Louis. There she spoke at two luncheons, pointing out the dangers of a minority rule in this country, and announcing that where primaries had been held this year increased voting percentages ranging from thirty to fifty per cent were shown. The first luncheon was given by the St. Louis League and was attended by two hundred women. In addition to Mrs. Cunningham and Mrs. H. H. Muchall, president of the Missouri League, the guests of honor were primary candidates. Mrs. Laura S. Edwards, Republican vice-president of the St. Louis League, presided.

League members were especially gratified to hear Representative Cleveland A. Newton, Republican, from the tenth Missouri district, declare that there is an important place in the political scheme for an all-partisan League.

"We are working for the betterment of our country," Mr. Newton said. "If we are patriotic citizens, we put our country before our party, and the individual who places his party before his country is not a very good citizen."

An informal discussion of state and local problems in the get-out-the-vote campaign featured the second luncheon attended by Mrs. Cunningham in St. Louis. It was under the direction of the county League, of which Miss Eleanor Dietrich is chairman. Mrs. Muchall presided and Mrs. Cunningham said it was one of the best round-table discussions she had attended in some time.

Kansas City was the next city to receive a visit from the director of the campaign. Mrs. Cunningham was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by the Jackson County (Missouri) League and the Jefferson Democratic Club. In addition to "more talk" on the get-out-the-vote campaign Mrs. Cunningham especially touched upon the League's work with the political parties. Mrs. A. Ross Hill, president of the Democratic Club, presided and short talks on the part women can play in the game of getting out the vote were given by Mrs. H. B. Leavens, president of the Jackson County League, and Mrs. Henry N. Ess.

Five thousand persons heard Mrs. Cunningham give an address on "Christian Citizenship" before the Epworth League Assembly in Lincoln, Nebraska. Mrs. W. Leroy Davis, president of the Nebraska League, introduced her. Mrs. Cunningham said she was especially pleased with the candidates' meetings, which were conducted by the Nebraska League at the close of each afternoon session of the Assembly. The Assembly delegates evinced marked interest in the League's citizenship work.

The following day was devoted to an all-day get-out-the-vote conference in Lincoln, which was attended by League women from various parts of the state. An organization was perfected for an intensive campaign, flying squadrons will cover the state, and district chairmen have accepted the responsibility of the campaign in their respective districts. Miss Ruth McIntosh, secretary of the sixth region, who has been in Nebraska for six weeks, attended the conference.

In Des Moines, the final stop, Mrs. Cunningham talked on the League's campaign at a luncheon arranged by the Iowa League, with Miss Anna M. Drake, president, presiding. The luncheon was followed by a conference on how Iowa could get more voters to the polls. A special committee was formed. Mrs. Max Mayer, executive secretary of the Iowa League, Miss Bonnie Marshall and Mrs. L. M. Launspach are among the leaders in the campaign work.

Just as the salesman brings back political observations to the "folks back home," Mrs. Cunningham brought back these few interesting bits about politics:

"The Middle West is a hot-bed of politics. Never in the history of this country has there been shown such evidence of keen interest in political affairs as is being shown now in the land west of the Mississippi. Voters are apparently preparing to follow the 'Moses' who shows the way to better economic conditions. It is anyone's election there today. It is interesting to find that everywhere the 'new spirit of independence' is coming to the surface. Old party machines are being defied and the frowns of party bosses, which used to make candidates tremble, are now the subject of public ridicule. It is a healthy indication to find so much interest. It promises well for better government. Women, especially, are showing signs of marked independence. They are studying political machines, party platforms and records of candidates. They do not intend to go blindly to the polls this year. It augurs well for the League's campaign for a seventy-five per cent vote."

League Publications

ONE of two recent publications issued by the National League, which have been in much demand throughout the summer, is a product of the Department of Efficiency in Government, the Department which is always known as Miss Sherwin's "own." The leaflet presents a concise explanation of the ten points in the 1924-1925 adopted program of the Department. It contains a vast amount of instructive material about the five topics recommended for study and the five specified for legislation, but the short preface to the discussion of the subjects stands out as especially important and, in the more popular vernacular, "hits the nail on the head." It follows:

"The League of Women Voters understands efficient government to be a representative, responsible and responsive government; capable of defeating the power of privileged interests and of political machines; capable of rendering, with the least waste and lowest cost, services adapted to the needs of life of all the people.

"The realization of efficient government depends upon the adaptation of statutes, charters and constitutions to the facts of life, government and politics; upon the nomination, election and appointment of responsible officials; upon the acceptance by citizens of participation in government as a public trust."

Subjects listed for study include the presidential primary, national, state and local legislative bodies, the manager plan for local government, the simplification of state administra-

tion, and county administration. Important points to be considered in the study of these topics are set forth in the leaflet. Recommendations for legislation are explained under five headings: a shorter ballot, the direct primary, the merit system in civil service, the budget system, and District of Columbia suffrage. It was at the last annual convention in Buffalo that the League voted to add "District of Columbia suffrage" to the Department's legislative program.

"The keynote of this program is study and visiting," is the way in which Mrs. Ann Webster, national social hygiene chairman, sums up her explanation of the 1924-1925 adopted program of the social hygiene committee, as found in the League's latest publication.

The explanatory foreword is concisely and distinctly expressed:

"This is a program of doing. It is not an entertainment. No one can come and lecture to you and present the facts with anything like the clearness with which you can find them for yourself. The facts are there, at hand, in your own community, and all that you have to do is to look for them. The committee's publications show the way.

"There are three reasons why women as voters are interested in social hygiene. First, because women are held responsible for sex offenses. Second, because women are likely to be the innocent victims of infection. Third, because women as voters can bring about a different order of things.

"The keynote of this program is study and visiting. First, familiarize yourself with the laws, digests of which have been prepared for you, and then visit and visit again. Know conditions, know your authority, and then demand your standards."

Seven subjects of social hygiene interest, which have been recommended for study, and which are ably discussed in the pamphlet, are: criminal court procedure; board of health procedure; training in social hygiene for teachers; provisions the community has made for recreation; provisions for preventing juvenile delinquency; probation systems and penal institutions; the problem of the sterilization of the unfit.

A Political Institute

FIFTY-FIVE women registered for the full course of the institute of government and politics, held under the direction of the Department of Efficiency in Government and the Fourth Region of the National League in co-operation with the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor July 21-26. Nine other women registered for half of the course and over one hundred persons attended the various sessions.

Forty-four of the full-course registrants were from Michigan, two from Indiana, one from West Virginia, seven from Illinois and one from Missouri. Four of the seven states in the region were represented, Missouri not being included in the Fourth Region. Each state of the Region having members present was, at some time during the institute, represented on the program by one of its members acting as the presiding chairman of the session.

From the opening of registration on Monday to the close of the institute those present felt that they were the guests of the Ann Arbor League and its president, Mrs. George W. Patterson, and of the Michigan State League and its president, Mrs. Craig Miller, of Marshall. Under the direction of Mrs. Louis Warfield, members of the Ann Arbor League assisted in all the work of registration. Due to the efforts of Dean Edward Kraus, director of the summer session at the University, the sessions of the institute were held in the auditorium of the new University High School.

Eighty-five women attended the opening luncheon held at the University of Michigan Union. On this occasion Dean Edward Kraus represented the University in welcoming the institute and Mrs. Craig Miller and Mrs. George Patterson welcomed it for the state and local Leagues. Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse gave the official address for the Fourth Region, of which she is secretary.

The program of the institute, prepared under the direction of Miss Helen M. Rocca, of the Department of Efficiency in Government, was opened by Professor Thomas Reed and Professor Arthur Wood, of the University. Throughout the institute the subjects of political parties and nominating methods were handled by Professor Reed and that of legislation and social progress by Professor Wood. The program gave considerable space to state government and this, with county administration, was presented by Chester Rightor and A. H. Place, of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. Mrs. Miller, president of the Michigan League, considered this a most fortunate program for Michigan, as the state is holding a constitutional convention in 1926. Mrs. Miller said, "This institute will be of the greatest value in preparing the women of the state to participate in a state-wide conference that will be held to discuss the complexity of our state government and prepare for a new constitution."

Much of the value of the institute, aside from the full and rich program, lay in the informal gatherings that took place every day. The informal reception at Mrs. Patterson's home was a rare treat to the visiting women, its beautiful location giving an especially fine view of Ann Arbor and its environs. The Michigan Council dinner, under the direction of Mrs. Miller, gave an opportunity to gain a close understanding of Michigan League problems. The local presidents' dinner was attended by forty-two. Many participated in the after-dinner discussion. In many cases they spoke of the inspiration of the institute, and what an incentive it presented for more intensive citizenship work. Mrs. N. R. Melhuish, president of the Saginaw League, will prepare for a citizenship school in her home community. Mrs. E. W. Fickes, president of the Ohio County League of West Virginia, announced that she was taking home from the institute a large program to carry out, including a citizenship school, suggestions for social legislation and new material on county administration. Mrs. A. C. Clauser, chairman of the ninth district of Indiana, has in mind a citizenship school and believes that she has secured much material to aid in her work as district chairman. Miss Helen Hand, executive secretary of Indiana, is planning an extended and comprehensive series of citizenship schools. Mrs. A. P. Pepper, of Detroit, chairman of efficiency in government for Michigan, believes one great value of the institute was the study of state government, and the consequent help the women will be in shaping the new state constitution. Mrs. Helen Davis, of Saginaw, state chairman of organization for Michigan, and Mrs. Florence Robnett, vice-chairman of citizenship training from Illinois, gave a most careful discussion of the get-out-the-vote plans in their states. This dinner was also the occasion for celebrating the sixty-ninth birthday of Mrs. C. I. Kleinstuck, of Kalamazoo, the oldest member registered at the institute. Perhaps the youngest person at the dinner was Mrs. J. E. Upthegrove, who attended several sessions of the institute and who acts as president of the Grindstone City League as well as chairman of the seventh congressional district of Michigan.

Because many state legislatures are meeting in 1925 and because the Congress will also be in session the subject of law-making bodies was placed in the institute program and presented by W. P. Lovett, director of the Detroit Citizens' League.

In some ways the institute reached its highest point of interest on Thursday evening, when the lecture was given by Professor James Shotwell, of Columbia University, on the proposed World Treaty on Disarmament and Security. The institute was already thoroughly interested in foreign affairs through the lectures of Professor J. R. Hayden and Professor A. S. Aiton, of the University, and Dean M. M. Kalaw, of the University of the Philippines, so the lecture by Professor Shotwell formed the climax of this series on foreign relations. The lecture was preceded by a dinner in honor of Professor Shotwell at the Ann Arbor Country Club. The guests included representatives from four states in the region and members of the University faculty. MAY WOOD-SIMONS.

Leagues and League Work

THE California League will handle its legislative program from a different angle this year. It will profit by the example set by the National League, and try to have the principles of its legislative program incorporated into the platforms of the state political parties. The problem is simplified for California by the fact that the election law provides that all political parties meet on the third Tuesday in September and formulate their platforms. The law further provides that the platforms must be made public by six o'clock the following day. The League is arranging for the appearance of delegations before the platform committees of all parties. Mrs. Ernest Wallace, legislative chairman of the San Francisco Civic Center, is the newly appointed state legislative chairman. The legislative program calls for prompt ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, adequate support of public education so that every child in California may have an equal educational opportunity, and an increased appropriation for the Maternity and Infancy Act. The League is also pledged to work in co-operation with other organizations for the restoration of an institution for the rehabilitation of delinquent women.

AT a meeting of the National Conference on Uniform State Laws, meeting in July in conjunction with the sectional sessions of the American Bar Association, Mrs. Jennie L. Barron, of Boston, chairman of the uniform laws committee for the Massachusetts League, represented the National League in a discussion on uniform marriage laws. Mrs. Barron asked that a law be enacted requiring a health certificate and compliance with a minimum age clause before marriage. She cited instances in some states where children of twelve and fourteen have been permitted to marry, and pledged the League to support a measure to eliminate such conditions.

MRS. SOLON JACOBS, of Birmingham, Alabama, who so ably handled the presentation of the League's planks at the Democratic National Convention, was one of the principal speakers at a luncheon given recently by the Jefferson County (Alabama) League. Two hundred guests heard reports of the convention.

FORTY-TWO women of Bayonne (New Jersey) met July 30 to organize the Bayonne League. Mrs. Percy Ingalls, of East Orange, chairman of organization for the New Jersey League, presented the ideals and aims of League work. At the League's second meeting, September 4, Mrs. Harriman Simmons, of Elizabeth, president of the New Jersey League, was the speaker. Officers of the new organization are: Mrs. James D. Boyd, president; Mrs. T. R. Taft, Mrs. G. H. Sexsmith, Mrs. M. Facciolo, vice-presidents; Mrs. R. W. Stout, corresponding secretary; Mrs. H. C. Raynor, recording secretary; Mrs. Joseph Heraty, treasurer.

EVIDENTLY political platforms are not such dry reading as was once believed. Since the National League announced the publication of four party platforms, in booklet form, the publications department has been swamped with orders. Requests for the publication are by no means confined to League members, for the mail brings orders from national and state campaign committees, candidates, universities, research agencies, libraries and prominent citizens, both men and women.

AIRPLANE mail service is being utilized for quick decisions in League matters. It was not long ago that the national headquarters had a letter from Mrs. W. A. Shockley, of Reno, director of the seventh region, via the airplane route. It arrived at just the hour Mrs. Shockley predicted it should. Miss Adele Clark, director of the third region, recently had a letter from California within fifty-eight hours after it was mailed by Miss May Moore, president of the Richmond (Virginia) League. Miss Moore had visited the San Francisco headquarters and spoke in glowing terms of the splendid progress made by the League there.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

MAINE: This should be in red ink.
Primary vote cast in 1920, 61,700.
Primary vote cast in 1924, 109,475.
Percentage of increase, 77.4.

MICHIGAN: The League has perfected a system in which fifteen hundred women, each with a definite piece of work, are organized in a smoothly working machine to get out the vote. The system includes provision for the regular reporting of work done. The League prophesies that with this machine it will deliver the vote.

MINNESOTA: A number of ladies thought they were attending a quilting-bee when they gathered at their regular meeting in Young America, Minnesota, one day in August. But they reckoned without Miss Marion Wash, who dropped in to talk about the League's campaign. The quilting-bee was turned into a get-out-the-vote committee, Miss Julia True was made chairman and plans for a campaign were formed which everyone pledged herself to support. When it is recalled that Young America is the town that sold more liberty bonds per capita than any other city in the United States, Leagues competing for the silver loving cup must look to their laurels.

MISSOURI: Many interesting pamphlets and fliers on the get-out-the-vote campaign have been issued by state and local Leagues. Some of them are exceedingly clever and all show ingenuity and imagination in calling the attention of delinquent citizens to their responsibilities. The pamphlet which contains specific information to which the busy worker may refer from time to time is particularly appealing and one of the best of these is a small folder just issued by the Missouri League. The cover explains in red and blue ink that 600,000 voters were lost in Missouri in 1920, and inside is printed a map of the state showing the counties in blue ink, with the percentage of the vote in 1920 printed in red ink in each county. Missourians are admonished to raise these percentages to seventy-five.

NEW JERSEY: So much interest is being taken in the summer resort meetings which are being held on the Jersey coast, under the direction of Miss Marion Gifford, that the churches are turning their Sunday evening services into get-out-the-vote meetings. . . . New Jersey is the only state to announce that the governor is a member of the get-out-the-vote committee. The committee includes Protestant and Catholic bishops, representatives of labor organizations and of chambers of commerce, political party leaders and many others.

NEW MEXICO: Mrs. R. R. Larkin, president of the New Mexico League, is holding a series of monthly meetings in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Roswell and Las Vegas, promoting the campaign to get out the vote.

NEW YORK has produced a little booklet of eight pages which is called "A Working Kit." It is about the size of a postal card and in short terse sentences and uncontestable figures it sets forth undeniable facts. The booklet contains information on the offices to be filled, dates of elections, hours of voting, addresses of polling places and of the political parties, qualifications of voters, naturalization information and on the last page a blank form for the canvasser's record of the interview. . . . Through the courtesy of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. the League has arranged a series

of talks by radio on the get-out-the-vote campaign. Every Friday afternoon at four o'clock the addresses will be broadcast from WEAf station and the speakers include Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Henry H. Curran, political leaders, and the officers of the New York League.

NORTH CAROLINA: The officers of the North Carolina League took advantage of the institute recently held at Asheville to hold a get-out-the-vote conference, at which they laid plans for the state campaign.

OHIO does nothing by halves. While other states may have a huge thermometer registering the number of persons voting during election days, an Ohio town will have two thermometers, one marked "Men's Vote" and the other marked "Women's Vote." Precinct leaders will be stationed close to polling booths to count men and women as they vote. Every hour the leaders will report to the proper official, who will raise the "mercury" in the thermometers according to the numbers voting.

RHODE ISLAND: For two weeks before final registration Mrs. Lovell Willis, of East Providence, and her assistants spent full time in the Town Clerk's office checking up the registration lists. Delinquent names were sent to district leaders, who made personal calls, telephone calls, and sent postal cards in an effort to have every name registered.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Mrs. Richard Williams, former president of the South Carolina League, writes: "We are raising sand here trying to get the folks enrolled. Committees of women are serving at places of enrollment; motor corps are at work and five thousand placards, 'Women, enroll!' are displayed on cars, posts, billboards, public buildings and store windows. Newspapers publish articles every day and ask the question 'Have you enrolled?' in big type across the front page. Picture shows are running slides asking the same question. The churches are helping, and I am to speak at a union meeting in town."

TEXAS: Four thousand calendars with the dates of primary and election days conspicuously emphasized were mailed with letters urging League women to make careful note of these dates and then work to get out the largest possible vote. Unofficial returns from Texas indicate that the calendar reminders were well heeded.

VIRGINIA: County chairmen are directing the campaign to get out the vote in Virginia with Roanoke, Hanover and Bedford counties leading. Mrs. John T. Lewis and Mrs. Elizabeth Langhorne Lewis are in charge of the work in their counties.

WISCONSIN: A silver loving cup has been offered by Mrs. Mildred Thanuser, of Milwaukee, to the local League in Wisconsin which gets out the largest percentage of increase in the vote in the November election.

Y. W. C. A.: The League's good friend, the Y. W. C. A., is hard at work on the campaign to get out the vote of its membership. One hundred and nine local associations have appointed chairmen who will be responsible for the work in their towns. State and local League chairmen are urged to get in touch with Association leaders, if they have not already done so, and arrange joint plans of work and pooling of interest.

ANN WEBSTER.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

To Show What Women Can Do

THE New York League of Business and Professional Women is presenting the Women's Activities Exhibit for the third time this fall—but with variations. The Hotel Commodore from September 21 to 27 will be invaded by women—and their activities: everything from smoothly-running organizations to smoothly-running washing-machines — not forgetting the products of the fine arts.

One of the most noteworthy "variations" is the National Educational and Vocational Conference in which educators and representatives of large business interests will conduct a daily discussion of the problem of the college woman in business. The Conference has the active support of the leading women's colleges and is arousing much interest as the "first public conference of the kind ever held between the business and the academic mind."

This is one instance of the central idea which those planning this year's exhibit hope to leave with the visitors—the necessity for education and cooperation.

It seems as though every woman should be able to find her particular interest represented somewhere, the range is so great. For instance, at one point will be found the League of Women Voters school for voting information, and not far away a landscape garden arranged by the oldest landscape garden school for women in the country—one of the beauty spots of the exhibit.

An Australian Architect

HOW nice it is, with all our feminism, to think that one of the chief interests of the first woman architect of Australia, Mrs. Florence Taylor, should be kitchens. Not that she confines herself to kitchens (witness, for instance, the fifty houses which she designed for one Sydney client, each one valued today at from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars), any more than the up-to-date home-maker does. Still, one of her first designs to attract attention was for an "ideal kitchen."

Since her marriage she has given up her formal practice (though she is often consulted on architectural matters) but hers is a real "fifty-fifty" home anyway. Mrs. Taylor is one of the managing directors in her husband's magazine company and writes for the building and engineering papers which it publishes.

Attention has been called to her work recently because of her position on the advisory board of the Australian Section of the Wembley (British Empire) Exhibition.

Woman's Party Plans

THE National Woman's Party has begun active campaigning for certain Congressional candidates, following its annual conference in Westport on August 16. The organization's endorsement is given to all candidates, regardless of political affiliation, provided they "are real feminists" and supporters of the Blanket Amendment. So far there are five candidates (all women) who have met this test, and they represent three political parties.

The leaders of the party, after the party's failure to get a plank favoring the equal rights amendment in any of the party platforms, have come to the conclusion that only through a "woman's bloc" can they hope to put through their program.

A Lady Shipbuilder

LADY PIRRIE is, we believe, the latest and possibly the biggest of big business women. Following the recent death of her husband, Lord Pirrie, she became president of Harland and Wolff, said to be the largest firm of shipbuilders in the world.

Early Entries

BEFORE election day we hope to be able to give you a complete list of women candidates for the more important state and federal offices. But in the meantime we'll tell you what we know from reports sent in response to our request. All CITIZEN readers are asked to be reporters on this subject.

The longest list so far comes from Pennsylvania, with Mrs. Jessie Collett for Congress, Mrs. William S. Vare for the State Senate and five for the House: Miss Alice M. Bentley, Miss Helen Grimes, Mrs. Lillie H. Pitts, Miss Martha G. Thomas and Martha M. Pennock.

Illinois sends the following report: Mrs. Mary Ward Hart for Congressman-at-large, and Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer, Mrs. Katharine Hancock Goode, Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill and Mrs. Rena Elrod for Representative.

North Dakota has nominated Minnie J. Nielson for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Arkansas, Mrs. Frank Thompson for Representative.

We have the names of six candidates

for Representative from Maine—Martha E. Maher, Isabella Hemenway, Annie L. Dearing, Carrie J. Farnham, Elizabeth W. Whitney and Lulu B. Thornton, and the name of Helen N. Hanson for Judge of Probate.

Mrs. Donald Clark for Secretary of State and Mrs. Tom Gates and Dr. Harriet B. Jones for Representative are West Virginia's contribution.

World University Women

UNIVERSITY women from eighteen different countries met for conference in Christiania, Norway, from July 28 to August 1. Miss Mina Kerr, executive secretary of the American Association of University Women, in writing of this, the third biennial conference of the International Federation of University Women, says: "Should the Federation accomplish no more than to make influential university women of twenty nations know and understand one another it would have justified its existence."

But reports from the conference show that the Federation has done much more than this already. Club houses in Paris and Washington, one soon to be opened in London, plans laid for others in Athens and Rome, the endorsement of a plan for a \$1,000,000 foundation for international fellowships, the admission of two new federations, the Swiss and the Irish, and a total membership of 28,000 women, representing twenty countries—all this is significant of the growth of the organization.

Discussion and lectures related to the place of university women in world affairs and the special work of the International Federation filled the formal program. Especial interest was attached to the address by Professor Fridtjof Nansen emphasizing "the power of intellectual cooperation in making for international peace," and to that of Viscountess Rhondda on "The Control of Industries."

Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of the American Association was elected president and Miss Theodora Bosanquet the executive secretary. Dr. M. Carey Thomas is to head the Committee on Clubhouses.

The federations of Denmark, Finland and Sweden joined the Norwegian Federation in extending the invitation, and the four groups acted as joint hostesses at the various receptions and dinners and at the expeditions to the Folk Museum and other points of particular interest to university women. The delegates did not have to go far for one of

these special points of interest, because the sessions themselves were held in the university, with its old mural paintings and its exhibitions of the Norwegian arts. The peculiarly warm hospitality of the Scandinavian people was felt in the many informal dinners and in the evenings spent in the homes of Christiansia.

The Lords Talk Suffrage

THE focus of equal suffrage interest in England has recently been, at least temporarily, transferred from the House of Commons to the House of Lords through the introduction of Lord Astor's bill permitting peeresses in their own right to sit in the House of Lords. The bill has aroused active (and amusing) opposition—witness Lord Bannbury's query as to whether the noble lords should permit the House "to lose dignity in order to secure efficiency by admitting women." The fight is being watched with especial interest by the women members of the House of Commons.

Negro Women's Work

HERE is another comparatively young organization which has done things—the National Association of Colored Women. At their convention in Chicago in August chief interest was shown in scholarship funds and in homes for working girls. Eight thousand dollars is already in hand for the proposed \$50,000 scholarship fund, and there are new homes for Negro working girls to the credit of the Kansas, Indiana and Iowa clubs. Richmond, Virginia, reported \$10,000 raised for such a home.

The convention adopted resolutions favoring enforcement of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth Amendments, better education for Negroes, passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, appointment of Negroes on national boards and opposition to the Ku Klux Klan.

The Name Tells

WE seem to abound in reports of conventions this time—so, just by way of variety, we'll tell you the names of some of the speakers and let you guess what kind it is. The speakers included Dr. Thuillier Landry, Dr. V. Lebedeva, Dr. Safieh Ali and Dr. Katherine Manion.

Now we'll verify your guess. It was the convention of the Medical Women's International Association, held in London, July 14-20.

The delegates visited Schools of Medicine, Royal Free Hospitals and other such, but they also were "received" by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Prime Minister.

TWO hundred and forty of the 2,100 delegates to the American Institute of Banking, which convened in Baltimore in July, were women.

Lunching and Voting

THE Westchester League of Women Voters is to have the help of Mrs. Caspar Whitney, Mr. Morris Hillquit, Governor Albert Ritchie of Maryland, Judge Theodore G. Risley of the Federal Department of Labor and Miss Mary Garrett Hay in their campaign to get out the vote.

These six speakers may be heard at the League luncheon to be given at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City, September 11, at 1 o'clock. The tickets, \$3.00 a plate (including tip), may be secured at League headquarters, 1625 Grand Central Terminal Building.

From Mrs. Upton

It was a disappointment that Ohio Republicans at their primary failed to nominate Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, recent vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, for Congress. But the fight was a good one and the candidacy of such a woman means political education for her district. She sends us the following statement:

WHEN I announced my candidacy for Congress I realized perfectly that my campaign would be a pioneering effort. I did not expect to be nominated for two reasons: One, because women have not yet been educated to vote in the primary in such numbers as they will vote in general elections; two, because I know the prejudice which still exists in the minds of many persons against voting for a woman. As the campaign progressed, however, and support came to me from wholly unexpected quarters I became more hopeful. On the other hand, I became increasingly aware of an organized political force which has grown up in the district in the past four years and which was certain to prove a determining influence in the primary. I had no reason to expect support from this organization. The only terms upon which I could have afforded victory were the terms on which I made my campaign, namely, a promise, if elected, to serve all the people of the district impartially and without any pledge to any organization, group or bloc.

Since victory was impossible on such terms I am well content with the result. I have no regrets. The campaign was worth while, if, even in small measure, it will make similar contests easier for other women in the future. It was worth while from a personal standpoint because of the inspiration of the association with the splendid men and women who worked with and for me. To all of these and to those who voted for me I wish to express my cordial thanks.

To the women of the district still new to their responsibilities as voters I would like to send a special message. Vote, vote, whenever you have the opportunity, in primaries, in general elections. Inform yourselves about candidates and about measures, study the platforms of

your respective parties, make yourselves an increasing force for good government, bear defeats cheerfully, since they are an inevitable part of the evolution of this movement. Only by so doing can you justify your possession of the vote which was won for us by the unremitting toil of generations of brave women gone before. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

"The Busy Woman's Clock"

DOES the woman who works for her living have one job or two? Does she put in a full day—or night—earning her bread and the roof over her head, and then put in most of another day as a housewife, making the bread go as far as possible? Does she—as no business man would think of doing—care for most of her cooking, laundry, etc., even if she is a fairly prosperous business or professional woman? Does she take part in civic life? Could she if she wanted to?

Discussion—from the point of the woman, the community, or the state—proves tremendously interesting when focused on one of these questions and backed up by facts. But how get at the facts? Surveys are usually so much work. And busy workers and busy employers are so likely to resent the "nonsense" of a women's group.

To meet these objections Laura Parks Miller, Director of the Women in Industry Department of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, has printed "The Busy Woman's Clock" in a graphic form. Both workers and employers find these twenty-four-hour clock faces simple to explain, to fill out, and interesting to talk about. Suggestive women's organization programs are given on the back of each sheet. The W. C. T. U. feels that knowledge about small city and town conditions is especially lacking. For this reason, clock blanks will be furnished free in any reasonable quantity to employed women or to members of women's organizations, living in communities of from five to fifty thousand population, who agree to return filled-out blanks. Samples will be furnished anyone. Write to Laura P. Miller, The Cedars, Darien, Connecticut.

A Sheriff-plus—

CODY, Wyoming, has named a new under-sheriff — Mrs. W. H. Loomis. Her first arrest was a bootlegger and her job may include scaring outlaws, bandits and yet more bootleg-

The Index of the new volume of the WOMAN CITIZEN from June 1, 1923, to June 1, 1924, is now ready. It will be sent to all libraries on the CITIZEN subscription list. Clubs and individual subscribers may obtain a copy free by sending to the Subscription Department, the WOMAN CITIZEN, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City.

gers out of their holes. You see she is also a hunter—that's why we describe her new work so.

Something to Look for

THE International Council of Women, organized in 1888 and initiated by women of this country, will again meet in the United States next spring. The convention will be held in Washington from May 4 to 14. The Council is a Federation of National Associations in each country, and invariably has interesting and inspiring programs covering many phases of international interest to women. The American President is Mrs. Philip Moore, of St. Louis. The International President is Lady Aberdeen.

Names of Judges, Please

ON another page in this number you will find an article about women lawyers, in which Zora P. Wilkins gives a clear perspective on the place of women in law work. Her attention was on women lawyers rather than judges. But the article reminds us to ask our readers again to help build up an accurate list of women judges in this country. The outstanding ones we all know—Judge Allen, Judge Bartelme, etc.—but we should like to make a complete list.—ED.

Three readers have asked correction of a statement in the article on Senator La Follette in the August 9th CITIZEN. It said that Senator La Follette "voted against the Eighteenth Amendment, but urged a referendum." Mrs. Basil M. Manly writes: "The 'Congressional Record' shows that Senator La Follette voted to submit the Eighteenth Amendment to the people, which is the only vote any senator could cast for the Eighteenth or any other Constitutional amendment." The writer, Cora Rigby, made the statement on what she was entitled to consider trustworthy authority, but the fact is that Senator La Follette voted for the amendment. Miss Rigby says: "La Follette made a speech against prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment when it was before the Senate, but voted for it because he so strongly favored the referendum that he was loath to vote against submitting any question to the states." He has consistently stood for law enforcement.

Of course, the CITIZEN joins Miss Rigby in regret for the mistake.

Wheeler

(Continued from page 7)

dictment against Senator Wheeler in the courts of Montana for the alleged representation of clients for compensation before government departments; how Senator Wheeler immediately went before the Senate asking an investigation of his conduct by his colleagues, and how the special committee, headed by Senator Borah, completely exonerated Senator Wheeler of any unethical as well as illegal conduct in this connection. This indictment, which is for misdemeanor only and not for crime, will

be up for hearing in Montana in September. Senator Thomas J. Walsh and Clarence Ford, former attorney general of Montana, are counsel for Senator Wheeler.

Why did Senator La Follette want this man for his running mate? The facts of his career are largely an answer. It is evident that their political ideas are in harmony. It was largely the C. P. A., the Non-partisan League and other progressive organizations that gave Senator Wheeler the senatorial election,

and it was the C. P. A. that handed Senator La Follette the presidential nomination. Besides that, Senator Wheeler is definitely expected to add strength to the ticket. He is young, he is vigorous, he is energetic. Though he loves a fight, he wages his battles good-humoredly. He has the singular gift of drawing people to him, though he is not a polished orator. His closest friends ascribe his success to his celerity of action. While other men are weighing the odds, he has made his decision and done the deed.

The Bookshelf



By
G. F. B.

With a Political Slant

A HIGHLY interesting discussion of some of our vital public questions is given by Albert J. Beveridge, former Senator from Indiana, in "The State and the Nation." One may disagree completely with Mr. Beveridge's viewpoint, as, for example, his belief that the United States should maintain an aloofness from the rest of the world—although he repudiates the term "isolation"—and even refuses to join the World Court; but his knowledge of public affairs, his sincerity, and the lucidity of his style, make the book well worth reading.

Mr. Beveridge believes in the supremacy of the Supreme Court, although he would have the court do away with four to five decisions and adopt a rule that six of the judges must concur in a decision; he would leave the railroads alone to work out their own salvation; he is against any increase in government bureaus and commissions, and he advocates going back to the original manner of having the presidential electors elect the president.

Many will agree with his statement that too often men are nominated because of their availability as a candidate, instead of because they possess the qualities to make a good president. So far the country has "got along with many weak and narrow-visioned men as presidents," he declares, "but the time draws near when the well-being of the people will require the very ablest man in America as our general manager." He characterizes the right kind of man for president as requiring, first, the power of decision based on clear, accurate, swift thinking, alertness to know what is going on, then courage, utter fearlessness, profound honesty, and the gift of winning men. With some clearing away of the unnecessary things which the president now does, such as handshaking and signing miles of signatures, he thinks the job not too big for a good man.

In quite a different style is "Behind the Scenes in Politics." The author, who chooses to be anonymous, calls politics the most fascinating game in the world. He knows everybody in the political world on both sides of the Atlantic, and claims to have been on the inside of most of our big political campaigns. The book is full of shrewd observations drawn from experience on how to conduct a successful campaign and avoid the pitfalls. If advice ever does good, someone ought to send a copy to the campaign managers of the presidential candidates. He devotes one chapter to wives of great men and the part they have played in making or marring the careers of their husbands. He classifies the Adoring Wife, the Coddling Wife, the Tea-table Lobbyist, the Limelight Wife, and the Outgrown Wife. Anecdotes and humorous stories about many of our famous men, and tales of what took place behind locked doors, add to the interest of the book.

Professors Charles E. Merriam and Harold F. Gosnell have performed a valuable public service in their investigation as to the causes responsible for the fact that one-half of the citizens of the United States do not vote even in the most important elections. "Non-Voting," published by the University of Chicago Press, gives an analysis of the actual facts found in personal questions asked of six thousand men and women voters in Chicago following the last mayoralty election. Briefly, twice as many eligible women as men do not vote. Although women have had municipal suffrage in Chicago for ten years, over half of those eligible have not accepted the responsibility of citizenship.

Fifty per cent of all the adult citizens who did not vote were women who were not even registered.

The figures prove the claims which have been made that women of foreign races give the smallest percentage of

voters, and that the largest proportion comes from what are called the better sections of the city. The largest percentage of non-voting women are Germans, Irish and Italians, in the order named, and the largest number of anti-suffragists come from these races. Curiously enough, among men the interest in voting is larger than the average among the foreign-born, notably the Russian Jews, Bohemians and Italians.

Absence and fear of loss of business or wages was given as the most frequent excuse for the slackness of men voters. Among women, the reasons most often given were illness and disbelief in woman's voting, the last being often coupled with the husband's objections. Especially the women who have secured their citizenship by marriage, take little interest in voting.

The suggestions made by the authors for increasing the vote are particularly valuable. Many improvements may be made in conditions surrounding the vote, but the chief cause of all, indifference, is deep-seated, and must be met fundamentally.

If it is true that many years must elapse before impartial history can be written, it is even more important that events should be recorded at first hand by judicious contemporaries while they are fresh in the mind of the writers. David Lawrence, who has written *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson*, knew Mr. Wilson from his undergraduate days in Princeton in 1906, and during the years, until Mr. Wilson's death, watched, behind the scenes, the daily life of the late President.

He has written a most readable history, and one which bears every mark of conviction and sincerity. He paints Mr. Wilson as a scholarly, kindly, Southern gentleman, chivalrous to a degree toward women, with a beautiful family life, keeping his own personal life and household jealously apart from his public life; a canny and astute politician, a wise statesman, meeting the extraordinary problems which the war brought to his position with the single purpose of benefiting mankind, but implacable and ungenerous to a degree toward those who differed with him.

Had he kept his health, the writer believes that he would have accepted the Lodge reservations, and that the United States would have entered the League of Nations. He adds that the President was almost persuaded to yield on his sickbed.

The picture Mr. Lawrence paints

will not please either those who hated Woodrow Wilson or his most ardent partisans, but it is drawn by a trained observer and one who has long been known, as a Washington correspondent, for his fairness and sanity of judgment.

Portias

(Continued from page 15)

craft up for a continuation of the old cruise or to map out a new course that will be comparatively free from rocks." How efficiently Judge Norris carries out this task appears from the fact that more than half the family quarrels brought to her court are settled by a reconciliation or an agreement without the cases ever coming officially before the magistrate.

At one time also working in the Domestic Relations Court, Anna Moskowitz Kross is another New York lawyer whose career shows the possibilities for women. Born in Warsaw, an immigrant to this country, Mrs. Kross started at the bottom and pulled herself up by her own efforts. Today she is legal adviser to the Building and Allied Trades Compensation Service Bureau, acting as counselor to more than seventy thousand men in matters pertaining to their employment and employers and their full measure of compensation when they are injured.

Another woman whose legal work has both a social and an industrial bearing is Emma F. Scofield, who is serving as a member of the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board, the first woman to be appointed to a position of this nature. As the Accident Board has the right to summon witnesses, hear evidence and render decisions within its special jurisdiction, Miss Scofield is sitting as a judge in workmen's compensation cases.

A Chicago woman attorney, Mrs. Flora Warren Seymour, two years ago was appointed to the Board of Indian Commissioners. This board, which consists of ten members, has supervision over the financial and educational aspects of the United States Indian Service. It investigates complaints and makes recommendations to the President and Secretary of the Interior. Mrs. Seymour was connected with the legal department of the Indian Service in 1915, thus acquiring the knowledge and experience which qualified her for her important position.

Another type of specialty is that of Mrs. Rose Falls Bres, the new president of the Women Lawyers' Association and editor of the *Women Lawyers' Journal*. Mrs. Bres spent many years in trial work, trying important cases in the Federal courts; but gradually came to believe that the best interests of clients are usually served outside the courtroom. She now devotes most of her time to the technical work of cotton future brokers, representing a number of

large firms. Her early life in the cotton country—she comes from Louisiana—and the fact that her husband was a cotton broker, gave her the background for this special interest. Nowadays she takes local cases only when they make a direct appeal—for instance, when she can help some woman win her rights.

Other women in active practice and successful are Emilie Bullock, for four successive terms president of the Women Lawyers' Association; Paula Laddey, in Newark, New Jersey; Maisie Jones Ragan, recently elected to the Council of Kansas City, Missouri; Bertha Rembaugh, of New York; Lucy Somerville, of Mississippi; Mary Lathrop, of Colorado; Carrie McLean in Charlotte, N. C.; Ida V. Wells, in Los Angeles—names chosen almost at random out of the many that might be mentioned. In the brief space of this article there is room for personalities only as illustrating points—samples, one might say.

The best-known and most outstanding woman lawyer in the country at present, of course, is Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant United States Attorney General. All questions of policy, appeals and directions to the United States Attorney pass through her hands. How far-reaching her responsibilities are may be judged from the fact that she has general supervision and charge of all litigation arising in the eighty-eight federal districts of the United States and island possessions under the following laws:

Insurance, several heads; all matters arising under the National Prohibition Act; introducing liquor into Indian country and sale of liquor to Indians; customs and admiralty statutes as applied to liquor; taxation, other than customs, as well as litigation concerning federal prisons.

Since taking office Mrs. Willebrandt has argued several large groups of liquor cases before the Supreme Court.

As is suggested by the instances just cited, women are very active in legal work which has social implications. The Boston Legal Aid Society, for instance, has two women lawyers on its staff. A woman lawyer is working with the Children's Aid Society and with the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The Boston Bar Association recently appointed to its Board of Moral Examiners of candidates for the bar Miss Elizabeth N. Taylor, the present president of the Massachusetts Association of Women Lawyers.

Instances of this kind might be multiplied from all over the country. Everywhere the women lawyers are serving the public not through amateurish and sentimental meddling, but through planned application of trained intelligence to social problems. Many of them who are not engaged in actual practice hold positions where their legal knowledge is either a prerequisite for

The State and the Nation, Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. \$3.00.

Behind the Scenes in Politics, Dutton, 1924. \$2.50.

Non-Voting, University of Chicago Press, 1924. \$2.50.

The True Story of Woodrow Wilson, Doran, 1924. \$2.50.

the work or where it immensely furthers their efficiency and success. Many are employed by the state or by the courts. Banks and trust companies as well as private corporations have added to their staffs women who specialize in income tax, probate and corporation work.

But what proportion of women boldly open their own offices and "hang out their shingles"? So far, no adequate statistics have been collected which bear on this point, but the evidence from an unofficial census in some chief cities suggests that this proportion is high. Most of them are engaged in various forms of advisory work.

Judged by financial returns, they seem to be faring quite as well as men of the same generation. Here, too, the judgment is necessarily based on a number of isolated instances. One young woman who was receiving sixty dollars a week as secretary before completing her legal studies reported a few months after opening her office that she had this same amount weekly after paying all her overhead.

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It is early to make comparisons with the achievements of men lawyers. Such a comparison with men at the top of the profession is excluded, because the number of women is proportionately so much less and the time that they have been practicing so much shorter. Twenty-five years hence it may be possible to audit the accounts and show a substantial balance to the credit of the women. Even in the brief time that they have been practicing law in appreciable numbers their record is one of which to be proud.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

THE BEDROOM WINDOW—This little comedy stands out in the ordinary run of motion pictures like the planet Mars in the third week of August, 1924, partly on account of unusually good acting, but more because of intelligent and clever direction of this acting. The "bedroom window" is the window of an apartment house where a wealthy man of affairs is found murdered, and the picture is a mystery story common enough in theme, but most uncommon in quality. Ethel Wales's part of *Rufus Rome*, writer of elaborate detective stories, but otherwise *Matilda Jones*, a lively maiden lady with an agile curiosity about her fellows and an irrepressible zest for making things happen, is delightful comedy, and one of the best characterizations we have seen. This is one of those pictures from which all of the family returns in a good humor. A Paramount picture, from a story by Clara Beranger, and directed by William de Mille.

MANHANDLED—The unnecessarily heavy name needn't keep anyone from the picture, which isn't violent, and is good comedy most of the time. It is the story of a little New York shop girl who wants to be gay, and a downright sort of young mechanic and inventor who is too busy to know that. While waiting for his ship to come-in (though his ship is an automobile with a carburetor of new and promising design) she plays about with a crowd he doesn't trust, and in the end he includes her in his distrustings. Gloria Swanson has the rôle of naïve moth, and Tom Moore plays opposite. No special interest for children. A Paramount picture, from a story by Arthur Stringer, and directed by Allan Dwan.

CYTHREA—The story of a sober married man, who is startled to a realization that he is no longer young and gay by the impudence of a little girl who is both, and who immediately becomes possessed of a desire to prove that he can be, too. The mood, a wife who feels far too safe to be interesting, and a chance encounter with a lady who looks like a portrait of Cythrea com-

bine to send him to Cuba with this same exotic lady, where—opportunistically for orthodox ending—she dies. The conclusion of this picture makes farce of Irene Rich's good capability in playing the staid wife. Otherwise the story is plausible enough, with Lewis Stone in the cast. No interest at all for children. A First National picture, from the novel of the same name by Joseph Hergesheimer, and directed by George Fitzmaurice.

MEN—The somewhat extravagant story of a stereotyped figure, the very popular dancer and lurer of men who bid fortunes for the privilege of escorting her. Pola Negri plays this spectacular rôle with theatrical grace. There is more plausibility in the settings of very gay Paris to a person who hasn't seen them than in the human types who inhabit these to a person who has never seen them—and indeed never expects to. No interest for children. A Paramount picture, written and directed by Dimitri Buchowetzki.

A Home Health Library

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP
College Physician at Barnard

AS soon as one accepts "Abundant Health" as a necessary aim in life, one immediately demands to know more about how to obtain it. As Americans we are believers in education; in the successful part that knowledge and a trained mind play in the conduct of our affairs. Health is never book knowledge, but health education implies a definite study of the laws of health, not only by the reading of short articles in periodicals and magazines, but by the earnest study of at least a few health books. Each individual or each household should plan this next winter to buy one health book a month. At approximately two dollars a volume, at the end of a year an investment of twenty-five dollars will be worth more than many pounds of cure.

For those who care to follow this health tip I should like to recommend about half the volumes. The other half should be bought to satisfy the needs and demands of the individual or of the family. As modern sport is one of the most essential ingredients of modern health, one or two of the books should be sport manuals. Though each person knows how to play her favorite sport, she can improve her game. In both the pursuit of sport and the pursuit of health every one should aim at perfection. Don't be just well enough to hold down a job. Be well enough to toss off your daily work with ease and delight. Don't just play at a game—win!

Though we all believe we know how

to eat and what to eat, by study and practice we can improve the level of our nutrition, if we really want to. Of course, many do not want to be bothered. They are content to run their car through life with several cylinders out of order and not functioning, but for those who want all the power they can get I append the following lists of books:

The Newer Elements of Nutrition, by Elmer V. McCollum (Macmillan, New York, \$3.80).

The Vitamine Manual, by Walter H. Eddy (Williams & Wilkins, Baltimore, \$2.50).

The Science of Nutrition, by Graham Lusk (W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia, \$6.00).

These are scientific books on nutrition and take brains and application to study and understand.

NUTRITION, continued:

Food and Flavor, by Henry T. Fink (Harpers, New York, \$4.00).

Girth Control, by Henry T. Fink (Harpers, New York, \$2.00).

These are popular books on food and weight control and are easy to read and to grasp. Except for a mistake admitted by the author about bulk of food and flavor, both books are readable and valuable.

FAMILY NUTRITION:

Feeding the Family, by Mary D. S. Rose (Macmillan, New York, \$2.40).

The Diet of School Children, by Lulu Hunt Peters (Dodd, Mead, New York, \$2.00).

These two books are both scientific and popular, endeavoring to put in condensed form the necessary facts for the nutrition of an entire family.

I have emphasized the study of nutrition because the food we eat is the building material of our bodies, it limits our possibilities. We can never rise above our food.

EXERCISE:

Exercise for Daily Use, by G. Ward Crampton, M.D. (Putnam, New York, \$3.50). This one book on exercise cannot be too highly recommended. It contains all that is necessary on home exercise.

Health and the Woman Movement, by Clelia Duel Mosher, M. D. (Womans Press, New York, 60 cents). Dr. Mosher has been physician at Leeland Stanford for more than twenty years and was one of the pioneers in advocating special exercise for woman. Her book is extremely valuable for all women and girls.

PSYCHOLOGY:

Just Nerves, by A. F. Riggs (Houghton, Mifflin, Indianapolis, 90 cents).

A small and compact book on nerves, which can be trusted.

Outwitting Our Nerves, by J. A. Jackson, M.D., and H. N. Salisbury (Century, New York, \$2.50).

This is a popular book full of good sense, told in a readable style.

Public Health, edited by William Hallock Parks (Lea & Febiger, Philadelphia, \$10). This is an extensive and scientific book on public health and might well be the last book bought during the series. It contains a mine of information on the infectious diseases and the methods used by Boards of Health to combat them.

Hygeia, published by the American Medical Association, Dearborn street, Chicago. This is a monthly magazine for household use, touching all kinds of home and personal health questions. It is both scientific and very practical. The

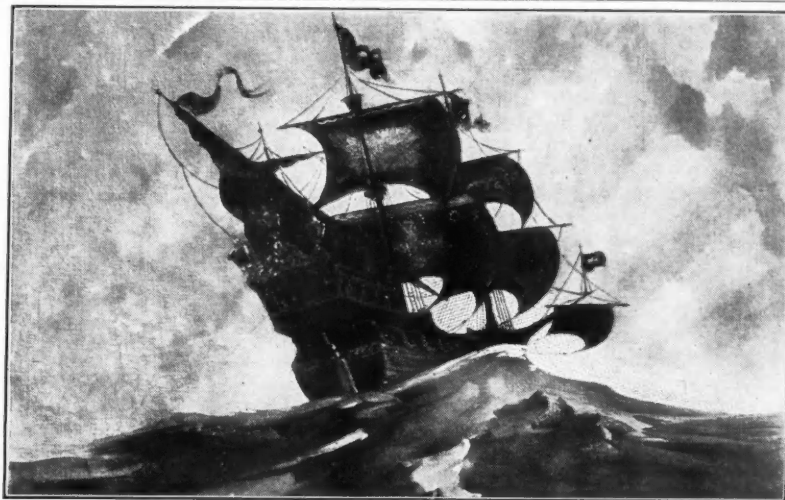
three-dollar yearly subscription to this magazine should be the first step in the beginning of a home health library.

SPORT:

One of the following, chosen according to the sport preferred, will heighten both the emotional interest in the game and the physical benefits received from the vigorous exercise and recreation.

The Art of Lawn Tennis, by William T. Tilden (Doran, New York, \$2.00).

Swimming Simplified, by Lyba & Nite Sheffield, Authors and Publisher, P. O. Box 436, San Francisco, Cal., \$1.75.



The Spirit of Pioneering

Impatience with present facilities, a restless searching for perfect things—these have driven men to discovery and invention. They possessed the early voyagers who turned their backs on the security of home to test opportunity in an unknown land. They explain the march westward that resulted in this settled, united country. And they have inspired the activities of the Bell System since the invention of the telephone.

The history of the Bell System records impatience with anything less than the best known way of doing a job. It records a steady and continuous search to find an even better way. In every department of telephone activity improvement has been the goal—new methods of construction and operation, refinement in equipment, discoveries in science that might aid in advancing the telephone art. Always the road has been kept open for an unhampered and economic development of the telephone.

Increased capacity for service has been the result. Instead of rudimentary telephones connecting two rooms in 1876, to-day finds 15,000,000 telephones serving a whole people. Instead of speech through a partition, there is speech across a continent. Instead of a few subscribers who regarded the telephone as an uncertain toy, a nation recognizes it as a vital force in the business of living.

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Dry Fly and Fast Waters, by George M. L. La Branche (Scribners, New York, \$2.00).

If hiking or camping is to be the sport chosen for the summer biographies of adventurers and pioneers will stiffen the will and spur the courage of the individual. *The Friendly Arctic*, by Stefansson (Macmillan), or *The South Pole*, by Amundsen (Lee Keedick), will fill the heart with admiration of both the mental and physical qualities of rugged health and the high endeavor made possible by its possession.

For the winter sports of skiing or ice skating there are manuals with pictures of the various figures. Books on dancing are easy enough to find. In connection with the dance comes the study of fabrics, weaving, home dyeing, costumes, even staging and pageantry. Or the dance interest may lead in the opposite direction, to folk dances and folk rhythms, or even to a Victrola jazz collection.

In studying sport books one finds at once a deepening of personal interest in the game or art and a quickening of the will to achieve improvement and skill. The pursuit of a favorite sport will lead one far afield and supply an individual with a lifelong avocation. On hikes or on mountain climbs the eye makes friends with nature. The busy intellect demands books on wild flowers, native birds, bird songs and their music. The wanderer branches out naturally into the milder forms of botany, geology, astronomy. One sets up a personal contact with the universe. Books like *Jungle Life*, *The Edge of the Jungle*, by Beebe (Holt), or *The Social Life of the Insect World*, J. H. Fabre (Century), Hornaday's *Mind and Manners of Wild Animals* (Scribners), or W. H.

Hudson's *Green Mansion*, and *Tales of the Pampas* (Alfred Knopf) will feed our nature love through the winter months.

From the actual physical sport itself one develops an intellectual hobby, which will act as a continual refreshment after work.

Mrs. Catt

(Continued from page 9)

Only her very good friends know the depths of affection and emotion which lie behind that serene exterior.

In the same way only her friends appreciate how complete is that sense of humor which is sometimes so devastating. It seems as though humor lay in her very eye, so that she perceives all things, even herself, colored with a glimmer of fun which is all that keeps them from being too serious or too tragic for life.

Perhaps more frequently than any other comment you will hear, "Mrs. Catt has the brain of a statesman." That is based on several characteristics, some of them inherent and some the result of her own long training. A natural hunger for information, and long discipline in the quickest way to get it and remember it, have given her an amazing ability to absorb vast quantities of facts, to digest them, and to draw upon them for deductions, authority and illustration whenever she needs them. On her last trip to Cuba she took on board ship an enormous pile of the most serious political and economic magazines printed in English. She read steadily and systematically for three days, underlining, tearing out references, storing up salient points. At the end of that time the magazines, squeezed dry of the contents which interested her, went over-

board. She had mastered all that made them important. Added to this ability, she has the rarer power of holding facts in a state of suspension, of waiting till the picture is complete before making her judgment. She can do the same thing with peoples and nations, balancing the needs of one off against the rights of another, and coming to clear conclusions for logical and definite reasons.

With all this, she has a remarkable power of picking able people and exerting so winning a hold that they cannot refuse to serve with her. More than one woman who led suffrage forces, asked how she started, will stop in a puzzled way, think for a moment, and then say with a laugh, "Why, Mrs. Catt made a suffragist out of me. I was doing this, or that, and she pulled me out of it and made me work for suffrage."

Starting with a predilection for public affairs, she has concentrated so long and so steadily on them that she has developed certain "blind sides" concerning things for which there was no time left. Music, outside of old songs and hummed hymns, makes no particular appeal. Pictorial art leaves her cold, unless it has a story value which attracts momentary attention. She plays no games, and none of the terms of sport have a place in her vocabulary. Drama is only for recreation, and then she asks that it either amuse her or move her with a powerful sense of eternal tragedy.

Her hobby is farming. This year she went to Juniper Ledge in the worst snowstorm of the year because it was April 1 and time to confer with her gardener. All summer long she gardens steadily and lovingly, and flowers and vegetables respond to her practiced hand. She carries on long and intricate conversations with John the gardener in an unintelligible stream of Latin botanical terms. Her grove of trees, each one with its bronze plate bearing the name of a famous suffragist, is the pilgrimage spot for frequent parties. In other words, her avocations all arise out of that early Iowa farm life which made up her busy childhood.

Her prejudices, which she does not inflict on other people, are those of an intelligent Middle Westerner, backed by others which she has accumulated during a long and active life. No one who reads "Woman Suffrage and Politics" will doubt that she is personally an ardent prohibitionist for very definite reasons. She has quite as real bases for a deep-seated suspicion of all politicians and their promises.

Her attitude toward all of life is best expressed in her own words in a recent article which she called "Years I Liked Best." She says that at sixty-odd "the sense of being an integral and understanding part of things universal brings one a depth of satisfaction which no decade before could feel or understand."

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With Our Readers

I FIND many women who are truly interested in government but who lack correct information and do not know where to get it. Many of our papers and magazines are partisan, giving only one side of a question and consequently not helpful in forming correct conclusions. Truth and truth only can make us free and real worth while. If this nation fails, it will fail largely because the big majority are not conscious of what is really and truly taking place in high places. So let us have more light such as is coming now from the pages of the WOMAN CITIZEN.

MAGGIE SMITH HATHAWAY.

Helena, Montana.

To the Editor of THE WOMAN CITIZEN:—

The following letter was written in response to our request for an answer to Mr. S. R. Child's letter in this department of the August 9th CITIZEN:

IN the August issue of your magazine Mr. S. R. Child refers to the proposed Child Labor Amendment as "unpatriotic, disloyal and revolutionary," and says that "any such power of amendment does not exist."

While it would be interesting to learn just what Mr. Child's conception of our national government is, which causes him to feel that no one can be loyal to it who attempts to kill the dragon of child labor by the only direct and efficient method, I will pass over this point and attempt to answer only his second statement that "any such power of amendment does not exist."

The United States Constitution says on the subject of amendments: "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution." The restrictions upon this power are then plainly and expressly stated as follows: "provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first (relative to the importation of slaves) and fourth (apportionment of direct taxes) clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its own consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

One of the most fundamental rules of constitutional and statutory construction is that the express exclusion of certain things implies the inclusion of all others. The very fact that the framers of the Constitution were so careful to provide that certain amendments should not be made shows that the power exists to adopt any other kind of amendment. Every state by ratifying the Constitution agreed that they would accept any amendment thereto which might be duly ratified by three-fourths of the states.

Mr. Child makes an inexcusable error in his statement that "no amendment since adopted or even proposed by Congress ever suggested any other, further or different powers" (i.e., than those granted by section nine of the first article of the Constitution).

The truth, on the contrary, is that both the Sixteenth Amendment and the Eighteenth Amendment did this very thing.

It is true, as Mr. Child indicates, that when the thirteen states won their independence they were separate sovereign states, merely united into a "firm league of friendship." But the Articles of Confederation proved a failure and to avoid the anarchy and civil war into which they were drifting the states adopted the Constitution, by which the "league of friendship" was transformed into a true nation.

The greatest defect in the government under the Articles of Confederation arose from the fact that under it the Central government could not act directly on the individual; and the most important practical change made by the Constitution was that by which the central government was given the power to tax and draft individuals di-

rectly, instead of only indirectly through the states. Is it "unpatriotic, disloyal and revolutionary" to attempt to create (by the proposed amendment) a direct relation between the central government and the child, when one of the principal purposes of the Constitution was to create such a direct relation between the United States and the taxpayers and potential soldiers?

The freedom of amendment provided for in our Constitution is one of its greatest safeguards. As long as the people are left free to alter their government in an orderly manner there is little danger of any serious attempt to overthrow the government by revolution. If, however, this right should be taken away or seriously abridged, the "Red" agitators in this country would be furnished with the first real argument which they have ever had. The right of amendment is the safety valve of our Constitution.

In conclusion, it should be said that the argument of Mr. Child is, for the most part, merely a rehash of the arguments of Mr. Elihu Root (in the recent case of Rhode Island v. Palmer, 253 U. S. 350) in support of his contention that the Eighteenth

amendment was beyond the power to amend the Constitution. While there were many divergences of opinion among the justices of the Supreme Court about other points arising in this case, not one of the justices agreed with Mr. Root in this contention, or, apparently, even considered it worthy of serious discussion. Under the decision of the Supreme Court in the above mentioned case the whole question raised by Mr. Child is already res judicata. ALBERT H. PUTNEY, Professor of Constitutional Law at the American University, Washington, D. C.

I HAVE never before taken the trouble to take issue with a statement I have seen printed, no matter how much I might differ. However, I am so concerned over the trend of pacifism, so misused, and all the insidious propaganda going around, that I feel very keenly about the opposition to the Defense Day. My point is that not all the women of the country are taking a stand against what you choose to term a "public danger."

While I have not felt it necessary to call my Board together to take any official action on this matter, I feel so convinced of their

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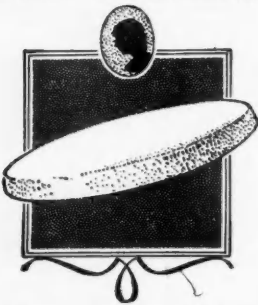
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GLEASON'S Parliamentary Digest

The Digest was written by a woman who has been for seven years the National Superintendent of Parliamentary Law for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; she was for four years Parliamentarian of the Los Angeles District Federation of Women's Clubs, and is now Parliamentarian for seven different organizations and has had much experience in teaching and presiding. Mrs. Gleason knows the needs of our women and wrote the Digest, to be used as a text as well as reference book, for the purpose of making it easier for our women to study and understand parliamentary procedure. Why not form a Parliamentary Section in your Club and study the Digest? Hundreds are doing it; "Knowledge is Power." The Digest is based upon "Robert's Rules of Order Revised," 1923 Revised Edition, \$2.00. If your book-store does not carry the Digest, send direct to the author, **MRS. I. W. GLEASON**, 1110 West 30th Street, Los Angeles, California.



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attitude toward it that I am taking a personal stand which is for it.

My resolution cautioning women's clubs "to refrain from using their club programs and platforms for so-called peace propaganda, which in most instances is a cloak for sedition and disloyalty," was adopted at the annual meeting of the Illinois Federation in May. This resolution was then approved by the Upper Mississippi Valley Conference and the Conference of State Presidents held during the Biennial and was unanimously endorsed as a recommendation by the General Federation. Not as a resolution only because it got in too late.

I feel that the club women of the nation have gone on record as favoring peace, of course, but not peace at any price. They are for peace but not for the programs of many of the so-called pacifists.

In view of this fact, it is to be assumed that the majority of women of Illinois can see no cause for alarm in the reasonable aims and purposes of National Defense Day. So far as I can see personally, Defense Day is a step forward in the development of the defense army of the people so long advocated by the peace-loving people of Switzerland, and is directly opposed to a policy of offensive militarism.

I have as yet seen no suggestion that there should be any "enormous outlay of time, money or energy," or that we are in any way asked to really "mobilize for war." Each locality is asked to show some patriotic effort, some gathering together of what might be termed our defense forces, at the most convenient hour and place for that locality and at practically no expense.

When we can do away with our police and fire protection which we maintain for preparedness against lawlessness and fire, when Europe does away with all its standing armies, then can we, a nation which never fought an offensive warfare, sanely do away with our meagre army and navy, which is merely serving now as a nucleus for defense.

Let us be reasonable about these matters and not be carried away by high sounding phrases and ideals that are impossible in a world peopled with the kind of people we have with us today and have always had. When we can change human nature we can change these conditions.

I trust you may see your way clear to giving this publicity, because I am sure there are many thousands of women who feel as I do about this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

MAUDE G. PALMER,

President Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs. Tilton, whose letter follows, is editor for the Women's Law Enforcement Committee. She is commenting on Mrs. Catt's articles on the party platforms in recent issue of the CITIZEN.

I REMEMBER so often a remark of Mrs. Catt's just after we had attained suffrage—to the end that in a great battle like that one had to be criticized for the way one conducted the fight because people outside did not understand what the real situation was. Only those close to the center knew the intricacies, and to those who did not know their action was bound to seem queer.

Today there is much criticism abroad concerning the political platforms. I am no insider, but in one instance I should like to note that, perhaps, what the WOMAN CITIZEN has called *queer* is not so fearfully queer when you come at close grips with the situation—namely, the law enforcement platforms of the two major parties. These platforms simply call for law enforcement, and many dyes express themselves satisfied with these platforms.

Here is the situation. Prohibition is today a national policy, because a majority wished

it to be. In short, in the bulk of the country, that lying west of the Alleghenies and south of the Mason and Dixon Line, it is a settled policy—the majority there know it means a long war on the illicit traffic, but they are ready to wage that long war. But in the fringe of states along the East and in spots elsewhere (usually big cities) prohibition has not yet settled itself comfortably into the mass mind as the settled policy of the nation. There is revolt with the hope of an overturn. But these few eastern rebels are not the country. They are a minority, and even where this opposing minority exists, there are many adherents of this "contribution to history" that America is giving, to use Lady Astor's phrase.

Now, suppose in this 1924 political contest you allowed it to become a wet and dry fight. Suppose the Republican party had declared against repeal or modification, and Tammany had, on the other hand, succeeded in getting into the Democratic platform a beer and wine plank. This situation seems absurd now (after the New York Convention), but it did not seem so absurd last February. And national plans have to be made beforehand—long beforehand—because they do not travel by airplane, but by the slow process of organizing—town by town.

Suppose, then, that the Democrats, with a wet plank, had won—where would prohibition have been? It might not have meant a wet victory any more than the Democratic defeat in 1920 meant a League of Nations defeat. But we all know how that is used as a weapon against the League of Nations by those who do not want it.

Can you not see that it might better serve prohibition to take warning by the League of Nations sortie and not let the wet and dry issue into the campaign to be wrongfully interpreted?

The policy of prohibition is coming along well. In a few years the Eastern mind will have settled into it as well as the Western mind. While it is settling, why give the wets any chance to unsettle it and roil the waters? A law enforcement plank gives no chance of unsettlement to a policy rapidly advancing. It simply holds the fort quietly while we lift the East, without an unnecessary battle, into the fort.

ELIZABETH TILTON.

Cambridge, Mass.

IN the *Current History* for June there is an article by Anne Martin, pointing out the different aspects of the woman movement in England and America—that, whereas in England women are working with a united front to get women members into parliament, on to municipal boards and public office generally, in America they are *not* working unitedly and are split up into groups trying to get this or that law through (or merely before) Congress. The position seems to me very well taken. If we could make a drive to get women elected to official positions in town, state and Federal government in numbers, the easy introduction of the reformatory bills we want would follow as a natural corollary. I think this is the secret of the apparent failure of the feminine vote to make itself felt.

Women must concentrate, concentrate and pull every wire they can to get women elected to office and to Congress; not a chance one, but numbers of them. If women would unite with the fervor they showed to put the suffrage amendment through, something substantial to higher governmental methods ought to ensue.

Will not the CITIZEN take it up? Will not Mrs. Catt write several of her rousing articles?

JULIA P. DABNEY.

Brookline, Mass.

We add a hearty amen to this, with the provision (and probably Miss Dabney agrees) that it must not be women at any cost, but in all cases the right women.

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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director	Editor
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN	VIRGINIA RODERICK
Contributing Editors	
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT	
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL	
Advertising Manager	Associate Editor
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART	WINIFRED L. RICH

The Woman Citizen is published bi-weekly September to June and monthly July and August (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City, Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City. By subscription, \$2.00 a year, postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
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Vol. LIII Old Style.
Vol. IX New Style.

No. 7

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WITH all that the papers have told us about the Prince of Wales, his food, his sleep, his clothes, smiles, sports—they have never answered the question so insistent in our mind. What do his papa and mama call him? ♦ ♦ ♦ It's just as well, though, that we should have something like that to think about for relief from reading Republican and Democratic papers in swift succession. ♦ ♦ ♦ It's got so that if we read in one that a nominee has appeared in a blue suit we rush for the opposition paper to see whether it attaches any significance to blue. ♦ ♦ ♦ Our young associate is back from her first attack on Europe, with a chateau in one eye and a mountain range in the other, and a burning determination in her heart to Do It Again. ♦ ♦ ♦ We've had one for ten years now. ♦ ♦ ♦ And the girl who took us through the summer writes: "Think of a place where at twelve, noon, you can look at clean hands unwashed since breakfast, where you can hear the downstairs clock ticking when you are upstairs." ♦ ♦ ♦ Whereupon, glimpsing our own New-York-tinted hands, and harkening to the medley of steam riveter, autos and typewriters, we broke down and wept. ♦ ♦ ♦ Do you know about the farmer who went to town to insert a death notice? He asked the charges. "Two dollars an inch," was the reply. "Heavens!" exclaimed the farmer. "He was over six feet high!" ♦ ♦ ♦ We recently heard the claim made that all husbands are extravagant. ♦ ♦ ♦ We protested feebly that we believed we might be able to mention a few extravagant wives, but we were promptly told, "Nothing in it. Propaganda by the husbands to shield themselves." ♦ ♦ ♦ Anyone ready to defend Friend Husband? ♦ ♦ ♦ Of course, actually stingy ones wouldn't count. ♦ ♦ ♦ We mean fairly nice, average ones. ♦ ♦ ♦ School has begun again in our town, but we don't suppose any city child would answer as did a class whose teacher was asking for "opposites." ♦ ♦ ♦ "Misery," she said. "Happiness," came the answer. ♦ ♦ ♦ "Sadness?" "Gladness" ♦ ♦ ♦ "And the opposite of woe?" "Giddap!" shouted the enthusiastic class. ♦ ♦ ♦ We have made a shattering discovery; namely, that the next holiday, Election Day, does not come on the day the magazine should go to press. ♦ ♦ ♦ But if they get around to changing the calendar to a thirteen-month year, probably this oversight will be adjusted. ♦ ♦ ♦ Nothing would induce us to count up when Christmas comes. ♦ ♦ ♦ Back three weeks and we haven't done one of those things we wrote down memoranda in our notebook to do. ♦ ♦ ♦ buy a planisphere; brush up on geology; take our Daily Dozen; start lessons in something improving—and buy an improved notebook to make more memoranda in. ♦ ♦ ♦ Are other people like that? ♦ ♦ ♦ We hope not. ♦ ♦ ♦

Women in

IN a six months' test Miss Hattie L. Henenberg is trying to find out whether Dallas, Texas, needs a Free Legal Aid Bureau. The city thinks not. Many citizens think so. The Dallas County Bar Association secured Miss Henenberg for the test, lasting from July 1 to January 1, 1925.



Mahoney—Dallas, Tex.

Hattie L. Henenberg

ANNETTE D. BUCK is the first woman to reach the top of the highest peak in the Canadian Rockies—Mt. Robson. And she comes from Brooklyn.



Wide World Photos

Annette D. Buck



Underwood & Underwood

Emma Dolfinger

THE business of Miss Dolfinger is to see that twenty-four million school children in America acquire good health habits. She has recently been appointed Director of Health Education of the American CHILD HEALTH Association, succeeding Miss Sally Lucas Jean, Director of the Division since its organization. Miss Dolfinger has had wide experience in educational and scientific fields—teaching biology in several schools. For the past two years she has been a staff associate of Miss Jean, working with her in child health education activities.

The News

MRS. J. PAUL GOODE is almost certain, we hear, to be in the Illinois Legislature, next year. She won in the Republican primaries, after the first "woman campaign" in Chicago for the legislature—a spirited one, too. Mrs. Goode is a leader in organized women's work.



Helen R. Webster, Chicago

Katherine Hancock Goode

MRS. MIRIAM FERGUSON is presumably the next governor of Texas, by virtue of her anti-Klan triumph in the Democratic primaries. She ran to vindicate her husband, who was almost impeached as governor, and the campaign was a mixture of personal and public issues. The general opinion is that "Jim" Ferguson will be the real governor, but an occasional voice predicts surprises.



Underwood & Underwood

Mrs. Ferguson

THE man with Miss Buck in the picture is a well-known Alpine guide. The peak in the background is, we suppose, the vanquished Mt. Robson.

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

SEPTEMBER 20, 1924

Number 7

News Notes of the Fortnight

With the Nominees

SO far President Coolidge has kept to his program of attending to business in Washington, with little part in the campaign. But there are reports that he contemplates a short Western speaking tour, including only a few speeches. His principal speech of the fortnight was made at the unveiling of the Lafayette statue at Baltimore. Its principal attack was on that clause in the LaFollette platform which advocated conferring on Congress the power to override the decisions of the Supreme Court—a point which is not being stressed in the LaFollette campaign.

The President regards the idea as "an effort to break down the guarantees of our fundamental law," with the "confiscation of property and the destruction of liberty" as its purpose.

A caravan exhibit—a model of Coolidge's birthplace, attended by a farmer friend—is now touring the country.

John W. Davis, Democratic nominee, is speaking in the West. At Omaha, in the heart of the corn belt, he outlined his farm policy. After flaying the Fordney-McCumber tariff and Republican foreign policy, he promised reduction of tariff, extension of farm credits, encouragement of cooperative marketing, revision of rail and water rates, and the restoration of trade with Europe. He attacked the proposal made by General Dawes for a farm investigating commission on the ground that in 1921 and 1922 agricultural conferences were held, without result, and that the farmer situation calls for action at once. Mr. Davis spoke at Cheyenne, Wyoming, on Defense Day. With a few preliminary words asserting the necessity of defense, he devoted considerable time to an argument for peace preparedness, stressing international cooperation. On his return trip his chief effort went to persuade the farmers of Kansas and Nebraska that a vote for LaFollette would be wasted, and that the Democratic ticket is liberal enough for any one. At

Topeka he attacked the Republicans as "an industrial bloc."

Until recently it had apparently been Democratic policy to be mild about the Progressives, merely urging the waste of voting their ticket, and to concentrate attack on the Republicans. Within the past few days, however, Mr. Davis has joined the Republican attack on the Progressives' stand on the courts.

The prevailing Republican tactics are to fight hardest against the Progressives. General Dawes, spokesman for the attack, thundered against the Progressives in LaFollette's own state. Before an audience of LaFollette sympathizers, in Milwaukee, he claimed that the Socialists are dominant among the LaFollette progressives, and implied that, on the assumption that Socialist means "red," the whole movement is menacing.

Senator LaFollette is to address a public meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York, on September 18. Senator Wheeler, who opened an active speaking campaign on Labor Day, is speaking at many places in the East, attacking both old parties as allies of privilege. He stresses the dominant campaign issue of the Progressives—their

Very Briefly

S. PARKER GILBERT, JR., formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, has been chosen to succeed Owen D. Young as Agent General for reparation payments. Mr. Young agreed to serve for only a short time.

Through money furnished by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation a commission is at work on a survey of news sources, news gathering, propaganda—American newspapers in general, and the influences that affect them.

On September 13 General Pershing retired from office as Chief of Staff of the United States Army, having reached the age limit of sixty-four years. President Coolidge issued a special executive order in appreciation of his great services to the country. General Pershing was succeeded by General John L. Hines, formerly Deputy Chief of Staff.

Italy is stirred over the murder of a Fascist deputy in revenge for the murder of Matteotti, the Socialist deputy. The crime was apparently not political, however, but the act of an unbalanced crank.

promise to break the alliance between private monopoly and government.

His response to the charge that the Progressives are attacking the Constitution in declaring for a limitation of the powers of Federal courts to declare laws unconstitutional is that they are proposing a constitutional amendment for adoption or rejection by the people in the usual way. He claims that the courts have gone far beyond the authority given the judicial branch of the Government under the Constitution.

Maine

MAINE, the state that has an election day all its own, and is by tradition a national barometer, went Republican as usual. An unusually interesting campaign fight had been carried on over the governorship. The Republican nominee, Mr. Brewster, was supposed to have Klan support, and at any rate had not denounced the Klan; Mr. Pattangall, the Democratic nominee, was the man who made the minority report asking for denunciation of the Klan by name in the Democratic platform. He had made the Klan the dominant issue in the election. A Republican claim is that the Klan is not large in Maine and that many independent voters resented the injection of the Klan issue. They claim a "triumph for Coolidge." The entire Republican ticket, including senator and representatives, was elected.

The great increase in the total vote—224,000, a record—indicated that the get-out-the-vote campaign is working.

More Klan

UNMISTAKABLY, the Ku Klux Klan counted in the Georgia Democratic primary, where Senator William J. Harris was renominated. He was opposed by former Governor Hardwick, who was Governor when the Klan first rose in the state, and did his utmost against it. He based his fight on the Klan issue, offering evidence tending to prove Harris a Klan member. Harris's majority was overwhelming.

The Klan shoe was on the other foot in Colorado. C. J. Morley, who won the Republican nomination for Governor, had Klan support. He will be opposed by Governor Sweet, Democrat, on a vigorous anti-Klan stand.

In Kansas Ben S. Paulin, Republican candidate for Governor, is to be opposed by William Allen White as an independent candidate. Mr. White, the well-known liberal Republican, novelist and editor, believes Paulin has "practically allied the Republican party in Kansas with the Ku Klux Klan," and is going out to fight.

Upheaval in Chile

A GOVERNMENTAL overturn has come about in Chile, without bloodshed, but apparently—so far as the censorship permits knowledge—without improvement. Four years ago Arturo Alessandri was elected by a labor vote on a platform including labor legislation, income taxes, separation of church and state. The military faction was in perpetual opposition, and recently occasion for a quarrel came over a bill granting salary increases to deputies and senators. Alessandri approved this on the ground that it would enable people of small means to enter the legislature. A committee of officers demanded a veto. The president consented and then resigned. The Senate would not accept the resignation and Alessandri took refuge at the American Embassy. The military group now constitute a dictatorship, but new elections are promised.

Chile has a fine record for orderly, parliamentary government, which is, it seems, to be maintained, even in this disturbance.

At Geneva

THE Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, which has been in session for two weeks, is undertaking a huge piece of work, of tremendous import. It is arranging a program of arbitration and security on which all can agree. At the moment interest is centered on Dr. Benes, Czechoslovakia's brilliant War Minister, who has the heavy responsibility of trying to frame the draft agreement, to be considered through successive stages of committee and plenary session, and finally at a disarmament conference.

Such a conference is included in the resolution adopted on September 6 to which Dr. Benes's work is sequel. Unanimously adopted, it declared for League action to make possible the settlement of all international disputes by arbitral methods, provided for a disarmament conference at the earliest reasonable time, and for a clarification of the clause in the World Court protocol calling for obligatory arbitration. The conference, however, will be in Europe, not in the United States.

On this resolution the two premiers who are doing so much to settle Europe—MacDonald and Herriot—agreed heartily. They do not agree as to just how much force shall back arbitration, and that problem was left for the committees set up under the resolution to work out. Before leaving Geneva each of the two premiers made a powerful statement of his position. MacDonald is for arbitration without military guarantees:

"We don't believe a military alliance is going to bring security. We believe a military alliance in an agreement for security, like the mustard seed, will grow and grow, until at last the tree produced from it will overshadow the whole heavens and we shall be back exactly at the military position in which we found ourselves in 1914. . . . I am for arbitration. I see nothing else for the world. If we can not devise a scheme of disarmament, let us not fool ourselves that we are going to have peace."

Herriot, on the other hand, believes that military alliances are necessary for safety while arbitration is being established, and as backing for the decrees of any arbitral board. And in that opinion he has the following of most of the small nations of Europe.

The next striking event after the resolution was the acceptance of the prin-

ciple of compulsory arbitration, and Great Britain's agreement to use its navy against a nation which the League might declare had started an aggressive war. But in that case, while acting for the League in the interests of peace, Britain stipulates that the navy shall not be held liable for damage to the shipping of neutral nations outside the League. Including us. The boycott principle has been accepted.

A formula is under discussion which means downright outlawing of war. Under Article 12 of the Covenant, nations are allowed to go to war after three months of arbitration have failed. The recommendation is that this be stricken out, and all wars be declared illegal for signatories to the agreement.

War in China

CHINA'S war is hard to understand through the haze of unfamiliar names of men and places. An editorial writer in the *New York World* had a helpful hunch when he transferred the chief regions involved to our own map: making Peking correspond to Washington; Shanghai—a seaport—to Jacksonville; the headquarters of the "War Lord of Manchuria" to Boston. Canton is too far down in the South to correspond to anything closer than Yucatan.

Fighting broke out between two small provinces near Shanghai, between two governors who have usually preserved the peace. Two of the chief adherents of the President of the Chinese Republic at Peking, the Washington of China, took sides with one of these governors, and with a powerful force went to his aid. The War Lord of Manchuria, Chang Tso Lin, supports the other governor with arms, and plans to attack the capital—by no means a new ambition. For this more or less independent baron up there in the North, protected to some extent by Japan, frequently in foreign pay, is credited with a determination to be president. But the lack of railroads—China's arteries of travel are largely east and west, while Manchuria lies north of Peking—hampers him. And the rain. The success of the War Lord could mean no good to China. The present president, who incidentally is a relative of Chang, is generally considered a very fair sort of official.

While the foreign interests, so thickly strewn through China, are worried about their safety, the reflection forces itself that the Peking Government might be strong enough to protect them if foreign interference hadn't continually kept it weak.

AN automobile traveled from Jerusalem to Cairo the other day, following the same route which absorbed forty years when Moses led the Israelites across it. The automobile covered the distance in twenty-four hours.

September 15, 1924.



The desert, at high noon when the sharp shadows stand out, or at sunset, when sky and earth and plant life merge, is the theme of Bertha Menzler Peyton's pictures. For months at a time she studies the peculiarities of the sand dunes, the vivid colorings, and then returns to her studio in New York to transfer her memory-pictures to canvas. One of them is on our cover.

Bertha Menzler was born in Chicago; graduated from the Chicago Institute of Art—studied with Olivier Merson, Aman Jean and Raphael Collin. Her paintings are well-known at exhibitions, having been awarded prizes upon more than one occasion. Her name appears on the membership list of the larger Art Clubs, and she is on the Interstate Jury for the Rotary Exhibition now being held by the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors.

The Famous Railroad Law

By George F. Authier



HE railroad problem, now buried under other questions, will emerge as a leading issue before the present presidential campaign is concluded. All the candidates are concerned about the farmer, and freight charges as a factor in the farmer's situation are bound to come to the front for discussion.

The Progressive movement, headed by Senator Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, has marked the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act for destruction. The Democratic platform squints in the same direction, but without positive assertion, while the Republican platform indulges in certain general statements which may or may not mean endorsement of the principle of the Esch-Cummins Act, but certainly calls for amendments.

Accordingly, the railroad problem centers about the Transportation Act of 1920 written by Senator Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa, and by Former Representative Esch, of Wisconsin, now a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Few measures have come in for more controversy than this, and it will be interesting to consider briefly just what this law is and why it meets with opposition in various quarters.

The Government Controls

In the first place, the act was passed by the post-war Congress to end the period of war-time Federal control of the railroads under the direction of W. G. McAdoo. Its chief provisions were aimed to make possible a settlement of the problems growing out of the war period. But the general nature of the law was not new. In the main it is an enlargement of the various acts known as the "Interstate Commerce Act," the "Commerce Court Act" and the "Act to Regulate Commerce." Out of these various enactments had grown the principle that the Government possesses the power of regulation and that its exercise is in the public interest. The tendency in these various enactments had been toward Federal, and away from state, control. The creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, an independent body clothed with far-reaching power to fix rates and regulate the roads in their service of transportation, has been the basic thing in this development of the policy of Government regulation.

Under the Esch-Cummins law the Interstate Commerce Commission not

only exercises jurisdiction over interstate rates, but can and does exercise that power over rates within states, so that state regulation has become a thing of the past. All regulation is centered in Washington. In a broad way, the policy of the Esch-Cummins Act is to eliminate competition in everything except service and substitute close government regulation for the play of competition in rates and other matters which furnished the basis of competition in the past.

It declares for a policy of *voluntary consolidation in regional systems*, and

In the party platform declarations about the railroads, the Esch-Cummins law plays a star part. What is it? And why is it important? Mr. Authier answers briefly and clearly in this article. It is the CITIZEN'S hope to publish in each issue of the magazine before election a similar short article defining a campaign issue based on the platforms or the candidates' speeches.

directs the Interstate Commerce Commission to work out such a system. A tentative system of such regional consolidation has already been worked out but not adopted finally. Senator Cummins believes the consolidation should be made compulsory upon the railroads and is advocating that form of legislation as an amendment to the act. Presidents Harding and Coolidge both recommended consolidation, and consolidation into fewer competitive systems is recommended in the Republican platform. By many, the proposed regional consolidation is considered the first step toward the consolidation of the roads under one great system, which government ownership advocates insist is working out in their direction.

The act also declared for the general policy resting upon both the Interstate Commerce Commission and the United States Shipping Board that *water transportation* should be developed, together with rail transportation. The Democratic platform says this declaration has been futile.

The Esch-Cummins Act created the *Railway Labor Board*. In framing the bill, Senator Cummins stood for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. But the House amended this and formed the Railway Labor Board of nine members. Three represent the public, three represent the employees, and three the railroads. Publicity was the big force

of this body. As it has worked out, the employers and employees take opposite positions, and all that is left for the public's representatives is to vote with one side or the other without opportunity to take a position representative of the public. Labor has bitterly opposed even the present structure, and its abolition was attempted in the Howell-Barkley bill of the last session, which was defeated.

Both the Republican and Democratic platforms hint at future amendment of this provision in the law.

Section 15-A of the law, known as the "recapture clause," has been the provision most bitterly attacked. It provides that the Interstate Commerce Commission, so nearly as possible, will fix rates, based upon valuation, so the roads will earn $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, to which is added another $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the establishment of a contingent fund. Then, in case any roads earn more than 6 per cent, half of the sum above the 6 per cent shall be turned over to the Government, which shall use this fund to make loans to weaker roads that need the help.

Objections from Both Sides

This provision has been attacked from many angles. The so-called "guarantee" is resented as favoring the railroads at the expense of the consumer. The inequality between charges on strong and weak roads has been attacked: a weak road, under this clause, is entitled to earn as much as a strong successful one—which means it must charge higher rates. And while consumers object along these lines, the railroads themselves object to the provision for turning in their profits. It has been contested by railroads in the courts, but the Supreme Court decision recently entered holds the law is sound.

We have seen that the Esch-Cummins law provides for rate-making on the *basis of valuation*. This question of valuation is the vital one in the entire railroad question. Roughly, the higher the valuation the higher the rates; and those opposed to the law attack the basis on which the valuation is made. Ten years ago the Interstate Commerce Commission undertook, under authority of Congress, a physical valuation of the American railways—a tremendous appraisal job. It based its tentative valuation, in a large way, upon the cost of reproduction of the property, less de-

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"What Makes Mrs. Comstock Great"

By Ruth Sawyer

Author of "Doctor Danny" and
"Gladiola Murphy"

LONG ago I remember a North-of-Ireland man saying: "Do ye mind—man or woman be's like a cabin with more nor one door and window to fetch in to." Ways of contact, through which the world outside may pass and discover what that secret thing is from which has grown the greatness or the smallness of each one of us.

The North-of-Ireland man's words came back to me last midsummer as I stood on the front doorsill of The Ledge, ready to turn the knob and go in to interview Anna Botsford Comstock. Some



Anna Botsford at eighteen

people are housed only within their four walls. One finds Mrs. Comstock housed far outside. It is as if she lived part in—part out. A gorge with its deep-throated stream runs below The Ledge. Woods shelter one side, a garden the other; and as I waited on the sill I heard a veery sing and a wood pewee call, saw a pair of redstarts flash under a hemlock and watched a pert young chipmunk dash



Friends—Dr. and Mrs. Comstock

over the porch railing, giving full evidence of being house-fed. And when I turned my back to the woods I could see the vined walls of the pretty Swiss chalet that houses the Comstock Publishing Company where Professor and Mrs. Comstock's books are published.

I had known Mrs. Comstock long as a person of many contacts, doors aplenty with the bobbins always out, windows with shades high, offering friendly beacons for any and all who waited welcome. It came to me as suddenly as the flash of the redstart, that to give her to an unacquainted public through the single front door of a personal interview would be to but half give her. Why not get at her through the back door, the side porch, over the roof and down the chimney? And if I had not the time and knowledge to find the way in I could find others who had. So I hunted up an old teacher of hers who had come back to Cornell for summer study and put the question to her.

"Why was Anna Botsford Comstock put among America's Twelve Greatest because of her nature study work?"

"Don't you know?" There was amazement and commiseration for my dullness. "It's because she never selected some special line and stuck just to that. She stands back of it all—the study of animal, plant, insect life. She could be a specialist in any one of those branches; but she's taught us and inspired us with the subject as a whole—kept it all related—made us see it alike through the little individual problems and through the big generalizations. She has made the subject human as no other real scientist has done. I guess it's that and the genius she has for helping others to understand and find out things for themselves."

Human—help. She came back to those words many times as if they were keys to open doors into secret places.

This teacher-student passed me on to another: "Here is some one who knows her better—she comes back every summer when she can to study with her. She's heard Mrs. Comstock lecture on Thoreau twelve times and she was just as thrilled the last time as the first." The two laughed together and the first went back to her classes.

"What do you think is the secret that lies at the heart of Mrs. Comstock's success?" Asking the question was like lighting a beacon.

"Being able to humanize the whole field of nature study. That and her humor. She has a way of putting things—presenting her subject—that keeps it from ever getting stale or dead. No one could hear her give a lesson and go out afterward and teach nature study with cut and dried facts. She makes everything she touches live; and she wants to help us to get from our work what she has gotten. I guess that's part of the secret. The other thing is"—she hesitated as if she wondered what I would make out of it—"the other thing is that she makes us feel God through nature. That's the biggest part of it."

Human—help—God. The last door had opened still wider.

There was more that that teacher-student said, but it was what she made me see which counted most. Endless, radiating streams of them—teacher-students like herself—going out of those nature study classes into schools all over the country and carrying with them the big gift of one woman's understanding and interpretation of natural life to pass on to generations of children to come.

On the college campus I found a colleague—a woman on the faculty with her who had shared her beginnings when the State College of Agriculture was in its infancy. "No one can measure what Mrs. Comstock has done for the rural schools and communities with her les-

sons and leaflets and teachers' institutes. She has made them see the world that lay at their back doors and really live in it. She has helped to make the boys and girls more contented to stay on the farms and keep to their farming. She has awakened them to the beauty of bees and flowers and crops—life of every kind. I've heard her give a lesson in cross fertilization in flowers that had all the wonder and poetry of the creation itself."

Inside the Comstock Publishing Company I found a world map pinned to the wall thickly studded with little red pins. These pins mark the sales area of the "Handbook of Nature Study." The Prime Factor of the Company pointed the map out for me. "They call it 'the nature student's Bible.'" He laughed. "You can see it's sold all over the world — Australia — China — England. It's in its fourteenth edition and we didn't think it would pay for the printing."

"What has sold it?"

"It's sold itself; or rather what's in the book and what's in the person who wrote it. Thousands of teachers get out of it something of the same inspiration that the students get out of her classes. It stands for the most careful—the most human sort of records and study. No nature faking—no sentimentalizing. That's why it's gone big."

As I was leaving he called me back. "Ever see any of her wood-engraving? We keep the blocks here." He pulled open drawer after drawer, showing box-wood blocks of all sizes on which could be seen the finely cut outlines of butterflies and insects, exquisite workmanship standing for hours upon hours of the most patient, feeling work.

The Prime Factor showed them as proudly as if the workmanship had been his own. "She started that way—making illustrations for the Professor's first text-book. She's a member of the Society of American Wood Engravers. She could have made herself famous at that alone if she hadn't gone into the other thing."

I was on my way back to The Ledge and the front door when good chance brought me up short with the professor of a certain science in the University and a lifelong friend of the Comstocks. "Tell me," I said, "what do you think has made Mrs. Comstock great?"

It didn't take him a minute to answer. "The absolute integrity of her work and her gift for friendship. There is no one else like her. Ask the old students who come back what brings them. Wherever in the wide world Cornell students are located, when they think of their Alma Mater, Mrs. Comstock stands for its human embodiment more than any other member of the faculty."

The greatest gift of friendship. I thought of Ibsen and his comment that he never could afford friends. Back at

the front door I found the veery still singing. It took no time to bring me over the threshold into the Comstock study. My first question was the usual one and Mrs. Comstock's answer to it was delightfully characteristic.

"The first thing I knew about it a Hartford paper wrote asking for a photograph; and I was so sure that it was a mistake I wrote them back not to print anything until they were positive that I was the Comstock meant."

"If you could choose anything you wanted to do now—what would it be?"

"My wood engraving. I have always wanted to go back to it." She laughed

When you have a well-known novelist writing about a famous scientist, you have—this article. Ruth Sawyer lives in the same city with this one of the "Twelve Greatest Women"—who has for many years taught Nature Study at Cornell University—and writes of her, one might say, from a community point of view.

in a low undercurrent, a way peculiarly her own. "There's a funny thing. I never expected to keep up the nature work. When Mr. Comstock was made United States entomologist his work was heavier than he could carry alone. So I helped him with the microscopic end of it and did a good deal of typing. When we came back to Cornell I thought it would be only a little while before I should be back at the engraving."

Her eyes kindled with memories. I could see enthusiasm grow that was as eager as any abroad on the campus that day. "Those months of study at Cooper Union were wonderful. I never knew a teacher like John P. Davis. He could

criticize without destroying our faith in ourselves. He read us Browning; he sang passages from the Creation and the Messiah. He was librarian of the Oratorio Society and he gave the class tickets night after night for concerts and opera. Do you wonder we were filled with the spirit of creation!"

Here was the true zeal for learning something new. It explained in a measure why Mrs. Comstock, nearing seventy, gave out all the warm vividness of an eternal springtime. Possessing such a faculty one cannot grow old.

But it was not until she had turned back to her nature work and was explaining why she had particularly wanted to reach out to the rural schools that I came upon the real secret of Anna Botsford Comstock's greatness. Quite suddenly we swung clear of those days at Cooper Union, of the early days at Cornell, when she was one of the first women students of the "Annex"; and she opened the door leading into her childhood. Then I saw. She took up a small parchment book and gave it to me.

"That was my mother's reading book. She was a wonderful woman. She worked hard—all the time. Ours was a big farm. We kept forty cows, made cheese, kept sheep, spun our own yarn, took it to mill and brought back the cloth for our woolen clothes. Hard work, you see; and yet my mother always had time to read. Look inside—you'll see she didn't lack for high thinking. We generally boarded the schoolmaster. At night he would read aloud while mother worked. She loved beauty more than anyone I ever knew. She carried it through life, hard work, sickness; she never lost it. Often there were relatives—neighbors out of luck—staying with us; but she always kept her time to read and her love of beauty. Always there was time to point it out

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A glimpse of "The Ledge", where the Comstocks live

The Lie Factory

By Carrie Chapman Catt



HE apology of Secretary Weeks to the Joint Congressional Committee for the false charges disseminated by the Chemical Warfare Bureau (Chief Brigadier General Fries), and the promise to order the destruction of the offending "spider web chart" connecting all the best-known women's organizations with red propaganda, did not close the matter. It is not easy to catch nor to stop a lie when it has once started on its course. Further developments caused the New York *World* to send a correspondent (Leonard L. Cline) to Washington to investigate. He learned that a woman librarian in the Chemical Warfare Service had secured what she thought was evidence by writing letters to radical women designed to draw them out, while pretending to be in sympathy with their views.

One such letter went to a woman who had once served as organizer of the National Woman's Party, and in reply the librarian learned that this one woman believed in the "communistic idea in some form" which would have to be brought about by revolution, "peaceful if possible, bloody if necessary." Right here let us note that the Woman's Party is not a member of the Joint Congressional Committee, nor of the National Council for the Prevention of War, the two organizations attacked. Whether the woman in question is now a member of the Woman's Party is not known, and if she is a member of any one of the organizations involved in the general condemnation, she is certainly an inconspicuous one.

Threads in The Spider Web

The librarian also wrote a Russian Soviet leader who replied to "Dear Comrade" and assured the Chemical Service spy that she was "quite sure we shall never establish communism if we do not take up energetically the question of educating women to communism." From these slender threads, the "spider web chart" was woven by the imaginations of those in charge of that new branch of war—the Chemical Service.

When, in December, 1922, Brigadier General Fries, Chief of the Chemical Service, spoke in Kansas City, the press quoted him as declaring that the National Council for the Prevention of War (a council of thirty-five affiliated organizations, each of national scope) purposed to establish communism in America. In support of this, writes Mr.

Cline, "he quoted from the Field letter, thus fastening on organizations with which Miss Field had no connection, the personal opinion which she had been tricked into revealing."

From this point we may move forward or back, and in both directions the revelations are equally interesting. Brigadier General Albert J. Bowley,

It has long been noticeable that any one conspicuously working for peace is likely to be accused of allegiance to Soviet Russia. Many people have wondered why. Mrs. Catt decided to try to find out, and her investigations have resulted in a series of articles. The series really began with that article in the May 31 issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN called "Poison Propaganda"—about the famous spider web chart which linked up the leaders of prominent women's organizations with "Red" propaganda. "The Lie Factory" continues the story. Later articles will go into the sources and the workings of such propaganda.

commandant of Fort Bragg, North Carolina, has been speaking about the country also. On March 7, he spoke before the Chamber of Commerce at Columbus, Ohio, and there he is said to have pronounced the National Council for Prevention of War "the tool or organ of the Soviet Government" and added that it "has as its impelling motive the overthrow by violence of our form of government."

He accused Mr. Libby, the somewhat strenuous Quaker who is the director of the Council for the Prevention of War, of six specific offenses: 1. That Mr. Libby was educated for the promotion of communism in Russia or by Russians. 2. That after returning from Russia he taught communism in Pennsylvania. 3. That he is a communist. 4. That Mr. Libby and his associate, S. E. Nicholson, take turns visiting Russia to get instructions direct from the Soviet Government. (Mr. Nicholson is engaged by the Friends' Relief in Europe.) 5. That Mr. Libby and the National Council are not only the tool of the Soviet Government but their constructive measures are simply a cloak to hide their sinister designs. 6. That Mr. Libby and the National Council have as their impelling motive the overthrow by violence of our form of government.

With affidavits from responsible citizens of Columbus that these accusations

had actually been made, General Bowley was called upon rather numerously for proofs. Says Mr. Cline, concerning one inquiry, "With much assurance he referred her for documentary evidence substantiating his charges to three men; namely, J. E. Eichelberger, editor of the *Woman Patriot*; Fred R. Marvin, editor of the Searchlight column of the New York *Commercial*, and W. H. Whitney, secretary of the American Defense Society." Upon request for the promised documentary evidence, Mr. Whitney dodged all responsibility, and refused to furnish any form of substantiation of General Bowley's statements. Mr. Marvin declared that he was having something prepared in the way of proofs, but for some reason it does not appear, and meanwhile Mr. Marvin rivals Mr. Whitney in his evasion of responsibility. Mr. Eichelberger admits very definite suspicions of Mr. Libby, but he has no proofs. Meanwhile, the Council for the Prevention of War, following the example of the Joint Congressional Committee, sent a deputation to Secretary Weeks (June 16), with a statement of General Bowley's untruthful charges, substantiated by affidavits, and with the denial of each charge.

It requires no affidavit to prove to very many acquaintances of Mr. Libby among whom he has moved throughout his life: 1. That he is not and never has been a communist. 2. Consequently he has never taught communism in Pennsylvania or elsewhere. 3. That he never has been in Russia. 4. That he is a law-abiding citizen who believes in the American form of government. 5. That he was a canteen and Red Cross worker throughout the war. The statement announces these well-known facts and adds what some millions of people also know, that the Council "is an organization standing for law, order, the flag and the Constitution of the United States" and gets its support by contributions from Americans "who oppose war as a means of settling international disputes."

Anti Activity

To return to Mr. Eichelberger. This gentleman appeared some years ago as the generalissimo of the anti-suffrage forces. He spoke at hearings, lobbied legislatures, managed state anti-suffrage campaigns, and attended the lady antis. About the time the vote was won, the anti-suffrage paper, the *Protest*, changed its name to the *Woman Patriot*, with

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Mothers-At-Law

By Mrs. Arnold S. Yantis

ONE evening in September our door bell rang and two of the Republican political leaders in our state came in, as I supposed, for a chat with my husband.

I sat down with my sewing, prepared to listen to a discussion of political affairs. To my great surprise and dismay they turned to me, and asked permission to file my name as candidate for the House of Representatives in our State Legislature.

"But," I exclaimed, "how could I, a housekeeper doing my own work, and a minister's wife, possibly do anything like that!"

They reminded me of how long and hard many of us had worked to open these doors to women, and how necessary it was for women to take advantage of their new opportunities. To my surprise both my husband and my daughter sided with them and said, "Oh yes do, Mother. If you can win in the primaries and get the election we will see that you have time to go."

Four Reasons to Run

While they were talking, many things flashed into my mind. I thought of the work just started in our state to eradicate bovine tuberculosis. After seven years of hard work through our State Federation of Women's Clubs, and in other ways, for pure milk and for meat inspection, we women had accomplished very little. Tubercular milk and beef are being sold every day in our state.

I thought of several cases of injustice, even cruelty, which had come to my knowledge through my husband's pastoral work, to little children born out of wedlock. Perhaps the time had come for mothers to go themselves to the legislature and try to win, through legislation, justice for these children.

I thought of our many divorces in this state, where divorce is granted for fourteen different causes, and of the large number of young couples who had come to our home to be married without the knowledge of their parents. Some of them were girls of sixteen and boys of eighteen, full of excitement, restlessness, and a desire for adventure. They were just at the age when they most needed safeguarding.

I thought of our high infant mortality in this state. We have a hundred towns where there is no resident physician or nurse. We have many moth-



Kimball Studio, Concord, N. H.

Wanted—Women in Every State House

ers working in our mills who have no prenatal care, and often improper obstetrical care, who cannot nurse their babies because they must work. Under the Sheppard-Towner act we had already started, in a small way, to aid these mothers. I knew that we could save the lives of many babies if we could get our state to appropriate about \$8,000 to meet the Federal appropriation for this purpose. But I knew it would not be easy to get the appropriation.

Is there any woman in the world who would not be thrilled by the thought that she might do something to help save the lives of babies?

I turned to our callers and said, "Yes, you may file my name."

On a bright cold winter day, January 4, I went up the steps of the State House, at Concord, with my credentials in my hand, a duly elected member of the House of Representatives. I entered Representatives Hall with an escort of

four hundred strange men, who did not seem to see me at all. Presently the other two women members entered together, and I introduced myself to the lady from Portsmouth, Mrs. Caldwell, the mother of four children, and to the lady from Raymond, Mrs. Bartlett, grandmother of eight.

Did we settle down to talk about tax reform or the forty-eight-hour bill? The lady from Raymond was so hoarse from campaigning she could hardly speak aloud, but she began at once to call me Effie. The lady from Portsmouth said, "We never can tell whether our hats are straight, or our noses powdered, for there's not a mirror anywhere, but I'm going to see that we have one." (A few days later a mirror appeared on the side of our locker, the first one, I am sure, ever seen in that lobby.)

My first thrilling experience was introducing two bills into the legislature, the first two bills, I believe, ever introduced there by a woman. One was a joint resolution for the Sheppard-Towner appropriation. The other was a bill to raise the age of consent two years in this state. A few days later I introduced a bill to give rights and a status to children born out of wedlock.

Hard at Work

Our next thrill was our committee appointments. The House was Democratic, so I was much gratified to be placed on so important a committee as the Public Health. I was also placed on the State Library Committee. Mrs. Caldwell was put on the Education Committee, while Mrs. Bartlett received the greatest honor of all. She was made chairman of the Public Health Committee, of which I was elected clerk.

Then real work began, and we were often so busy we went without lunch altogether.

Our Public Health Committee was one of the most active in the House until the last few weeks of the session. There were upon it, besides Mrs. Bartlett and myself, thirteen men—all earnest and conscientious. If they felt any resentment because the chairman and clerk of the committee were women, they were much too courteous to show it.

We worked hard, but we also had our fun. There was one man in the House who was to it what the old-time jester was to the King's Court—except that this man did not mean to be funny.

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This story has a plain moral. An account of one woman legislator's experience, it shows why women want women representatives, and why they are needed. Many of the eighty-odd women elected to state legislatures in 1922 and 1923 had the same "woman interests" that Mrs. Yantis describes. Many others surely are candidates this year. Women must stand together to see that the mother point of view is represented.



© National Photo
The Fireplace

The G. F. W. C.'s Home - Center



The Entrance



HIS is a purely domestic page. It is concerned with food and the way to cook it. It is also concerned with women's ability to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear—the ear in this case being a stable which, however celebrated as having sheltered a general's horses was, just the same, a dark and dingy stable; and the purse being a modern tearoom (with a difference). It is, besides all that, a demonstration, if one were needed at this late day and hour, that being organized doesn't make women incapable of waffles or new ideas in kitchens.

On the contrary, if anything.

Getting down to names and addresses, the stable-tea-room-home-center is in the back yard of the General Federation of Women's Clubs Headquarters at 1734 N street, N.W., Washington, D. C., which Headquarters has appeared in these pages and will again—and more. The tearoom idea is rather new, and the home-center plan is quite new. It works out in two ways.

First, there is the encouragement to individual cooking in those stalls shown in the photograph of the dining room: each one has been electrified—with the last word in convenient equipment—and guests are allowed to toast their bread personally, perk their own coffee and prepare other dainties on the individual table stove. The big fireplace—big enough for real backlogs—of course adds to the homelike appearance of the one-time thoroughbreds' headquarters.

There are Persian rugs on the floor; Wedgwood china and silver deck the tables; orange fish net and blue burlap at the windows and orange silk shades on the lights make a once dingy room bright.

More important is the model kitchen (once the car-

riage house) equipped as was that of the Home Sweet Home House for the opening of the Better Homes movement, and with the same ideal of serving as an experiment station for increased efficiency in homemaking. It is itself a demonstration of modern equipment—with all those conveniences, some altogether undreamed of in many a kitchen economy, that make the housekeeper's mouth water. Cooking by electricity is demonstrated on a white enameled range, with a magic timeclock that all but draws the cake out of the oven. And cooking is



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The Dining Room, Where You Toast It Yourself

also demonstrated on a really modern gas range, with a timing device of equal efficiency, and a superior system of ovens. Kitchen tables and kitchen cabinets—a double sanitary drain-board kitchen sink, just the right height, no doubt, and an iceless refrigerating plant, add to the charms of the place for those whom kitchens charm.

All these things, and a score of others—electric, enamel, china and textile—have been made possible through the cooperation of manufacturers who see the value from both the women's and their own point of view of such an exhibit.

But the tea house is not a mere museum of modern conveniences. It is also a sort of extension course in housekeeping. Classes have been planned—some courses already given—in buying, cooking, serving, furnishing, and all the rest of it. The idea is to develop this home center aspect of Headquarters fully, with lectures by experts in all phases of home-making.

The Associate Director of Headquarters, Mrs. Frances Carter, has direct supervision of the tea house and home-center. Miss Lida Hafford is director.

We have left out the hayloft, it seems. It is a private room fitted up for small parties, so that tea, luncheon or dinner may be private—whether for cards or conferences.



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The Model and Alluring Kitchen

Politics and the Home

By J. Calvin Brown

Author of "Politics and Welfare"

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PRESIDENT COOLIDGE is carrying on the cleanest and most dignified campaign ever witnessed in America. The practice of using class hatred, scandal or personal abuse in a campaign is a primitive and old-fashioned political weapon which has probably lost its usefulness, and should be frowned upon. American voters follow with remarkable attention the serious policies of political parties and they are not stampeded by such tactics which only vex and interrupt their intelligent examination of the issues.

They prefer to have the candidates intelligently debate the issues which vitally concern their welfare, under reasonable rules of orderly sportsmanship. America is too big and strong to be seriously injured by one or two dishonest officials, but the voter knows that welfare can be totally destroyed by bad economic laws and the result to him is the same whether his money is stolen or wasted, except that waste can run into heavier sums than thieves dare to steal.

American politicians are as honest as the run of men in any other great profession, and few of them leave estates as large as they would have left had they run a butter-and-egg shop for the same length of time, and been as successful in its conduct as they have in the service of the nation.

When the Republican Party took office in March, 1921, they became so active in prosecuting dishonesty that they so filled the criminal and civil courts that it was necessary to appoint twenty-three new Federal Judges. They brought nearly ten thousand civil suits and more than sixty-five hundred criminal suits from which they collected and returned to the Treasury, 12 million dollars which had been wrongfully taken. They settled 37 million dollars of claims for less than 2 million dollars, and this was real watch dog work, and as President Coolidge remarked, "is not the way of dishonesty."

Republican Accomplishments

When the Republicans took office in 1921 there were 5 million unemployed in the United States. Now every man and woman is employed and wages have advanced. The American farmer was on the verge of bankruptcy, his mortgages were being foreclosed and the prices he was able to realize for his

grain and products had almost dropped to the pre-war level. Now he is paying off his mortgages and prospering as is the farmer of no other country on earth.

In 1921 the public debt was nearly 24 billion dollars, and now, since the Dawes Plan, it is possible for our European creditors to arrange to pay the interest and fund off their debts, so that the public debt has been reduced well under 10 billion dollars. The American taxpayer has been relieved of the duty of paying off that extra 14 billion dollars of capital, meanwhile paying annual interest on it amounting approximately to one billion dollars per year.

In March Government bonds were selling at \$85, today they are above par, and the bonds are in the hands of the American public. The difference in their capital value is over 3 billion dollars. In 1921 the world was continuing its mad and extravagant armament race. Today a contract has been signed under which no such extravagance is possible before 1947. In 1921, three years after the Armistice, we were still in a state of war with the Central Empires; today we are at peace with the world. In 1921 German currency and life were in a state of collapse, and no one had a hope that Germany would be able to pay to the world any of the sadly needed war burden.

The Dawes Plan

Under the Dawes Plan she will be put on her feet with a new sound currency and a definite position in the commerce of the world and she will be able to make the reasonable payments required of her, and these payments will put France on her feet and enable her to pay her debts to America and relieve the American taxpayer of this duty.

In 1921 we were losing 16 million dollars per month in the Shipping Board; we are now losing only 4 million dollars per month. In 1921 we had a loose, pork-barrel system of Government appropriations; we now have the Dawes Budget System, and the annual appropriations were reduced the first year over 3 billion dollars. In 1921 we had numerous stocks of surplus war property on hand; now this has all been sold without disturbing industry. In 1921 we were buried in a maze of complicated disputes, law suits and claims over war contracts; now these have been nearly all settled and cleared away by very reasonable payments. A record to be proud of!

Protective Tariff

The progress of the United States between 1860 and 1924 has been the marvel of the world and the welfare of American men and women in the United States is the envy of the people of other countries. The child of the American laboring man has more pin money than the wife of an English Free Trade laborer. The American housewife is able to feed and clothe her family almost as well as the banker's wife in Free Trade England. A large percentage of American families own their own automobiles, while the European laboring family can scarcely afford a bicycle. The mothers of America can give their children educational advantages that are unapproached in any other country on earth.

Increase in National Wealth

During this time the population has grown from 31 millions to 112 millions; national wealth to 320 billions; banking turnover to 380 billions; the value of manufactures to 43 billions; the value of farm land to 54 billions; bank deposits to 24 billions, and the per capita wealth \$2,918 for each man, woman and child in the land. This prosperity and advance has been general throughout all classes. Some 85 per cent of the entire population consists of the farming and laboring classes, and in 1922 there were 13 million savings bank depositors owning cash deposits amounting to 7 billion 300 million dollars and this sum of money belonged largely to American laborers. This wealth was evenly distributed, and the combined value of farms and savings bank deposits amounted to thirty times the total bank capital of the country, and yet there were only 2,352 persons in the United States who paid income tax on incomes exceeding \$100,000 per year.

Compare with this wonderful welfare of the American homes the condition in Free Trade England where more than two million people are supported by doles, rates, pensions and charities; while in 1912 one out of every four English persons died in the workhouse, asylum or hospital; and six out of seven left no taxable property at death; while the average British wage was \$8.43 per week. During the whole of this progress since 1860, America has had a Protective Tariff except during four years of Cleveland's Administration, and the eight years of President Wilson's Administration. During each of these two Democratic administrations there was a financial panic.

The La Follette Record of Achievement

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I AM for Senator La Follette because of his sound political philosophy and because of his understanding of the far-flung problems of modern life. I rejoice in an opportunity to work for "progressive-political action" under a leader who has, since 1898, successfully led a progressive movement inevitably expanding through a quarter of a century.

JANE ADDAMS.

I am for Senator La Follette for President because I have known him and his political activities for more than thirty years, since first I was a resident at Hull House, Chicago, in 1892. I am for Senator La Follette for President on his record as a legislator in Wisconsin, as Governor of that State, and in the Senate of the United States.

In all the years I have known him he has helped in every way open to him the cause of women, of Labor, and of children. The platform on which he stands is the only one which wholeheartedly supports the Child Labor Amendment.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

Senator La Follette heads a movement which has a program of public service—service to the millions of men and women who are the workers and producers in this country. The old parties seem to offer as little as they can, and to be as negative as they can be, in order to escape the problems which the Progressive program faces.

To the woman who works for her living it seems to me there is only one choice among presidential candidates and political movements this year. It is Senator La Follette who stands upon a platform which pledges the right of the workers to organize and collectively to cease work, which pledges protection of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage, which pledges a remedy for the injunction evil, which promises ratification of the child labor amendment; which, in short, faces the vital problems of government and politics and proposes a solution.

In this campaign we have a chance to vote, not for the less undesirable of two unsatisfactory platforms, but for a platform and a candidate to which on their own merits we can give wholehearted support.

ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN.

I am for La Follette because his public record inspires me with confidence. The measures he has supported in the

IN 1908 and 1912 Senator La Follette proposed thirty-one measures, all of which were at the time condemned as "radical." Of the thirty-one measures thirty have since been enacted into law by the "conservative" parties.

Among these measures originally proposed by Senator La Follette and now law, are the following of special interest at this time:

Extension of suffrage to women.

Extension of the eight-hour law to all government employees, including those employed by contractors and sub-contractors doing work for the government.

A general employers' liability act in Federal jurisdictions.

Publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures.

Regulation of telephone and telegraph rates and services.

Physical valuation of railroad properties.

Permanent tariff commission.

Election of senators by direct vote.

Creation of a Department of Labor.

Extension of the postal service to include a parcel post.

Adoption of the income-tax amendment.

A Federal inheritance tax.

Legislation to remove uncertainty as to anti-trust prohibitions by specifying and prohibiting methods, practices and conditions, which experience had shown to be harmful.

Creation of a Federal Trade Commission (1) to ascertain the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, (2) to determine the facts which may be declared by law to be violation of the anti-trust law, (3) to require uniformity of accounting and book-keeping.

Senate convince me of his fitness to govern. He has consistently worked for the welfare of women and children. All his life he has been a staunch friend of labor and the farmer. He is for reduction of armament and against conscription. He stands for principles, for ideals,

for government by the people. He is a virile constructive statesman. He will meet any issue that may arise squarely. For all these reasons I shall vote for La Follette.

HELEN KELLER.

The candidacy of La Follette and Wheeler offers to the women voters of the United States what it offers to the men, an opportunity to put the control of the government of the United States back where it belongs, in the hands of the people. We shall hear very often in the next few weeks that it is the party of discontent. So it is; so are all parties of reform. The question is, who is discontented and why? There are special groups with special grievances and special remedies, and there is the more fundamental discontent of the general public. This last concerns itself with two points, the loss of control over the machinery of government and the appalling dishonesty in public matters. The connection between the two has become apparent.

MRS. GORDON NORRIE.

Senator La Follette stands for the fundamental things which the two old parties seem afraid to stand for. He sees governmental problems in their effect upon men and women as human beings rather than their effect upon commercial interests in dollars and cents.

Working women have seen the courts and all the other powers of the government used to interfere on the side of special privilege against their constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage. We have seen strike after strike of garment workers, of waitresses, of glove workers, of textile workers, or other trades in which girls on a peaceful picket line were the victims of injunction judges and police under orders dictated by the interests of business. Senator La Follette is the first presidential candidate, and his is the first presidential platform, which promises relief from the intolerable abuse of the injunction in labor disputes.

Working women have seen the United States Supreme Court take away two Federal child labor laws. They have seen that same court nullify a minimum wage law for women, and thereby declare that there exists in this country no legal right to a living wage. Senator La Follette and his platform undertake to go to the root of such wrongs as this.

ELISABETH CHRISTMAN.

Democracy's New Leader

This page is supplied by the Democratic National Committee

SOME of the reasons for their support of John W. Davis, given by Republican and Independent women who prefer the interests of their country to the triumph of their party, are:

"John W. Davis has the best claim to the Presidency this year and the best prospects for election. A vote for him is, therefore, a certain and satisfactory result at the polls in November."

"The Republican administration has betrayed the trust of those by whom it was placed in control of the Government."

"To restore public confidence in the Government we need a truly great, courageous, conscientious lawyer of the ability and aggressiveness of John W. Davis."

"Mr. Davis is the best-informed man in the United States on the subject of foreign affairs."

"Mr. Davis has a record of experience and achievement that proves his equipment for the Presidency."

"Sick and disabled veterans and their friends have a right to expect the Government to provide humane and gener-



John W. Davis

ous care for these victims of the World War. John W. Davis would end the reign of incompetence and corruption in the Veterans' Bureau and expend the money appropriated not upon spoilsmen but for the hospitalization of the veterans for whom it was intended."

"As the candidacy of John W. Davis made a special appeal to the independents in his own party so also should it have a particular attraction for the other independents within other political parties and groups."

"Everything points to the election of a Democratic Congress this year. There should be a Democratic President to lead this Congress."

"With a split in the Republican ranks there is imminent risk of throwing the election into Congress with the uncertainty and chaos that would surely follow."

"The largest measure of relief for the greatest number of taxpayers is the policy favored by John W. Davis. His record in Congress is a guaranty of his performance in the Presidency."

"ENFORCEMENT of laws without delay or discrimination, and with protection for the innocent no less than punishment for the guilty, is the pledge and program of John W. Davis, who will make the Department of Justice fit for its purpose and worthy of its name."

Child Labor

AND if we open wide by education the door of opportunity to the child we owe it to him to see that human greed does not close it again. It is a blot upon our good name that child labor should be permitted anywhere in the United States to dwarf the minds and bodies of the future citizens of the Republic. To stunt the growth of a child in his most critical years; to rob him of his opportunity for education, and make of him a juvenile drudge for mere purposes of profit is a crime against the future of the race.

"Of course, the several states can, and they should, prevent this thing. I would not wish this power taken from them. When Congress had passed, in 1916, its first child labor law, it became my duty as Solicitor-General to argue in its favor before the Supreme Court of the United States. I urged in

its support that unless a uniform standard was adopted throughout the United States, the states that wished to legislate against child labor would be deterred because of the economic advantage they would suffer in comparison with their less progressive neighbors. I call attention to the fact that for like reasons more than one international conference has been called to bring about equality among the nations on similar subjects.

"The reasons which I put forward in support of the law of 1916 seem to me still to obtain and lead me now to favor this ratification of the pending child labor amendment. Responsibility for decision on that subject now rests with the states themselves, but were I a member of the state legislature my vote would be cast to ratify the amendment."

John W. Davis, in his Labor Day speech at Wheeling.

Editorially Speaking

Campaign Pages Again

YOU will find three official campaign pages in this number, as in the issue of September 6. The CITIZEN believes that these pages, offered side by side, give readers a real opportunity to increase their knowledge of campaign issues, and is glad to make their presentation possible. They are filled by the National Committees without editing on the part of the CITIZEN. They are official arguments.



The Sugar Tariff

THE tariff on sugar is an item of much importance to American housewives these days. It is 2.20 cents a pound on foreign sugar, and 1.76 cents on Cuban sugar. This tax on Cuban sugar has been raised since 1920 from 1 cent a pound to 1.76 cents, and is at the highest point of many years. The United States is the biggest sugar-consuming country in the world. The present sugar tariff costs us about \$200,000,000 a year—nearly \$2.00 for every one of us. Nearly one-third of the total custom revenue of the country comes from this tax.

On the one side, favoring the high tariff, are the forty thousand beet-sugar growers of the West. Without the high tariff they claim that their industry would be killed. On the other side are 110,000,000 of us who are paying a heavy tax on an essential food. But the question is not as simple as this sounds. Without the beet-sugar growers, the one side claims that Cuban sugar would have a monopoly, and could then control and dictate prices: the other side claims that the beet-sugar growers would be amply protected by a much lower tax.

More than a year and a half ago the tariff commission was ordered to investigate the cost of producing sugar in this country, to determine if so high a protection is needed. After long delay, the commission made two reports: the Democrats on the commission recommending a cut in the sugar tariff, while the Republican members recommended that it remain as it is. It is a question women should study.



Defense Day

ON the evening of Defense Day, we switched on the radio and heard from one speaker these words, as nearly as we can remember them: "War is not in itself wrong. . . . There are only two ways to avoid it: by treating other nations right and by being so strong they will treat us right." Follow that through—apply it to every nation—omit, as the speaker did while we heard him, all reference to international cooperation to prevent war—and see what you have. It was the sense that Defense Day would mean thus stressing only one side of the problem that inspired the protests of many, *not* pacifists, against the observance—a subtle effect not to be realized in any obvious way, but pervasive. As far as one could guess, the day went off quietly, and though it can't be proved, it seems probable that its spirit was modified by the widespread protest. Apparently care was taken to emphasize the democratic features of the test and to ensure freedom of choice in the civilian demonstration.

There has been a persistent application of the pacifist label to all who protested. This is most unfair if pacifism be under-

stood to mean the absolutist position. Hundreds who objected to Defense Day believe in sane defense measures. But they believe in peace measures, too, and they thought that the time chosen for defense demonstration, with Europe moving toward peace without our full cooperation, and no danger threatening, was the wrong time.



Pity the Husbands!

FOR a long time we have seen nothing funnier than this, from the New York *Bulletin* apropos of the recent order that married women in Government employ must sign their husband's names: "The thing for the Government to do is to replace them with unmarried women. Let the married women go home, cook their husbands' meals and raise families. Let them quit their cafeteria menus, their Pekinese petting apartments, and their 'I-am-free' existence."

What a discourager of matrimony! Before a woman marries, she may be an educator, an artist, a scientist, a writer, or an expert in Government employ, but after she marries, her only proper job is to cook her husband's meals. Imagine, if she must give all her time to cooking for him, the fancy, complicated menus she will provide, and the indigestion he will get. But even the most elaborate three meals a day can't take all a woman's time—and suppose there is no family to raise? What shall she do besides cook? Spend her spare time at the movies, or playing bridge? We seem to remember that a good many wives are doing this now, and, by the way, these are the kind we have seen petting Pekinese. The picture painted of cafeteria (the writer probably meant delicatessen) menus, of Pekinese petting and kicking up her heels generally is truer of the kind of woman who has nothing to do but cook her husband's meals, than it is of the hard-working woman employee of Government bureaus.



Marriage and Work

THE serious side of such a sentiment is that the mistaken notion still exists in some men's minds that a married woman should not be permitted to earn a living. They ignore the dire fact that many a woman, even though married, is obliged to work in order to live and to maintain those dependent on her. Women are not working for amusement or to have money to spend on Pekinese (their wages would not go far in this direction), but because of necessity. There may be ill husbands, dependent parents, minor brothers or sisters to support—children whom the father's wages do not take care of. Many men do not earn enough money to support their families.

The studies of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor give endless data which prove this. In one study on wage-earning women in Manchester, New Hampshire, 85 per cent of the husbands of married women who were at work earned less than \$1,500 a year. From 30 to 68 per cent of these women testified that they were supporting dependents wholly, or in part. This report testifies that married women workers are bearing a double burden—carrying on the work of the household in addition to their outside work, and the report adds that "although they may be making only a small financial contribution, economically they are important factors when this financial contribution is added to the value of their activities in doing housework and

keeping up the home." Agitating against the employment of married women is penalizing marriage, and is an added cruelty to a large group of women which they do not deserve.



Without Benefit of Fireworks

A LETTER from Norfolk, Va., tells a strange tale—with a wonderful appeal in these days of partisan charge and countercharge. It is about the election of two members of the city council of five. There were four candidates for the two positions, and the remarkable feature of the election was that the two who were elected, Major S. Heth Tyler and Mr. E. J. Robertson, made no campaign. Neither made a speech nor had a platform. They were requested by a group of public-spirited citizens to serve and agreed to do so if the people wanted them, but both expressly stipulated that they would make no effort to be elected; that they did not wish to take office bound by campaign promises or under obligations to campaign supporters, and although this attitude came in for considerable criticism as the election drew near and their opponents pursued the conventional campaign tactics, they did not deviate from their position.

"That they were elected by large majorities demonstrates what we have often suspected," says the writer, "that given a high type of candidate, the people can make up their minds without the assistance of jazz-bands, street speeches, mud slinging, advertising, work at the polls, and all the usual first aids to political decisions."



The Illiterate Vote

THE Illiteracy Commission of the National Education Association says that more than 4,300,000 illiterates will be entitled to vote for President and Congress, and that of these more than 3,000,000 are native-born. Doubtless illiteracy doesn't necessarily mean inability to cast an intelligent vote; nor does the ability to read and write equip one with the power to make a wise choice. But the danger inherent in the illiterate vote is too obvious for argument. Some would find in this condition an argument for changing the basis of voting, as New York did a few years ago by introducing a literacy test among the qualifications. But the attack, if it is to get down to fundamentals, must be the direct attack on illiteracy. Women and women's organizations are increasingly alert to the problem. It is one to be tackled not only through such efforts as those for a Department of Education in the Cabinet, but locally, in state and in community. The CITIZEN would be grateful for reports on constructive work to promote education in any part of the country.



Facts vs. Feeling

A POLITICAL campaign offers an excellent opportunity for the cultivation of certain desirable qualities: ability to argue from facts, not emotional prejudices; freedom from mere partisan heat and from a personal rancor at an acquaintance for holding opposed views; good-natured tolerance and self-control. Emotional discussion often means exaggeration and overstatement. Ten to one, the person who makes a sweeping claim about a measure or a candidate is short on detailed facts. We may have plenty of feeling for our cause and our candidate, whoever he may be; we may even express it to good effect in discussion; but the basis must be cold facts.

These are qualities for which women are not traditionally famous—whether because of inherent nature or because of

lack of experience and training. But the difference between men and women on this point can easily be exaggerated. Women under such training as the League of Women Voters gives have had intensive drill in concentrating on facts; still there is something in the claim that women take things personally, and here is a good chance to train out of it. Facts, reasons, first—understated rather than overstated, emotions afterward.

One good simple recipe (we got it from a man) is a deliberate lowering of your voice if you find yourself getting unduly excited!



"Servants"

AN opinion on housework and houseworkers that has often been expressed in the CITIZEN was forcefully put by Margaret Bondfield not long ago. Miss Bondfield is parliamentary secretary to the labor government of Great Britain. She was herself a working girl, and has worked for workers all her life. Her talk was made to some girls who were in training for domestic service. She said: "The skill of home work is just as high as that required in tailoring or teaching, and ought to be treated with the respect that is due to skill. . . . I very much regret the terms that are sometimes used about household work and workers. I resent the suggestion that you are stepping down in the social scale by taking up domestic service. . . . To mistresses I would say that they do not know what they lose by maintaining the old attitude toward servants—the attitude of a superior toward an inferior status."

The war fairly disrupted domestic service in England. Doubtless it will never be restored to its old place, since special training and such teaching as Miss Bondfield's are raising its level. The old-fashioned English household may eventually have to take its service on these modern terms or none.



Women Lawmakers Wanted

ON another page you will find an article written by one of the eighty-odd women who sat in state legislatures during the sessions of 1923 and 1924. The article was written at the conclusion of the New Hampshire legislative session, and has been in the CITIZEN's files for some months, awaiting space for publication. It appears now with a special mission in life—as a timely demonstration of what we mean by the "woman point of view" in legislative bodies. It would be absurd to say that men legislators never urge such measures as the three women mentioned in the article support. But women should not risk leaving them to men—they should make sure, by the choice of the right women to sit with men, sharing with them in all the duties of legislation but keeping a keen, motherly eye on those interests of women and children which are so vital to society as a whole.



Roll-call on the Child Labor Amendment

LET'S keep tabs on the legislatures and the child labor amendment: Arkansas had the honor of being the first state to ratify it; Georgia the dishonor of being the first to refuse. North Carolina has now sided in with Georgia; the Louisiana Legislature has voted to postpone indefinitely any action on this subject, and the Massachusetts Legislature has decided on a referendum to the people which will be taken this fall. Friends of the amendment, though they are not underestimating the fight they have on their hands, are not discouraged; but it is important that women should understand that only a stiff fight will win.

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Good Speed to the Child Labor Amendment

PASSED by more than the necessary two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, commended for favorable action by the presidential candidates of all parties, supported by important national organizations both of men and women, the Child Labor Amendment now awaits ratification. From this point forward progress must be made state by state.

It should be a ratification primarily by public opinion and only incidentally by the formal action of state legislatures. It should also be speedy, because the years of childhood are precious and no future legislative enactment can make good the losses in health and schooling which children of today may suffer because of inadequate legal protection. That it will not be easily accomplished is already only too clear. Arkansas has ratified, but the rejection of the Amendment by the legislatures of Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina, although anticipated, points to honest differences in political theory that must be faced. Meanwhile the flooding of the press with unfavorable publicity from quarters obviously actuated by selfish interests promises opposition of a more sinister kind. Whatever their source the arguments raised against the amendment merit careful examination. Every constitutional amendment raises great questions of statesmanship, and this one more than most because it involves the whole problem of the relationship of public welfare to government.

Of timely interest to women, therefore, is the announcement of two new publications designed to put into their hands the facts about child labor and about the Amendment. The material for these has been compiled by the Women's Committee for the Children's Amendment, the actual work being that of a subcommittee of which Miss Ethel Smith of the National Women's Trade Union League has been the indefatigable chairman and on which the League of Women Voters has been represented. The first of these publications is a six-page leaflet for popular distribution. This gives the text of the Amendment, summarizes the facts about child labor in the United States, gives the history of past efforts to check its growth by federal action, and answers briefly the arguments most commonly raised against the Amendment. The second is an expansion of the first but because of its greater length is far more inclusive and is rich in quotation from the Congressional debates, from legal opinion, from the statistical reports of the Census and of the federal Children's Bureau, and from the pronouncements of men prominent in public life.

Clearing away at once many absurd misapprehensions which have arisen as to the nature of the Amendment, the first section of the pamphlet deals with the Amendment itself, what it is, what it means, what it empowers Congress to do, and what it says and why. It explains the process of ratification, pointing out that favorable action by the legislatures of thirty-six states is sufficient and that in 1925 there are legislative sessions in forty-two states. By a review of the federal child labor laws of 1916 and 1919 and the Supreme Court decisions which declared them unconstitutional, and by showing how child labor, like other economic problems, has taken on interstate character and can no longer be effectively regulated by state action alone, the need for a constitutional amendment is forcefully brought out.

Most helpful to women already convinced of the desirability of federal action but unfamiliar with the considerations which entered into the phraseology of the Amendment in its present form is the section which takes up one by one the arguments of the opposition, particularly those against the eighteen-year provision, the use of the word "labor" instead of "employment," and the failure to make a particular exemption of agriculture. It is clear indeed in explaining that the Amendment is not in itself a child labor law but a grant of power to the Congress. Strange as it may seem, the distinction between a statute which would totally prohibit the labor of children up to eighteen years of age, and an amendment which fixes eighteen years as a limit beyond which Congress may not legislate is one which needs to be reiterated and thoroughly understood. The other headings in this section of the pamphlet are suggestive of its value—"The Poverty Argument," "Extent of the Power Granted to Congress," "Interference Between Parent and Child," "Will Congress Abuse Its Power?" "What About Agriculture?" "Why Not Leave It to the States?" "Enforcement Machinery and Costs."

Valuable political ammunition is contained in the enumeration of the organizations which appeared for and against the Amendment at the Congressional hearings, in the pronouncement of three Presidents, and in the declarations contained in the platforms of the major political parties from 1916 to 1924. "The need of regulating child labor is emphatically one of those great occasions which calls for the legislative interposition of the people of the United States through the Constitution," says the Dean of the Harvard Law School in a statement which tops a list of opinions by legal authorities. There follows a long section, perhaps the most illuminating in the entire pamphlet, of generous quotation from the debates on the Amendment selected from the Congressional Record. An excellent bibliography under the caption "Where to Find Facts" concludes the pamphlet.

No doubt those who are interested in the constitutional questions raised by the Amendment and who want to find not only facts but philosophy will extend this reading list to include those debates of long ago when the people of the United States first adopted the Constitution. The great question of controversy then was the conferring on the federal government of powers considered necessary under the conditions of that day, to "promote the general welfare," and the other purposes of government. The issue is the same today—only the conditions have changed.

Women will speed the day of ratification in order that the protection now required for the welfare of children shall meet no constitutional obstacle.

Women as Jurors

This is a partial reprint of an article written by Mrs. F. Louis Slade, president of the New York State League. It presents convincing arguments for use in campaigns for a woman juror's bill.

OUR League has been working for women jurors in this state practically ever since the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The word "male" is in our Jury Law. In those states where the law reads "citizens," for instance, women automatically become eligible. In twenty-four states either this was the case when the suffrage amendment became effective, or they have been admitted to service by act of the legislature.

The League is not bent on jury service as a right, although, of course, it is one. It is much more interested in the matter considered in the light of a duty. And for this reason we have never consented to a permissive bill. The forty-one exemptions allowed men in this state make the New York law so permissive now that lawyers and judges are at their wits' end to get dependable and intelligent jurors. If to the law were added merely a permission to women who wish to serve, we should get mighty few women—naturally, since women and men are much alike in their desire to avoid inconveniencing themselves in the service of the state. And the lawyers who thought their clients had a better chance before a jury made up wholly of men would be able to keep out of the jury box most of the women who were unwilling to attempt evasion of service.

In the files of the League of Women Voters are recent letters from many judges, serving in a dozen states where women jurors are used. These letters are practically unanimous in their expression of approval. Many of the writers say that they were against women on juries when such a thing was proposed, but that they have since had cause for a radical change in opinion.

The only judges who express doubts, so far as this wide correspondence goes, are those in localities where attorneys or jury commissioners have prevented the service of women, so that the judges have had little or no chance to test women's work in this capacity.

It certainly appears from the experience of our neighbors in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania, as well as in other states where fair trial has been made, that the sentimentality feared by opponents, the reluctance to vote the death penalty, the sympathy with wrongdoers and lack of judgment in weighing evidence are characteristic of people in general, and that the practical inconveniences of mixed juries, as in twenty-four-hour disagreements, are easily overcome. With striking frequency these judges write that "character, not sex, determines the quality of the juror."

A man serving for the first time on a jury came back to his home and urged his wife to do all she could in the League's campaign for women on juries. He had sat through sickening cases that concerned attacks on children and young women and had become convinced that to have such cases tried exclusively by men was not only indecent and cruel, but failed to insure justice.

As a jury woman of Maine retorted, when told that the jury quarters were not fit for women to enter: "Well, then they certainly are not fit for the men. Let's make them fit for us both!"

In my part of the state the sheriff tells us that the detestable crimes which run side by side with the bootlegging business will not be stopped until women serve on juries and lend their strength to the conviction and punishment such crimes merit.

From New Jersey comes the statement that the service of women on juries is giving them a knowledge of the prevalence of crime and showing them the necessity that exists for measures of prevention. From New Jersey, too, comes the account of a liquor case in which the evidence against the defendants was overwhelming. The foreman turned to the one woman on the jury and asked:

"How strongly do you feel about this?"

"So strongly," came the reply, "that I am willing to sit here for three weeks if necessary."

The foreman threw up his hands and a verdict for conviction was brought in without further delay. A similar story comes to us from a judge in Wisconsin. The jury was out twenty-four hours, but a verdict in accordance with the evidence and the law finally was brought in.

Many cases contribute to the present inefficiency of our juries, both in civil and criminal cases, and the inclusion of women in the panels will not automatically cure the defects. But it will help in curing some obvious and grave evils, and for this reason, inconvenient as jury duty always is and disagreeable, too, women ought to be allowed to bear their share.

It is difficult for those of us who have been urging this matter on the state legislature for some four years to understand the opposition. We feel about it as does a certain justice of the Maine Supreme Court, whose letter closed with the question: "What doubts flit past the aroused intellects of those who are not with you on the jury proposition?"

What One Questionnaire Revealed

EVER since the League organized to disseminate untarnished political information, the circulation of questionnaires to primary and election candidates has been one of the most helpful and fruitful undertakings in the big job of political education. As a result, there are indications everywhere of an ever-growing interest in campaign issues and the candidate's fitness for the office he seeks. Now comes the story of an "illuminating" campaign episode which tells plainly that the League is carrying its work of political education to the candidates themselves!

One of the larger League organizations in Wisconsin recently sent out a questionnaire to local candidates. One of the men who aspired to the nomination for assemblyman called the League correspondent on the telephone. "I'm Mr. X," he said. "I've just received your questionnaire and I don't like it. Why, you've asked me to answer questions I never heard of."

Apparently irritated and desirous of shifting responsibility, he continued: "Why, lady, I venture to say there isn't a candidate running who could answer these questions. I've asked three officials at the City Hall and they couldn't answer them, but I finally found one man who said: 'You better ask the women; maybe they'll know.'"

Having helped in the compilation of this questionnaire and knowing the questions so intimately she could say them backward as well as forward, the woman at the other end of the wire came to the assistance of this much-bewildered candidate.

"What are the questions of which you never heard? Perhaps I can help you by explaining them," she said.

"All right," Mr. X said. "You ask me my attitude on the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. I never heard of such an amendment."

"The Child Labor Amendment, Mr. X," said the League member, "occupied important space in all newspapers during the past year, and was passed during the final days of the last session of Congress. Now three-fourths of the states must ratify it before it becomes a part of our Constitution. Are there any other questions bothering you?"

"Well, you want to know whether I am in favor of the re-appropriation of funds to take advantage of federal aid for the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act. Now, I don't know what that Sheppard-Towner Act is."

After an explanation of this Act, Mr. X admitted that the so-called "Education Program of Wisconsin" about which he had been asked to express an opinion was another question about as intelligible to him as the Greek language.

An episode such as this has many aspects, but to members of the League it is a serious matter. It points the way for every League, for the "Mr. X's" in the political world are not confined to any one state or locality. To the intelligent and capable candidate the questionnaire is a veritable boon;

to the less intelligent candidate, who has depended upon the ignorance of voters or "pull" to put him in office, it comes as a tremendous shock and a rude awakening.

The 1924 Publication List

THE 1924 list of publications of the National League is now ready. When it is realized that publications have become one of the most popular services of the League, it is not surprising to learn that this reading list is in great demand, not only from League members but from many other public-spirited persons, organizations, research agencies and libraries. In sixteen pages the publication lists the names of all pamphlets issued by the League, together with a brief description of each pamphlet and the price list.

It is a reading list of simple, interesting facts about political problems and their relation to everyday life. Technicalities employed by political scientists in the discussion of similar subject matter have been avoided. Every pamphlet is intended to meet the needs of the citizen or group with a desire to learn more about government and its functions. The list is a reflection of the serious-mindedness of women who want unpartisan political information. It contrasts the viewpoint of the old-time politician, who, in looking over the subject matter of League publications, declared, "And they call that politics!"

The popularity of publications is proved by the growth of the publications department. The rapidity with which orders arrive at the national headquarters keeps two shipping clerks busy all day. In the month of August alone, over 15,000 pamphlets were shipped by the publications department.

Those publications especially interesting and more recently added to the general list are: "Platforms of Political Parties"; "Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign Text Book"; the explanation of the ten points in the adopted program of the Department of Efficiency in Government; "Know Your Foreign Policy"—issued by the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War; "The Legal Status of Women in Forty-eight States"; a leaflet and pamphlet on the Child Labor Amendment, compiled by the Women's Committee for the Children's Amendment; an explanation of the working program of the social hygiene committee.

Minnesota's Legislative Council

SUMMER weather and all its traditional drawbacks when it comes to energy and work were cast into the discard by the Legislative Council of Minnesota, as it worked steadily through the summer months on its program for 1925. Reports of the conference on proposed measures indicate that the bustle and stir in the subcommittees as the time drew near for the drafting of a final program resembled very much the excitement at the capitol just before the legislature meets.

A new committee, known as the Committee on Final Program, was established to consider all proposed legislation as fast as the measures were endorsed by the council. On this committee, of which Mrs. Andreas Ueland, honorary president of the Minnesota League, is chairman, rests the responsibility of selecting from the measures thus placed before it a program not too long to be successfully supported in the 1925 legislature. Mrs. Ueland is assisted by Miss Florence Monahan, Miss Mabel G. Pierce, Mrs. J. J. Guise and Frank J. Bruno. While no indications are forthcoming as to the measures, it is certain that the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment will occupy an important place in the program.

With seventeen statewide organizations represented in its membership, the Legislative Council is entering its fifth year in the legislative field. While the Council itself is purely advisory and does no active legislative work it has established a reputation for careful deliberation and good sense which give to its recommendations unusual weight in the minds of Minnesota legislators.

The Council has been greatly strengthened this year by the

appointment of an Advisory Rural Committee, composed of nine women from rural communities, who make criticism and suggestions from their experience in the observation of laws in operation in rural territory. Miss Alice Kercher, chairman of the law enforcement committee of the Minnesota League, and a young lawyer of Minneapolis, is responsible for the publication of a list of all measures passed by the Legislature which had the approval of the Council. The publication contains a summary of the provisions of each law with special indication of the administrative officer who is charged with its enforcement.

Leagues and League Work

EVIDENCE that the Institutes of Politics and Government conducted by the League attract many politically-minded women, who are not members of the League, is given in the report of the Institute conducted by the California League in June. Out of 164 persons registered, only forty-eight were League members. Seven men were registered, and attended most of the sessions. Twenty-five of the 164 persons were teachers, fourteen of whom were seeking credit for the special secondary certificate in citizenship. The success of the Institute is shown in the fact that thirty-five of the registrants signed for the 1925 Institute in San Francisco.

THE work of the North Carolina League in directing a study of the juvenile courts in North Carolina has been recognized by the Board of Public Welfare, which invited Mrs. Mary O. Cowper, executive secretary of the League, to lecture at the School of Public Welfare of the University of North Carolina. In the last nine months Mrs. Cowper has talked in forty-four counties on this phase of League work.

BOTH the first and third regions are finding the monthly letters from their respective directors, Mrs. James E. Cheesman and Miss Adèle Clark, just "full of news" and interesting bits. Mrs. Cheesman's first letter came out in June, but Miss Clark did not circulate her first message until after the close of the Democratic National Convention. Both letters present a sweeping bird's-eye view of the many League interests in each region, the progress of the work, and especially, as election day draws nearer, the League's big job of getting out the vote.

A ONE-DAY citizenship school was conducted by the A Ventnor (New Jersey) League on August 27. The speakers included Mrs. A. J. Steelman, chairman of the efficient government department of the New Jersey League, who discussed, "Aims of the League of Women Voters," and "Election Laws and Getting Out the Vote"; Dr. Luther Gulick, head of the bureau of public administration of New York City, whose subjects were "Municipal Organization" and "Local Taxation and Revenue," and Dr. Sedley Phinney, executive secretary of the New Jersey League of Municipalities, discussing "Can Tax Burdens Be Decreased?"

WHEN Mrs. James E. Cheesman, director of the first region, toured Vermont recently, she was instrumental in forming a new League at Middlebury. The organization meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Paul D. Moody, wife of the president of Middlebury College. Officers elected were: President, Mrs. J. J. Ross; vice-presidents, Miss Theodora Crane, Mrs. W. S. Huntley; recording secretary, Mrs. Paul D. Moody; corresponding secretary, Mrs. William W. McGilton; treasurer, Mrs. C. F. Abbott.

TAKING care of babies seems to be a woman's job the world over, so it is not surprising to hear of the work of the Memphis (Tennessee) League. At the Tri-State fair, the League was in charge of the day nursery, where babies were registered and cared for. Mrs. George Higgins was general chairman and Mrs. Clyde Hall was chief registrar.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

ATHENS, OHIO: Mass meetings, handbills, telephone calls, automobile corps and house-to-house canvassers when summed up resulted in a forty per cent increase over the 1920 primary vote in Athens. On August 12 Mrs. Lucia Johnson Bing, president of the Athens League, went from poll to poll every hour checking up on the voting.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA: It is not easy to arouse the voters to a sense of responsibility to vote in the general election in a one-party state when a candidate is virtually elected in the primaries, but the Alabama League holds that voters should vote, regardless of the probable results of an election. The League invited representatives of 250 organizations to a luncheon meeting in Birmingham on September 17, and they enthusiastically made suggestions and laid plans for the campaign to get out the vote in November, just as though everything had not been decided in the Democratic primary last May. Mrs. W. D. Nesbit presided.

CINCINNATI, OHIO: It is Mrs. J. T. Hall's intention that no member of her get-out-the-vote committee shall lack information on campaign methods, and so she has ordered thirty-six copies of the National League's campaign textbook for the use of the thirty-six members of the Cincinnati committee.

DES MOINES, IOWA: The League's booth was in the Education Building at the Iowa State Fair. Mrs. Gordon Elliott's map, which showed voting percentages by counties, attracted much attention.

DOVER, DELAWARE: The governor and other state officials spoke at the Delaware League's mass meeting on September 8 when the Highway Tourists reached Dover in their tour through the state. A careful itinerary was prepared and followed, and thirteen cities were visited where meetings were held, speeches made, literature distributed, and plans formulated for getting out the vote. Miss Mathilda Seipp is chairman of the get-out-the-vote committee in Delaware.

FLORIDA: In spite of the heat:

Primary vote cast in 1920.....	88,422
Primary vote cast in 1924.....	146,696
Percentage of increase,	65.9.

GLASSBORO, NEW JERSEY: One sets up a booth at a fair to get publicity, says the Glassboro League, and when the Gloucester County Fair opens the League's booth will be conspicuous with banners, streamers, pennants and a press agent, Mrs. Edward Darr and her assistants having seen to that.

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA: While the percentage of increase in enrollment in 1924 for the entire state was 13.2 per cent over the enrollment figures of 1922, Greenville ran away with a 29 per cent increase for its county.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA: In the president's get-out-the-vote letter to her local chairmen, Miss Marguerite Wells begins by announcing that she has just read Elizabeth Frazer's article on the League in the August *Ladies' Home Journal* and she adds, "We simply must make good on this thrilling undertaking for which we are receiving so much praise." Among the suggestions offered, the chairmen are ad-

vised to ask school children to write essays on democracy and voting.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA: At a meeting of the Pennsylvania League's get-out-the-vote committee in Philadelphia, Mrs. Morton Z. Paul, who represents 400 local divisions of the Pennsylvania Congress of Parent-Teachers, announced that her organization has pledged itself to dispense with regular school matters in the September meetings and work to get out the vote.

PLATTSBURG, NEW YORK: Mrs. Robert Ford made an interesting report on the work which has been done by the Clinton County League at its convention on August 12.

PRATT, KANSAS: The League followed up the primaries by sending a letter to the chairmen of each of the county central committees, asking each for information on the vote of his party. The figures will be tabulated and prepared for future reference.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA: Miss Hazel Hart, secretary of the Department of Organization of the National League, spent a day with Miss Adèle Clark discussing plans for the get-out-the-vote campaign in the third region.

SOUTH CAROLINA: The good work brought results!

Persons enrolled in 1922.....	227,370
Persons enrolled in 1924.....	257,796
Percentage of increase,	13.2.

TOLEDO, OHIO: Those who dined in restaurants on the day before the primaries received the usual information from the waiter regarding the soup or the fish, and in addition they were informed that the primaries would be held the next day. On primary day when the waiters inquired quietly whether or not the roast was satisfactory, they also asked the diner if he had voted.

WAGON MOUND, NEW MEXICO: An enthusiastic get-out-the-vote meeting was held at the Vermejo Ranch on August 27. Mrs. J. J. Larkin, president of the New Mexico League, reported on the progress of the campaign and plans were made for the autumn work.

WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA: All women who reach the ripe old age of twenty-one in 1924 in Wheeling are to be invited to attend a first voters' party. The Wheeling newspapers have indicated their approval of the undertaking by printing coupons which are to be clipped by the eligibles, filled in with names and addresses, and mailed to the League's office. Invitations will be sent to all the persons thus listed.

The Cartoon Contest

THE National League has offered a prize of \$250.00 for the cartoon published between September 2 and November 4 which is "best designed to arouse interest in voting and to stimulate attendance at the polls." A distinguished committee of political writers and a representative of the National League will judge the cartoons submitted, after election day, and award the prize. The judges are Bruce Bliven, Miss Elizabeth Frazer, William Hard, David Lawrence, Miss Katharine Ludington, Mrs. Anna Steese Richardson and William Allen White. ANN WEBSTER.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The Sheppard-Towner Act

A REPORT published by the Children's Bureau says that between March 20, 1922, and June 30, 1923, \$1,688,047.12 has been expended by Federal and state governments to promote the welfare of mothers and babies under the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act. Federal grants during this period amount to \$1,046,523.56 and state appropriations to \$641,523.56. In 1922 the government made payments to forty-three states, twenty-eight of which matched the allotment in full or in part; in 1923 to forty-one states, thirty-five of which made appropriations. By June 30, 1923, all state legislatures had met, and forty had passed acts enabling them to receive appropriations during 1924. Kansas, Illinois, Louisiana, Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island were the states not included, but in July the legislature of Louisiana accepted the act and that state will receive its share in 1925.

Women Ministers

QUOTING from the *International Woman Suffrage News*, which in turn quotes from the latest year-book of the American Churches, there are seventy-five women who have been ordained as ministers in the Congregational Church of the United States, seventeen of whom are in sole charge of churches.

Get-Out-the-Vote

ON page 21 of this (and every) issue is much that has to do with getting out the vote at the coming election. This is all about the League of Women Voters' campaign, however. The Young Women's Christian Association has also organized, under Miss Henrietta Roelofs, national head of legislative activities. Branches all over the country have been asked to mobilize for each state's registration day. Automobile caravans to the polls, a chairman in every precinct, and a check-up during registration periods are in the program to induce a seventy-five per cent vote in 1924.

While perhaps men do not belong in these columns, still the national drive to arouse young voters launched by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce—William D. Saltiel at its head—deserves mention. Political forums, house-to-house canvasses of precincts, meetings in schools and radio speeches are the methods to be used to increase the vote. Mr. Saltiel plans to use the man power of the Junior Chamber of

Calendar

THIRD Women's Activities Exhibit—September 22-27, Hotel Commodore, New York City. The Exhibit, as explained in our last issue, is held under the auspices of the New York League of Business and Professional Women.

Annual Conference of the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland—commonly known as the "Women's Parliament"—October 6-10, Brighton, England. The subject is "The Call of the Younger Generation."

An "Allegiance Luncheon" held by the Woman's Philadelphia Committee for Law Enforcement, October 13, at the Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, to join in the campaign to get out the vote. Reservations (\$2.00) can be obtained from Mrs. Lucian H. Alexander, 157 Carpenter Lane, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Second Annual Meeting of the American Child Health Association—October 14-15-16, in Kansas City, Missouri.

Eleventh National Recreation Congress of the Playground and Recreation Association of America—October 16-21, Atlantic City, New Jersey. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Navy, will be one of the principal speakers.

Fourth Annual Convention of the National Council of Catholic Women, St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 9-12, 1924.

Commerce in a nation-wide campaign—the first concerted action that has been taken to get out the vote of young people.

Mrs. Blair Again

MRS. EMILY NEWELL BLAIR, National Committeewoman from Missouri, was elected first vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee after the nomination of John W. Davis for President. Her term is four years. CITIZEN readers know that Mrs. Blair has served as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee during the past four years, so her duties will not be new to her.

Another honor was bestowed upon Mrs. Blair at the open-air demonstration in Lincoln, Nebraska, when Charles W. Bryan accepted the nomination for the Vice Presidency. For the first time a woman presided at such a meeting, and that woman was Mrs. Blair, Chairman Clem Shaver waiving his privilege in her honor.

For the Negro Home

SINCE 1912, when Annie P. Hunter became the first Negro woman agent employed in cooperative extension work among Negro farm women, one hundred and one Negro women have entered this field, according to the United States Department of Agriculture. They are regular home demonstration agents,

showing the Negro farm women of the South the improved methods of food preparation, clothing, sanitation, farmstead improvement, home industries, and community development.

In Louisiana

THE Louisiana legislature passed a law on August 1 that all male persons applying for a marriage license must, within fifteen days prior to application, have undergone a physical examination.

Maine Is Called

MRS. GUY P. GANNETT, national committeewoman from Maine, has been "drafted" by William M. Butler to help Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, to develop the Republican campaign among women.

New Members

THE Bureau of Home Economics—Dr. Louise Stanley, chief—has had five recent additions to its staff. C. Rowena Schmidt, a graduate of the University of Missouri, is now administrative assistant to Dr. Stanley. Early in September, Margaret Bostian, also of the University of Missouri, joined the staff as the first new member of the clothing and textile division, under Ruth O'Brien; Mabel Normington, graduate of Michigan Agricultural College and Chicago University, was appointed to the division of foods and nutrition, and Greta Gray, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has been temporarily appointed to build up the division of housing and equipment. On September 15, Edith Hawley, graduate of Columbia University, joined the division of economic studies under Hildegard Kneeland. All of these women, through their college work and practical experience, are well fitted to aid in the expansion of the Bureau of Home Economics.

China's Child-Labor Suggestions

THE Municipal Council of Shanghai some time ago appointed a commission to prepare a child labor report—probably the first of its kind in China. Investigations have resulted in the following recommendations to the Municipal Council: Prohibition of the employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under ten, the age rising to twelve within four years from the date the regulation comes into effect; restriction to a twelve-hour day, with one hour's rest for children

under fourteen, and a full twenty-four hours' rest in every fourteen days. Further recommendation is made that a trained staff of men and women be employed as inspectors.

A New Memorial

AT Brewster Park, Plymouth, stands a new memorial to the steadfastness and courage of the Pilgrim women. It is "The Pilgrim Maiden" in bronze, the work of H. K. Kitson, of Boston, and the gift of the National Society of New England Women.

Westchester's Luncheon

GET-OUT-THE-VOTE" is the phrase on the lips of every member of the League of Women Voters these days. On September 11 the Westchester County (New York) League held a "Getting Out the Vote" luncheon. Mrs. Caspar Whitney, county vice-chairman, opened the program with "What Women Expect of the Parties," stressing particularly peace, law enforcement and the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. Mr. Morris Hillquit spoke for the La Follette-Wheeler campaign; Governor Albert C. Ritchie, of Maryland, represented the Democrats and Judge Theodore G. Risley, of the Department of Labor, spoke for the Republicans. Mary Garrett Hay was the last speaker, making an appeal to all women to vote, whatever their party.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT has just been elected Honorary President of the Peruvian Council of Women.

First Lady (Doctor) of the Land

MADAME CHIKAKO KURODA has recently opened a medical practice in Tokio. She is the first Japanese woman to receive a medical degree—and to the Tokio Higher Normal School goes the honor of conferring it.—*International Woman Suffrage News*.

Voices in a New Field

ANOTHER legal restriction against women in business has fallen in France and a woman may now set up as a public auctioneer—(good vocal training for Parliamentary service some day perhaps).—*International Woman Suffrage News*.

A Speakers' School

FIVE HUNDRED women have just been graduated from a speakers' school of training on national issues of the campaign, held at the Women's National Republican Club, New York, September 9-10-11. This is the first national campaign school for women. Six states besides New York were represented: Pennsylvania, Rhode Island,

The Prize-Winners

THE high-school girls who entered the CITIZEN'S essay contest on the question "Is Woman Suffrage a Success or Failure in My Town—Why?" turned in their papers after school closed and the verdict is now ready as school reopens. The judges, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, formerly chairman of the Division of Citizenship in the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace, of the Department of Government at Columbia University, and Miss Olive M. Jones, president of the National Education Association in 1923-24, agreed rather closely, and the verdict stands as follows:

First Prize, \$50.00—ROZELLA HEINAUER, Massillon, Ohio.

Second Prize, \$25.00—ELIZABETH FADDIS, Morgantown, West Virginia.

Third Prize, \$10.00—SHEILA CHRISTEN, Morgantown, West Virginia.

(Apparently, a class in Morgantown, under Mrs. S. F. Loudin, took up the subject as a theme for study, each pupil writing her paper according to the terms of the contest.)

Practically all of the contestants answered the contest question, "Success or Failure?" with "Success." Their reasons, of course, had a wide range, but, generally speaking, the answer was an account of actual, concrete, common-sense work undertaken, and put through. For instance, out of the three prize-winners might be listed: work for equality of rights, such as equal guardianship laws; study of civics; election of women to office; work for the welfare of women and children through legislation—e. g., shorter hours in factories; hard fighting for the good candidate in local election contests; the use of questionnaires to check up candidates; city clean-ups; action to secure a new high-school build-

ing, recreation grounds, parks, a community house, and, running through all, *new interest in government*.

Here are a few paragraphs chosen from the papers listed by the judges:

"In Massillon, as everywhere else, woman suffrage is a success. It would be a success if only a fraction of the women who now vote should vote. Voting is so new a privilege, and in some cases such an unasked-for blessing, that it will be some time before one can hope for its complete success, but, in the meantime, it is displaying a quiet reliability that is more assuring than splashy brilliance would be."

"Women who vote are careful to understand exactly what it is they are upholding. They are not ashamed to ask questions. Sometimes they are painfully cautious, but in this way they have often brought to light the real meaning of one of those cleverly twisted, almost unintelligible clauses that are so liable to be encountered in bills. These traps are set for those too proud to acknowledge their inability to understand them, or too sure of themselves to 'waste' the time required to grasp the underlying meaning hidden by strange words."

"Since women have the privilege to vote there is more interest taken in all of our elections. Politics are discussed in the homes and this is an education for the children."

"Almost all the women do not vote as their husbands tell them to, but as they themselves think wise."

"There is one thing that we are all sure the women of our locality and state and every other state will do, and that is, keep this country dry."

"Several men who never cared to go to the polls before woman suffrage came into effect go now just because their wives go."

Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Minnesota. After the state convention in Rochester, these women will be quizzed as to what they know of state affairs, and will then be sent out to spread the doctrines of Republicanism.

More Candidates

IN our returns of women candidates at the coming election, Ohio leads this time. Miss Phebe T. Sutliff was nominated on the Democratic ticket for Congress. Four women were nominated for state senators: Mrs. Nettie B. Loughead, Miss Bettie Wilson, Mrs. Maude C. Waitt, and Mrs. Mary M. Tilden. Fourteen women won for the House of Representatives: Mrs. Nettie M. Clapp, Grace E. Makepeace, Mrs. Clara Wood

Derr, Mrs. Olive Joy Wright, Mrs. Viola D. Romans, Mrs. Jennie P. Rubrecht, Mrs. May M. Van Wye, Myrtle H. Clark, Mrs. Lottie Cornell, Mrs. Clarence H. Wells, Mrs. C. J. Ott, Miss Osa Penny, Mrs. Margaret M. Allman and Mrs. E. S. Reider.

Minnesota comes next with Susie W. Stageberg for Secretary of State, and nine women for State Representatives. They are: Mrs. Michael J. Dowling, Myrtle A. Cain, Mabeth Hurd Paige, Mrs. Myra Griswold, Sue M. Dickey Hough, Mrs. G. A. Petrie, Miss Elsie W. Williams, Hannah J. Kempfer and Mrs. Etta Miller.

In Tennessee Marion Griffin, member of the House of Representatives during 1923, is running for the State Senate.

Community Dangers

By Gulielma F. Alsop

Here begins a new health series—Public Health this time. This first article is about personal aspects of public health.

IN the summer of 1918 Vilhjalmur Stefansson* returned to civilization. For five years he had lived upon an ice floe in the Arctic Ocean, depending for his very life upon his own skill. He had been exposed to all the hazards of extreme cold, the vicissitudes of Polar currents, the dangers of wild animals and the continual menace of starvation. At the end of five such years Stefansson returned to civilization, recording the fact that never in his entire life had he been so well, strong and vigorous for so long a time, never did he find himself in so robust and well-nourished and fit a condition.

Three weeks of civilized life saw Stefansson dangerously ill, near death, from pneumonia and typhoid, and so crippled in vitality that he has been unfitted for arctic exploration since that time.

And the two diseases that laid him low are both diseases of defective community life. Notwithstanding his own wonderful condition, when exposed to the intense contagion of community life he succumbed.

Community life necessitates community health. No individual is ever safe from the ills of others. No matter how high an individual's haemoglobin, no matter to what pitch of vitality good nutrition has brought a well-exercised body, that individual will succumb as easily as any other one when the plagues of humanity sweep the land. The only protection against a communal disease is its destruction, root and branch. It is as powerful as a national enemy. It can only be vanquished by national forces.

Alone, unaided, no individual measures will save a person against a community disease. When yellow fever sweeps the land, it is quite useless for the self-respecting citizen to say, in the security of his home: "I am clean. I keep my premises clean. I keep away from the sick." This is no protection from the yellow fever mosquito that flies blithely across the fence from its last luscious bite of a yellow-fever patient. Today no one in New Orleans fears yellow fever because each citizen is protected by the public health measures rigidly enforced through the city. Today in New Orleans it is a public misdemeanor to have an unscreened window, an unscreened cistern or well of water, or any stagnant water anywhere on the premises. These health regula-

tions are scrupulously enforced, and the baneful *Stegomyia* Mosquito has no chance to live. If the public health vigilance were lessened, if one person in each city block disobeyed the injunctions, if the inspection slackened, one fine hot summer morning an epidemic of yellow fever would swoop triumphantly down upon the city again, no matter how careful in their observance of the city health ordinance the rest of the population of New Orleans were.

The ordinary common cold, the forerunner of pneumonia, tuberculosis, middle-ear diseases, infantile paralysis, meningitis, influenza and a host of other infections that flourish only on a devitalized mucous membrane, is now considered a public menace. Industrial concerns find that so much valuable time is lost out of the working year of their employees, owing to colds, that many firms are instituting the new chlorine gas treatment rooms for use of the cold-infected employee. One no longer considers the subject of a cold a martyr entitled to languish on the pedestal of the sitting-room sofa, spraying germs into the heated air. A person with a cold is a public nuisance—a pest. In the future it will be a punishable offense to go about in stores and street-cars sniffing and coughing, just as much as it already is a public offense to spit at pleasure. But as long as each person is at liberty to consider her cold her very own cold, and not realize it is also her next-door neighbor's cold, so long will colds and their much-dreaded train of respiratory disease flourish at large.

Typhoid fever was long a favorite cause of American death. The nation ate its typhoid germs regularly in its raw milk from unsupervised farms and dirty city dairies, and drank great draughts of its germs in the filthy contaminated water supplies coming from brooks and rivers that had been freely used as sewers for sick cases. Our typhoid death rate marked us as a nation still defective in national health. Not until the control of both water and milk supplies was put in the hands of the boards of health and a rigid standard of cleanliness enforced did the typhoid death rate begin to recede. The vanquishing of typhoid was further greatly hastened by the military enforcement of universal vaccinations.

In the goitre belt of the West where the iodine content of both the drinking water and of most of the vegetables and grains grown in the region is too low to nourish adequately the thyroid gland,

two advanced cities have taken advantage of the knowledge of science to prevent any more of their citizens having goitre.* In both cities there is now a city ordinance permitting only iodized salt to be sold, this salt containing very minute additions of iodine, sufficient to keep the thyroid gland healthy. The city board of health is adding to the food of its citizens what is lacking in the natural foods of the regions, and so preventing the widespread disease of goitre.

The point of this article is to emphasize the absolute necessity for organized, well-paid, honest community action against the great plagues of mankind and to show the absolute worthlessness, from the point of view of saving life, of the best individual endeavor.

We can save ourselves only by working together.

The Lie Factory

(Continued from page 10)

Mrs. James Wadsworth as chairman of the publishing company, and soon Mr. Eichelberger became its editor. Whether the antis still pay his only salary, and if so, why, is a question the answer of which might prove revelatory. The *Patriot* announced that it continued in order to oppose whatever suffragists might want—a noble aim which it has carried out. It has opposed the Child Labor Amendment, the Maternity bill, the World Court, and one-time antis have usually appeared accompanied by Mr. Eichelberger at all hearings to protest against the passage of these measures.

It will be remembered by all suffrage workers that during the last years of the suffrage struggle, the anti-suffragists concentrated their propaganda upon efforts to discredit suffragists and their leaders, and especially to connect them with Socialism. When Bolshevism and Soviet Russia came into the world, the connection was quickly and subtly made to those new menaces of society. That they overdid this business of calling names when the arguments gave out was in the end a boomerang which hurt them and helped the suffrage cause—a fact well known to all insiders.

Mr. Eichelberger in those years was apparently the director and chief adviser of the anti-suffrage forces.

When last year demonstrations were being prepared in some two thousand cities of our country on Law—Not War Day, publicity matter was sent to the press by the American Defense Society announcing that Frederick J. Libby, director of the Council for the Prevention of War, under whose auspices these meetings were arranged, was a "red" and his society supported by Soviet Russia. One group, alarmed by this

* The Friendly Arctic—Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

* Journal of the American Medical Association—March, 1924.

propaganda, sent an investigator to Washington, who applied at the Navy League for proofs. The answer was: "The *Woman Patriot* is handling that." Mr. Eichelberger, apparently "handling that," had seemingly persuaded Mr. Whitney, Secretary of the American Defense League, to put out the libel.

When the Joint Congressional Committee were calling upon the *Dearborn Independent* (Mr. Ford's paper) for proofs of the "spider web," again Mr. Eichelberger was pointed out as the source of much of the information. His response was that three paragraphs had been lifted bodily from his paper without credit and that the woman who wrote the article and the one who made the chart were always getting things wrong. When an investigation was made of a long list of women whose names had been reported to the "spy bureau" of the Navy Department as suspected of Soviet connections, it was revealed that the list contained the names of the best-known suffrage leaders, and heads of other women's organizations, and that the list had been turned in by Mr. Eichelberger and other antis. The trail again leads to his doorstep from General Bowley's unsupported statements. Anti-suffragists, the American Defense Society, Eichelberger, Whitney, Marvin, Ford and the *Dearborn Independent*, Kentucky Industries Association—these seem to be the company enlisted in traducing all persons who believe that a common sense, safe and sane road to permanent peace can be found, and it appears that the greatest among them all is Eichelberger.

The gentlemen of the War Department are evidently only gullible patriots who have yet to learn that there is more than one kind of poison gas and more than one kind of war. They are quite clearly the unsuspecting mouthpieces through which the poison propaganda is projected upon an equally unsuspecting and gullible public. The poison itself is carefully concocted of anti-woman hate, child labor, the military mania, and genuine scare over the presence among us of a communistic propaganda undoubtedly aiming to overthrow the government, and the whole is carefully blended by an irrational imagination.

Secretary Weeks did not cheerfully welcome Mr. Libby's deputation. The situation irritates him. He wants his agents to spread the idea of the need for war preparedness, but he probably does not want them to lie. Well, then, Mr. Secretary, take account of these things: Stop the lie factory, turn the spotlight pitilessly upon it and turn the guns now aiming at honest and patriotic women and peace advocates upon the sources of danger from communism. If real danger exists, let there be an undivided and patriotic public to meet the situation.

Meanwhile, the lies let loose keep on

moving. In Buck Hill Falls, in Pennsylvania, "an army man" went about tearing down posters, "Stop war—cooperate," which bore the imprint of the Council to Prevent War, alleging that this organization was connected with Soviet Russia. The Meriden (Connecticut) *Record* declared that an anti-war meeting held in New Haven by a "communist candidate"—whatever that may be—was held in cooperation with the National Council for Prevention of War. In other sections whispering underground statements are going forward, charging that it is cooperating with William Z. Foster, the communist candidate for president. These facts bring certain logical conclusions: 1. If there is genuine danger from the spread of communism in our midst, the people have the right to know it, and those in authority should tell them. They should not learn it through irresponsible tales, the identity of whose authors is hidden. Although

peace advocates and peace organizations (of which there are about seventy-five) have been generally accused of underground connection with communism, these charges have usually appeared without known sponsorship, and no proof in a single case has been forthcoming to substantiate them.

2. On the other hand, the source is now pretty clearly located. These charges have come from the War Department itself, and have been spread by war officers and privates of the army and members of the American Legion. The American Defense Society, and the three men connected with it, appear to have been the chief providers of the false information which the War Department has accepted as truth. Those who have promulgated the lies have undoubtedly believed them true.

Lies have a disagreeable way of coming home to roost. Investigate the lie factory, Mr. Secretary of War.

The Bookshelf



By
M. A.

AERICAN writers are showing a marked and interesting tendency to go back into the early life of this country, to recreate the time and the talk, the atmosphere and the conditions which surrounded and moved men and women. It is as though they were trying to find out what kind of people we come from, what our roots were, in order that they, and we, may better understand ourselves. The results are vivid autobiographies of once famous and now half-forgotten folk, and novels which are bits of history, though in no sense "historical novels." For the distinguishing mark of the effort, the thing which stamps it as an own child of realism, is its startling honesty. It paints no powdered and patched and impossible gallants, but human beings leading bewildered lives, making decisions whose results appear today, doing the best, or the worst, they can with the material and the conditions they have around them.

Joseph Hergesheimer's "*Balisand*" is that kind of a book. Laid in the Tidewater section of Virginia soon after the close of the Revolution, it chiefly concerns Richard Bale of Balisand, gentleman and ex-army officer, a hard-drinking, hard-riding, taciturn worshipper of Washington; a man who upheld his convictions with his life. The development which takes place is of the times, not of the man who stands like granite, beaten and banged on every side by changing opinions, politics and fashions. The changes which he sees in political

life make our times appear static by contrast. There was no nation then, there was only a loosely bound federation of violently disagreeing states. Richard Bale looked to see them draw farther and farther apart, so that there should be twenty nations in the territory which then called itself one. Fascinating as it is, the book's historical atmosphere is no more absorbing than its psychological thread. Indeed, the feeling which grows as one reads is that here is a work of art, planned, proportioned, balanced, its style, its methods, and its temper exactly fitting its characters and the story they tell. That is an achievement in any age, but today, when writing is as common, and commonplace, as teaching or bond selling, it is so great a thing that one is almost tempted to apply that most dangerous of phrases which would call it a contemporary masterpiece.

A slighter book, scarcely less perfect in its own way, is Thomas Beer's "*Sandaval*." In its time and place after the Civil War, one recognizes the restlessness, discontent, profiteering, and social disorder which Hergesheimer emphasizes after the Revolution, and with which we are now only too familiar. Christian Gaar rode in on the top of the tide, for he was the son of a war-wealthy bank clerk. In some unexplained way his sense of honor was out of joint with the flashy pretense of his family, and that, combined with a frank honesty which appalled his elders, caused all the trouble. Mr. Beer's impressionistic, elliptical style fits the new-gilt atmosphere of noisy young New York. He

paints unforgettable pictures and tells his story with strokes which are swift and subtle.

"*Plumes*," by Laurence Stallings, is the aftermath of the world war, although it also belongs to the older struggles through the descent of Richard Plume from four generations of men who were always the first to go and fight. They crept home to lick their wounds in the chimney corner, and denied that they hurt. Richard, one leg shattered and braced, refused to be a hero, and tried to find out how war could be stopped forever. He made himself unpleasant and unhappy. The book about him hurts. It is an honest and bitterly intense arraignment of all war. More vivid than the other two books, it has less perspective and less strictly literary merit. Rather it is an extraordinary human document which brings needed disillusionment to those people who still feel that war is a glorious adventure, a gallant "matter of dying on a battlefield. War is economic—political. . . . You can never eradicate the impulse to be a fool. But you can destroy the implements that scoundrels in time of war place in the hands of us half-wits."

"*Talk*" delves back into our recent past to show the development of one member of the older generation. The war is only incidental, just one more activity in which Delia Morehouse failed to accomplish anything. Her only ability lay in running a bookshop, and in the South of the 90's ladies did not demean themselves by pursuing trade. So she listened to the talk of the town, and left her shop to become a housewife. Not that she had training, aptitude, or liking for housewifery, but the town said "Every woman can cook! It's her beautiful and natural gift." And after she had made herself over into a perfect, and neurotic, housekeeper, did the town appreciate her? Would your town? Emanie Sachs has written the tragedy of a woman who lacked the courage to develop her own abilities in the face of social opposition. It is an able and interesting book, and provides a fine starting point for animated discussion of very pertinent questions.

A Book Service

Books—summer or winter—are always in demand, but not always easy to obtain. If a good bookshop is not accessible, the WOMAN CITIZEN will be glad to get your books for you at regular retail prices—books reviewed in this column, or those your friends recommend.

Balisand, Knopf, 1924, \$2.50.
Sandoval, Knopf, 1924, \$2.00.
Plumes, Harcourt-Brace, 1924, \$2.00.
Talk, Harper, 1924, \$2.00.

The Railway Law

(Continued from page 7)

preciation. This valuation covered an average period of cost of reproduction for five years prior to 1915, totaling \$18,900,000,000. The valuation is being brought up to date, and before it is concluded it may reach the stupendous sum of twenty-five or thirty billion dollars, because cost of reproduction is constantly increasing. Other features enter into the problem of valuation which the space of this article will not permit detailing.

Senator La Follette attacks this system of valuation, upon which rates are now based, holding there is much water in the capitalization. He claims the valuation should be based on "prudent investment and cost of service." "Prudent investment" means—not cost of reproduction, according to the costs of today, but the original cost, plus the cost of service. He has not fixed what he regards as the true valuation, but his supporter, Senator Brookhart of Iowa, says if the water is let out the actual valuation of the railroads will not greatly exceed \$12,000,000,000, which opens the possibilities of lower rates.

The manner in which rates have been advanced under the Esch-Cummins law has also come in for criticism. In his recent book, "The Real Trouble with the Farmers," Herbert Quick says: "The advances were in the main horizontal. That is, the rates on eggs were advanced by just the same percentage as those on coal and lumber; and those on pianos by the same percentage as those on cattle and wheat. . . . It is the greatest crime against any people ever committed in the name of just government. . . . The farmer ships heavy commodities, in the main. Wheat, cotton, all the grains, livestock, fruit, vegetables—all these things are heavy and cheap. They cannot bear high freight rates. The putting of high freight rates on them means, first, ruinously low prices to the farmers, and, second, high prices to the consumers. On the other hand, the farmers must buy the heavy stuff from the mines, forests and factories—all this comes to him loaded with the horizontally advanced freight rates under the Esch-Cummins law." And the Democratic platform calls for readjustment so as to give the "bulky, basic, low-priced raw commodities, such as agricultural products, coal and ores, the lowest rates, placing the higher rates upon more valuable and less bulky manufactured products."

Back of the discussion of the Esch-Cummins law lies the promise or menace of Government ownership—out of our province in this article. Opponents want the railroad situation speedily cured to avoid all danger of Government ownership. Its supporters want it cured, gradually, by Government ownership.

The question of valuation, all-important as to rates, is all-embracing should the Government take over the roads. Railroad heads, some believe, will be among the strongest advocates of Government ownership once the valuation is fixed high enough by the Supreme Court. In that event they might prefer to engage in business not subject to such close Government regulation as applies to the transportation system.

The various candidates for the presidency are not putting heavy emphasis at the outset on the railroad problem, but the views of the parties they represent are expressed in the platform declarations, which are here summarized:

The La Follette movement, declaring for the repeal of the Esch-Cummins Act, offers a concrete proposal as a substitute and declares for Government ownership of the railroads. Neither of the major parties has any such definite program. The Conference for Progressive Political Action which met in Cleveland to adopt a platform and to endorse the candidacy of Senator La Follette for the presidency, adopted a platform of its own, mostly a summary of the one announced by Senator La Follette. But in declaring for Government ownership of the railroads it proposes they shall be conducted "with democratic operation"—suggesting a share in the management of the roads by the employees. The La Follette platform pledges "speedy enactment of the Howell-Barkley bill for the adjustment of controversies between railroads and their employees, which was held up in the last Congress, by joint action of reactionary leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties." A difference between the La Follette platform and that of the C. P. P. A. is that while the latter reads "Public ownership of railroads," the former says "Public ownership of railroads . . . as the only final solution of the transportation problem."

The Republican platform speaks for "a careful and scientific readjustment of railroad rate schedules"; for modification from time to time of the present laws regulating railroads which were enacted to meet post-war conditions; for "the consolidation of railroads subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission into fewer competitive systems"; amendment of the Labor Board provisions of the present law when necessary to meet changed conditions. It declares for collective bargaining, mediation and voluntary arbitration.

The Democratic platform announces its accord with the expressed purposes of the Esch-Cummins law sponsors, but contends, in detail, that it has failed to accomplish them. "It must, therefore, be so rewritten that the high purpose which the public welfare demands may be accomplished." The platform recommends the abandonment of horizontal rates.

Our Governmental Machine

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SCHUYLER C. WALLACE

Instructor in Government, Columbia University

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SOME of the material presented appeared in a series of articles recently contributed by the author to **The Woman Citizen**, these articles having also been used by him as the basis of a series of lectures broadcast from the New York radio station WEA, under the auspices of the Home Study Department of Columbia University. The enthusiastic response to these articles and lectures is in large measure responsible for the publication of this book.

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Mrs. Comstock

(Continued from page 9)

to me. And she knew so much—I don't know how she had time to learn it all. She showed me things in our woods, explained the habits of wild creatures—taught me the names of sixty plants, the constellations. She knew curing herbs. She could spin flax and weave. Here's something you will like."

She went to a drawer and brought out a length of old linen, soft as satin and patterned like damask. "She wove that. Her father came in an ox team from Vermont into Erie County; my father's father came from Connecticut in an ox team to Cattaraugus County. Lucky for me they both settled near the boundary and my father courted my mother over the border. You see we were pioneers."

So there I had it. The secret thing that lay back of the life and growth of Anna Botsford was the blood of pioneers. Strong, simple, purposeful stuff to fibre character and effort. That with the love of beauty and nature, inherited from a "wonderful mother" who worked undoubtedly harder by three times than the average mother today, but who had the time and the understanding to take the little Anna into field and meadow and wood and "open the book" for her.

No wonder today hers is the power to open the book again for the students who come from all over the United States to her classes; and for those children in the rural communities who have come after her. I had known Mrs. Comstock as a great naturalist; but I saw her for the first time as a greater teacher in the same sense that the Naz-

arene was the greatest teacher. He took grains of mustard seed, the fruit of vineyards, the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea and wove lessons out of them that humanity might come thereby closer to nature and so closer to God.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

THE SEA HAWK—A rousing tale of the days when pirates sailed the Seven Seas in rakish craft manned by galley slaves. The story is of an English gentleman who is shanghaied to sea by his brother, captured by pirates, made a galley slave, and later himself turns sea outlaw, becoming *Sakr-el-Bahr*, the "hawk of the sea" and notorious leader of Algerian pirates. There is little prettifying the tale of ancient blood and thunder: the hero does cruel and wicked things few heroes are allowed to get away with; the heroine is as harmless as women are said once to have been. For the boy who wants gore, here it is, "by the ten holy toe bones"; for everyone else, intelligent direction has made a stirring and absorbing story, blessed with humor. Milton Sills plays the part of the *Sea Hawk*. A First National picture, from Rafael Sabatini's novel of the same name, and directed by Frank Lloyd.

THE SIDESHOW OF LIFE—This story goes along with much more plausibility of doings and doers than many. The person who reads everything before seeing everything says that it follows the original closely. It tells the tale of Locke's circus clown who wins back to his native caste through the chances of war. When the clowns *et al.* are demobilized he returns to the tanbark and the little French lady who is his juggling partner. But he finds he cannot live down his good reputation as hero and general of the World War, at least, not with two affectionate women interested in it. Ernest Torrence has the part of the faithful mountebank. A Paramount picture, from William J. Locke's novel, "The Mountebank," and directed by Herbert Brenon.

MONSIEUR BEAUCAIRE—The popular Booth Tarkington story has that ever popular theme of birth and breeding incognito—the Prince Charming in plebeian disguise. Rudolph Valentino is that prince, and very charming indeed. His profile makes powdered hair look as though it grew upon him. Bebe Daniels plays very cleverly the part of the French *Henriette* from whom he flees to Bath and barbering. In spite of silks and satins, and the decorative star, this picture does not abandon atmosphere for spectacle, nor character for clothes. Direction has keyed the story well, and effectively handled its actors. A Paramount picture, directed by Sidney Olcott.

THE CYCLONE RIDER—This is a

stunt picture, with the stunts served up as violent melodrama of impossible lovers and haters and fighters and most of all racers. However, the stunts are there—all superhuman, all twentieth century mechanical. The hero fights in the bowels of the earth and on the twentieth floor of a skeleton skyscraper; he escapes kidnapers and makes the start of an auto race; he puts out the flames when his gas tank is fired by his equally energetic enemy, and races on; trapped, he swings from one house on a cable to the house opposite, where his sweetheart is sadly marrying the wrong man, and crashes through the window glass in time to stop the wedding. Much more than this he does. You can't keep a good man down. A Fox picture, by Lincoln J. Carter, and directed by Thomas Buckingham.

Mothers-at-Law

(Continued from page 11)

Every day he made speeches, which were always received with roars of laughter. He introduced many bills—always promptly killed in committee. One of these required everyone to have eight hours' sleep every night. One made it a state's prison offense to put on new wall paper without removing all the old.

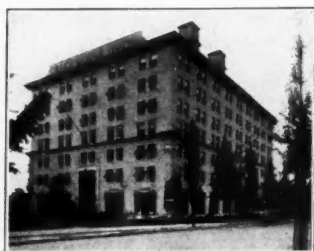
One morning when the House was unusually noisy a very young member arose and said, "I have never been in a place like this before. Mr. Speaker, please tell me what 'previous question' means." His question was drowned in an uproar of laughter. Many of us also felt "we had never been in a place like this" before.

We women found our club training stood us in good stead, in understanding parliamentary forms and usages. It was not difficult to follow the work of the House, as it went on from day to day, or to take our part in it.

I had been told that my bill to give rights to the illegitimate child would never pass the House. With the help of the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who redrafted the bill, it did pass the House, but was killed in the Senate. I think we might have got it through the Senate, if it had not been for the very bitter and determined opposition of one of the senators on the committee to which it was referred. He called it a Bolshevik bill, and said we women were trying to force Russian government on the state!

We are going to see that this bill is introduced into every session of our legislature, and some day it will go through and become a law.

My bill to raise the age of consent in marriage two years passed the Public Health Committee, but when it was reported into the House the chairman of the Judiciary Committee moved that it be laid on the table. Grasping at a



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straw, I moved that it be taken from the table and referred to the Judiciary Committee. The chairman of this committee afterward became a friend to the bill and helped me to get it through the House and later through the Senate.

It was signed by the Governor and is now a law in New Hampshire, thereby dashing to earth the hopes of young eloping lovers, according to newspaper reports. But I am happy in the gratitude of many parents.

Our great fight came over the Sheppard-Towner bill. The opposition was strong and bitter and determined. Many of the forces which in the past opposed suffrage opposed it. A group of men fought it on the grounds of unconstitutionality and states' rights. They objected to Federal aid for maternity and infancy work, but not for the eradication of insect pests or the twenty other projects for which we accept it. A group of doctors opposed the bill, declaring that it interfered with their rights. I am sorry to say some women opposed it on the grounds of old-fashioned modesty, saying also that it was not practical.

But the opposition which was most difficult to meet was an insidious whispering campaign which was carried on in the House and to some extent in the Senate, that the Sheppard-Towner bill was a birth-control measure. This false propaganda we met by giving it the utmost publicity in our newspapers. In the end it helped swing sentiment our way.

Mrs. Bartlett and I made our maiden speeches in the House for this bill.

After many weeks of strenuous work we finally got the resolution through the Public Health Committee, through the Appropriations Committee, and through the House. Then we found we had only nine Senators in favor of the bill. Our efforts during the last week of the Legislature were concentrated on the Senate. We had a splendid public hearing before the Senate, but our enemies were all there, too, with their speakers. We used every argument we had, and all the influence possible from the clubs, from the folks at home, and from the party leaders upon those hard-headed Senators.

On the last day of the legislature the Senate voted on the bill. There were twenty votes for the bill, and five against it. Our long hard fight was ended. Not ours alone but the fight of the women of the State of New Hampshire, for there were only a few in the group which opposed it. Hundreds of women had helped us through letters, resolutions, petitions, and talks at the hearings.

My message to the women of America is this: We need you in our state legislatures and in other public work. It does not mean you must neglect your home. Home must be the center of a true woman's life, but it need not be

the boundary. We could not get meat inspection in this state because there were more farmers and butchers in the House than housekeepers and mothers.

We could not change our divorce laws because the men were too busy deciding upon the length of brook trout which could be taken from our streams, and the size of the bounty on wild cats, to work out new divorce laws.

Women, through the years, have been the home makers, the conservers of human life. We need the viewpoint of the housekeeper, the nurse, the mother, in our political life.

And women need the larger vision, the broader viewpoint, the poise, which they will get in this larger field of service, especially through friendly contact with those who do not think as they do. We have a great deal to learn from the men. We must learn to see both sides of a question.

Matthew Arnold once said, "If ever the world sees a time when women shall come together purely and simply for the benefit and good of mankind, it will be a power such as the world has never known."

Dance Halls—Supervised

AN unusually interesting report on public dance halls has been published by the San Francisco Center of the California Civic League of Women Voters. San Francisco has always had a dance hall problem. Its Barbary Coast was infamous for years. Sporadic attempts were made at both closing and control, but no studied plan of action was undertaken until 1918. In that year the women of the San Francisco center made two surveys of the public dance halls, one with the Police Department from the standpoint of law and order, the other independently from the social and recreational standpoint.

A Dance Hall Committee was appointed to deal with the facts brought out by the surveys, and they recognized that the halls were furnishing necessary amusement to a considerable proportion of the population. Instead of deciding that the evils in them were ineradicable and required the abolition of the halls, they decided to try to preserve the amusement and do away with the evils.

Emily R. Kneubuhl

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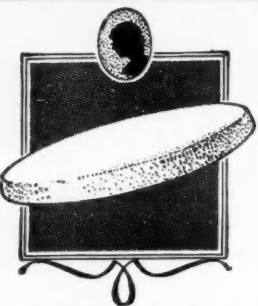
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The Committee asked from the Police Department (ordered by the City Charter to regulate dance halls) three things: First, a rule that each hall must install a woman supervisor to protect the interests of its girl employees; second, that dope selling, pandering, etc., be prevented; third, that minors be prohibited. They then worked out a triangular plan of administration between the police, the supervisors of individual halls and themselves in the person of a Chief Supervisor of dance halls, whom they employ and who is responsible to them. The work of the Chief Supervisor has extended from "closed halls" to social clubs and commercial "private" parties and includes a large amount of social

case work among the regular attendants.

The report includes a comprehensive dance hall policy based on the Committee's five years of experience. It calls for:

Social control of a positive nature; encouragement of a sound citizenship program directed toward building up a general appreciation of racial culture and arts, and leading to the conservation of the immigrant folk-arts; all possible encouragement to the development of adult recreation organized on a self-supporting and self-governing basis; systematic teaching of all the aesthetic forms of self-expression in the public schools, playgrounds, settlements, social centers, etc.

With Our Readers

To the Editor:

I'm looking over the copy of the *New Hampshire Sentinel* of March 23, 1799, I find the following touching illustration taken from the *Gazette of the United States* of the mournful fact that feminine nature is about the same in one century as another, and that fathers of young women who do not earn their living deserve great sympathy. In view of recent changes of dress of a startling nature, when one is getting quite accustomed to see young women in cropped hair wearing breeches and parading down Main Street, I notice especially the allusion "to that dress which is so admirably calculated to distinguish the sexes."

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Mr. Fenno:

To those persons who have grown up daughters, the rapid revolutions in dress are as much to be deprecated as revolutions in government; the only difference appears to be that in the one instance a man is reduced to poverty by yielding to the unpardonable follies of his family—in the other, by the iron hand of power. As long as my daughters were satisfied with that dress, which is so admirably calculated to distinguish the sexes, I experienced little or no inconveniences in a pecuniary way from a change of fashions; for a few shillings, old gowns, caps and hats were soon made to assume a new form. I wish I could say that the present rage among the ladies for the *ton* for equipping themselves *a la mode de position* had not subjected me to expenses of a more serious nature. With a view, therefore, of shewing that this has really been the case, and that my complaints are well founded, I have selected from some tradesman's bills, lately presented for payment, the following curious charges:

For cropping Miss Maria.....	£ 0 15
ditto, Miss Sally	0 15
ditto, Miss Peggy	0 15
Making three wigs for the young ladies	22 15
ditto, three Crocodile bosoms.....	12 0
ditto, three Camperdown seats.....	6
ditto, three pair Aboukin hips.....	6
ditto, three pair Huzzar boots.....	6
ditto, three postilion Jockey caps.....	10 10

Total.....£68 5

If I am asked, Mr. Fenno, why I permit my family to indulge in these unbecoming and extravagant fashions—I shall answer that my domestic tranquillity requires the sacrifice—and that as long as the mothers exercise the power of the *Beys*, their daughters will feel disposed to imitate the *Mamlukes*. It is whispered that *syetmars* and *whiskers* will soon become the *ton*.

A Faiber.

Here is another voice on the question of what women have done with their votes. Actual instances of this sort are very valuable, and the CITIZEN would like to collect them from all parts of the country.

HAVE women accomplished anything with the vote?

Here is a concrete instance of the passage of an important piece of legislation which, in my opinion, could not have been brought about without voting women.

For many years the Massachusetts legislature has had before it in one form or another the question of dealing with the inmates of county jails and houses of correction. But it had refused to act, because of the indifference of the public and the opposition of county officials.

This year the Massachusetts Civic League undertook an initiative petition for a bill providing for the examination and classification of all convicted prisoners in these institutions. This meant that the signatures of at least 20,000 registered voters had to be obtained between the first Wednesday in September and the first Wednesday in December. As a matter of fact, 40,007 were secured. The question became the outstanding issue of the legislative season.

The education and interest aroused in getting the petition signed, and the public support shown by the number of signatures, so impressed the legislature that it passed by an almost unanimous vote a legislative substitute for the initiative measure, which gives a very large part of the bill originally asked for and lays the foundation for future constructive effort. Because of this victory the petitioners have decided not to complete the petition and have the question placed upon the ballot at the November election.

Now, where did the women come in? The signatures were gathered almost entirely by women, through women's organizations. It is hardly possible that busy men could have been found to get a sufficient number of men's names for such a cause. It would have been difficult for women who might have been interested to get enough men's names. Only registered voters can sign an initiative petition. Then besides, leaders in the Legislature did not want to face the wrath of the women at the polls, if they failed to give heed to their demands as evidenced by their hard toil in gathering these names.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts can thank her women, now equipped with the ballot, for placing her in a position of leadership in the scientific, humane and economical handling of the prisoners in her county jails.

WENONA OSBORNE PINKHAM,

Secretary, Committee on Prison Problems,
Massachusetts Civic League.

Heart to Heart

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Your College Group
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Organization
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SINCE the first of the year the **Woman Citizen** has sent to various organizations of women **twenty-two checks of \$100 each**, which the organizations have earned in work for the mutual benefit of the **Woman Citizen** and of themselves.

This extraordinary cooperation is only possible from the fact that the **Woman Citizen** is not published for profit, but is an integral part—and an essential one—of the altruistic work in which women all over the country are engaged, through their organization groups.

The average man, and some women, have a mistaken idea about women's organizations. Too often he thinks of a woman's club as composed of busybodies or as a medium for exploiting the personal ambition of social climbers. Quite the contrary. Most women's groups have been organized for a specific purpose, and behind them is a fine ideal of public service. Their officers are high-minded and self-sacrificing, giving freely both of their resources and their time in working for the improvement of their communities.

There are no paid positions among the leaders of organized women, yet it would be difficult to find women anywhere who work harder or more intelligently than they do. They serve because they believe in the work, and they have the satisfaction of helping it grow.

The **Woman Citizen** is their tool and aid. Through the close cooperation of these groups with the **Citizen** they are obtaining funds for their own work, extending the helping hand of the **Woman Citizen** to a widening group of women, and helping the **Woman Citizen** to become better and more effective—a three-fold result very much worth while.

"We consider the money the least important part," wrote the recipient of a \$100 check. "The fact that the new subscribers are reading the magazine and informing themselves about topics they never were interested in before, is a splendid thing."

VOTER'S PLEDGE

Every Voter an Informed Citizen

Believing in Government by the People, for the People, I pledge myself to register for the coming election and to cast my vote on Election Day.

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Address.....	Address.....
Name.....	Name.....
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 Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
 Tacoma—255 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Bldg.)
 Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
 Toronto—7 Queen St. East (at Yonge)
 Trenton—H. M. Voorhees & Bro.
 Troy—25 Third St. (2d floor)
 Tulsa—Lyon's Shoe Store
 Utica—28 & 30 Blandina St. (cor. Union)
 Vancouver—Hudson's Bay Co.
 Washington—1319 F Street (2nd floor)
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The graceful carriage and youthful walk of the Cantilever wearer are often admired. Her feet are free. She walks naturally, with a minimum of effort. Flexing with every step, Cantilever Shoes make her feel as though she wore the wings of Mercury.

Though you may not be conscious of it, there are few things that spoil a good disposition quicker than shoes that nag you. Nerve strain, leading to

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If none of the stores listed at the left is near you, write the manufacturers, Morse & Burt Co., 426 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. for the address of one which is more conveniently located.



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OCTOBER 4, 1924



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The Inside Story of the Suffrage Fight

By Carrie Chapman Catt
 and Nettie Rogers Shuler

The Woman Citizen's special edition of 1,000 copies having been completely sold out, a new edition has been obtained from Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers, bound in silver and blue, an exact duplicate of the first edition except that the numbered page is omitted. In place of this page the Citizen has persuaded Mrs. Catt to autograph each book.

An autographed copy of "Woman Suffrage and Politics" \$3.00
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*Charge Accounts Solicited***The Woman
Citizen**

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director *Editor*
MRS. RAYMOND BROWN VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Advertising Manager *Associate Editor*
MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART WINIFRED L. RICH

The Woman Citizen is published bi-weekly September to June and monthly July and August (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City, Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City. By subscription, \$2.00 a year, postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. LIII Old Style.
Vol. IX New Style

No. 8

**Is the Constitution
To Be Preserved?**

THIS question confronts everyone of us today. What are we going to do about it? Are we going to sit supinely by and see our precious constitutional rights and institutions weakened or destroyed?

Is the power of the courts to be limited?

Are we to lose our American ideals? Is this country to remain American?

As President Coolidge has recently said:

"The Constitution of the United States has for its almost sole purpose the protection of the freedom of the people. We must combat every attempt to break it down or to make it easy, under the pretended guise of legal procedure, to throw open the way to reaction or revolution. To adopt any other course is to put in jeopardy the sacred right to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness."

But what rights does the Constitution give us? How many of us know? Do you? How are you going to learn?

There has just been published a little book, "The Constitution of Our Country", by Rexford and Carson, which gives a brief history and explanation of the Constitution in simple, everyday language. It makes clear the principles of the Constitution, the activities under it, the duties it implies, and the rights it assures.

Although small and compact, this volume is very comprehensive. Here are also taken up an account of Congress and its powers; the executive, how he is chosen and what he is responsible for; the work of the judiciary; the relation of states to each other and to the nation; how amendments are added; and how the aims of the Constitution may be fulfilled. Greater interest and value are given the book by the addition of pertinent illustrations, stimulating questions, and a system of cross reference between the running account and the text of the Constitution. Although primarily intended for schools, this book is equally valuable for adults.

The list price is 76 cents the copy. Special terms will be made on quantities for clubs or reading and study groups.

Rexford and Carson's

The Constitution of Our Country

By FRANK A. REXFORD, Supervising Civics in the High Schools of the City of New York, and CLARA L. CARSON, Chairman of the Civics Department of Wadleigh High School. 206 pages, price, 76 cents.

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Underwood & Underwood.
Florence E. H. Knapp

ABOVE is the first woman to be nominated on the Republican state ticket in New York—Mrs. Florence E. H. Knapp, of Syracuse, Republican nominee for Secretary of State. Before the enfranchisement of New York women, she held the only political office open to them—district superintendent of schools. During the war she was assistant director of food supply of New York State, and is now head of the College of Home Economics in Syracuse University.

This is the first time in the state that a woman has been nominated on either party ticket as a result of an organized political demand.



Mrs. N. B. Harris

HERE is another kind of office, and a woman holding it—Assistant Treasurer of a political party. Mrs. N. B. Harris, of Chattanooga, Tennessee, has won for herself the place of Assistant Treasurer to James W. Gerard, Democratic Treasurer. She has been connected with headquarters since 1920.

THE Baroness Ishimoto, a visitor in America from Japan, is a leading feminist of her country. She believes in economic independence for women—and ran a woolen shop to set an example. She is a suffragist, a member of the new Federation of Women in Japan, and an ardent worker in the birth-control movement.



Photo by Marceau, N. Y.
Baroness Ishimoto

Women in the Public Eye



Phebe T. Sutliff

OHIO offers a woman candidate for Congress—Phebe T. Sutliff, of Warren. A graduate of Vassar, for five years she was president of Rockford College, Illinois. She became interested in Warren, entering whole-heartedly into its civic life. She served on the Democratic Women's State Executive Committee, was chairman of the Executive and the Central Woman's Committee of her county, and is now Central Committeewoman from the Nineteenth District.



Wide World Photos.

Margaret Culbertson

COUNTY Treasurer didn't use to be a woman's job, in Georgia or anywhere else. This young woman, Margaret Culbertson, holds that post—the first to be elected in Fulton County, Georgia. She is university trained, and is familiar with the job, in which she succeeds her father.

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

OCTOBER 4, 1924

Number 8

News Notes of the Fortnight

With the Nominees

THE speechmaking is going on in good earnest now, and claims and counterclaims for this and that state fly thick and fast. In general, the Democratic attack continues to be somewhat heavier against the Republicans than against the La Follette-Wheeler ticket, while the Republican biggest guns are trained on the Progressives.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE's principal speeches of the fortnight were made before the Holy Name Society at Washington and at the 150th anniversary of the assembling of the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia. In both he centered attack on the principles of the Progressives, without naming them, expounding the dangers he sees in any possible weakening of the courts' power, and in nationalization of railways or industry.

A paragraph from the Washington speech gives the gist of his position on the Supreme Court.

"Somewhere must be lodged the power to declare the Constitution. . . . All who advocate changes propose that it should be transferred in whole or part to the Congress.

"I have a very high regard for legislative assemblies. But the Legislature is not judicial. What is supposed to be the popular demand and the greatest partisan advantage weigh very heavily in making legislative decisions. . . . It is to be remembered also that under recent political practice there is a strong tendency for legislators to be very much informed by the Executive. With a dominant Executive and subservient Legislature the opportunity would be very inviting to aggrandizement and very dangerous to liberty. That way leads toward imperialism."

GENERAL DAWES, having abandoned set speeches, cut loose in the Middle West. He kept to his text, "Save the Constitution," attacking the Progressives.

JOHN W. DAVIS completed his 5,000-mile tour of nine mid-Western states; dashed down to West Virginia, speaking to audiences drawn from three states, and is back in New York, ready for a mass meeting (to be held before this magazine appears) to open the fight for New York state.

But the most interesting event of the fortnight concerning him was the exchange of letters with former Attorney General Daugherty. Mr. Daugherty wrote Mr. Davis a letter of protest against Davis's "insinuations" against him in his speeches, and charged that Mr. Davis was circulating slanderous reports. He enclosed a statement by Gaston B. Means which purported to be a repudiation of the charges against Daugherty that Means had made before the Brookhart-Wheeler Committee.

Mr. Davis's response to Daugherty's letter was prompt and pointed. He denied "insinuations" and repeated direct charges.

Means now says that he signed the repudiation only in order to secure documentary evidence which would show that witnesses were being approached to repudiate their testimony, and that he was following the instructions of Senators Wheeler and Ashurst. He wants the Brookhart-Wheeler Committee to reconvene and question Daugherty about the whole matter.

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE is about to undertake a trip to the Pacific Coast. He opened his speaking campaign with a huge mass meeting in New York on September 18, where he attacked both parties as friends of privilege, and outlined the Progressives' platform. Newspapers gave far more emphasis than he

Woodcuts, with their appeal of finished crudeness, are Anne Merriman Peck's favorite means of expressing the scenes she finds in the bypaths of Italy, of France, of New York's East Side—of the world's odd and colorful spots. Studying under Robert Henri, she has exhibited with the New York and Philadelphia Water Color Societies, the Print Club of Philadelphia, the Society of Independent Artists and the Whitney Club. Which reveals the fact that woodcuts are not her only medium.

Mrs. Peck has another special appeal for our pages, as she belongs to the marriage-plus-career class. To use her own words, she insists upon "eating her cake and having it too by combining professional life with the possession of a husband and child." And she seems to be successful in the double undertaking.

did to the attack on the Supreme Court. His position was that the people have a right to decide, by constitutional means, whether they want the powers of the courts limited so that, with certain provisions, Congress can repass a measure declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. He cited several instances of Supreme Court rulings overriding the people's will—as in the Child Labor laws—but emphasized that the immediate issue of the campaign is the breaking of the power of private monopoly.

Mr. Davis disagrees thoroughly with the La Follette doctrine about the courts, though he considers it less dangerous than was Roosevelt's doctrine of recall of judicial decisions; but he says the Republican campaign attack on it is using a bogey to scare voters. The Republicans, he says, are saying that the doctrine comes from Russia, while his objection is "not that it is leading us on to Moscow, but that it is trying to take us back to London." He sees the proposal as one to abandon our written constitution for the English theory under which Parliament is supreme.

A new phase of the Progressive campaign is the California State Supreme Court ruling that the La Follette-Wheeler electors' names cannot appear on the ticket. Supporters of that ticket in California will have to vote under the Socialist emblem. The court decision was 4 to 3—a fact likely to be used by Senator La Follette as ammunition.

In North Dakota, on the other hand, legal action has been taken against the La Follette movement to compel the resignation of four electors who, elected as Republicans, would vote for La Follette in the electoral college.

The League of Nations

REAL progress toward the outlawry of war has been made at Geneva. The protocol drawn up by Premier Benes of Czechoslovakia for the subcommittee on security and disarmament has been presented and tentatively approved by the representatives of twelve nations. A disarmament conference has

been tentatively called for June 15, 1925, at Geneva.

The protocol, as explained in the last issue, is based on the principle of compulsory arbitration. All the nations that sign it will be agreeing to submit all their inter-nation causes for war to arbitration by the World Court or the Council.

Any nation that refuses arbitration is pronounced an "aggressor"—a definition which must be credited to the American plan of security worked out by Professor Shotwell and others. They succeeded where the authors of the mutual aid treaty, recently refused by Great Britain and other powers, failed.

Then, when a nation has been established as an aggressor, the Council will call on the members of the League to enforce economic, military and naval sanctions—sanctions not essentially different from those provided in the Covenant but applied with somewhat widened power through the agency of the Council.

Separate alliances, such as that between France and the Little Entente, will be allowed to continue, but they become "regional accords," must be open covenants, and are made within the League.

Not only all nations within the League, but those outside, if they will sign the pact, are pledged to outlaw war.

Japan raised a difficulty. A provision in the protocol was that when, in the course of arbitration, a nation claims that the subject involved is within its domestic jurisdiction, and when the World Court so rules, that ruling shall stand. Japan first stood out for continued negotiation by the Council after the World Court's ruling was made; then for elimination of the clause about domestic jurisdiction.

Such cases as the refusal of the United States and Australia to admit immigrants might come under this clause, and Japan would be declared an aggressor if she defied the ruling. As this magazine goes to press, a compromise has just been effected: the Council will have the right to examine all conflicts arising between nations.

Germany Will Join

GERMANY is about ready to join the League, without conditions, except those necessary for the preservation of neutrality. Disarmed, she cannot promise "effective" cooperation to outlaw war and, on the other hand, cannot permit her territory to be crossed in the interest of other powers. So says Count Kessler, bearing the official communication to the League. Much of the discussion in the German Cabinet of the proposal to ask for membership in the League was doubtless for home consumption—to appease the Nationalists. It was understood that Germany would demand a seat in the Council, placing

her on an equality with England, France, Italy and Japan. Count Kessler says this place will be achieved not by way of demand but through diplomatic conversations. It was also understood that Germany would make the placing under German mandate of some of her former colonies a condition of entrance. This is denied. The present prospects are for Germany's admission within a year.

Denmark and Disarmament

WHAT is all this about Denmark? Its legislature is to consider bills, already approved by the Cabinet, to abolish its army and navy; to do away with military and naval conscription, war office and admiralty; reduce the land forces to 7,000 frontier guards and its naval force to five boats for fishing inspection, a surveying vessel, one larger vessel, three motorboats, twelve seaplanes; to reduce the annual military and naval expenditure from 60,000,000 kroner to 11,000,000. Of course, this is not complete disarmament; Denmark's population is only about three and a half million, so an army of seven thousand is no mere police force. But, at any rate, this small country evidently has an opinion exactly the opposite of Switzerland's. It thinks the way to keep out of war is to have the minimum of warriors or war implements. Denmark's neighbors are not notably peaceful. Will she be gobbled up by the first neighbor who can trump up a quarrel? Or will she prove her point—for one country, anyhow?

Very Briefly

MAHATMA GANDHI, the Indian non-cooperative leader, is on a twenty-one-day fast designed to bring peace between Hindus and Moslems. A conference representing the religious communities in India, fearing his death, met to assure him of their willingness to enforce his principles and begging him to break his fast. He will not consent, it is understood, unless actually facing death.

The Tariff Commission's report on the sugar duty is among the papers now before the President. The majority (Democratic) recommends a reduction; the minority, high-tariff Republicans, recommend that the duty remain as it is. A decision is expected before election.

Senator Norris (R.), of Nebraska, is causing excitement by campaign speeches that contain much La Follette doctrine, though he names neither La Follette nor Coolidge.

Senator Couzens, of Michigan, seems to have returned to the fold. He announced that he would not include support of the President in his pre-nomination campaign, as state and national platforms differed on certain points. But before his nomination he fell into line.

Alfred E. Smith, renominated after months of reluctance on his part for governor of New York, will be opposed in the Republican column by the second Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. A big fight is promised.

A Negro was elected Moderator of the Pittsburgh Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church. He is the Rev. Charles H. Trusty.

Enemies of the Ku Klux Klan won a considerable victory in Buffalo when the courts forced the opening of Klan card records to public inspection.

Trouble for Herriot

PREMIER HERRIOT of France is confronting an explosive situation that, for a wonder, has nothing to do with either Germany or England. He recently announced a policy toward the church which involved suppression of the French Embassy to the Vatican, the introduction of education without religious instruction in Alsace-Lorraine, and strict application of the existing laws concerning religious orders. Six French cardinals signed a letter to Herriot protesting against his policy as a menace to peace, justice, liberty, and hinting at civil war. Herriot's answer denies the menace, claims that his administration insists on the fullest liberty to both Catholics and Protestants, and that he is only carrying out the law of the land. With these stirrings of ancient conflict in France, the press is of course hotly partisan on both sides.

Parliament Meets

AS Parliament reconvenes (September 30), Premier MacDonald faces trouble from two directions—the tentative treaty with Russia, due to come before the House, and the Irish boundary decision—to settle the endless dispute between the Free State and republican Ulster. The Russian Treaty has been drawing fire from Lloyd George, whose criticism centers on the plan for a British loan to Russia.

Legislation to enable Great Britain to name a Boundary Commissioner for Ulster, since Ulster flatly refused to name one for itself, comes first on the House program. Most conservatives are against it, but opposition is impracticable because the Government is bound by treaty. The Free State appointed its commissioners long ago, and a boundary decision is pledged. Much depends on what sort of Ulster representative Great Britain can induce to serve.

A Tax Question

THE plan of France to collect a 26 per cent levy on all goods from Germany, as part payment of reparations, is causing anxiety. Rufus Dawes, Berlin representative of Owen D. Young, temporary agent general, is reported to have said that this action, which would probably be followed by the other creditor powers, is a serious blow at the Dawes plan. The point is that it is inconsistent with the method under the Dawes plan of collecting reparations through the international transfer committee at Berlin.

Great Britain was allowed to make a similar levy, under the Trade Recovery Act, because she was getting no payments in kind, as were other creditors. Germany has made formal protest, in answer to which France urges the British precedent as justification for her own action.

—September 29, 1924.

What Happened to the Farmer?

By Sidney B. Whipple

Every political platform and almost every political speech devotes much attention to the farmer. No party has a monopoly on promises to him, and all admit that his condition calls aloud for remedy. How did he get this way? What does he himself think is wrong? We asked Mr. Whipple, of Colorado, who has wide opportunity to observe rural conditions, to speak for the farmer. Any farmers, or others, who disagree with him are invited to say so.

QUENCE in a while, tucked away in some obscure corner of a newspaper, where it won't break in too harshly upon the reading public's concentration over murder trials, polo games, and other more engrossing stories, we run across some such item as this:

"Farmland values have dropped more than eighteen billion dollars since 1920."

And we wonder why the farmer is in politics!

The farmer has always been in politics. He must be in politics. But hitherto his voice has been still and small compared to the resonant tones of the financier-politician, and until this year of 1924 he has received slight attention in the party councils which determine quadrennially the value of his political crop.

Politics today has become, as it had to become, the farmer's second greatest crop. Politics means his salvation from bankruptcy.

Of all the so-called basic industries—and certainly no industry goes deeper to the roots of civilization—farming has given more and received less than any other. That has been true since the dawn of civilization. Serfdom under a feudal system, with the overlord reaping the fruit of peasant labor, is very little different from serfdom under a financial system in which whatever profits are reaped go to the banker, the middle man, the railroads, and the retailer.

That, of course, is the farmer's viewpoint. Whether there is any justice in it may be determined by a brief survey of his position during and since the World War, which gave the farmer an opportunity to see daylight ahead, and which provided him a vision for the



Darling in Collier's, The National Weekly

Looks as if there isn't going to be any shortage of help for the farm this year

future which today he believes was perhaps nothing but a mirage.

The farmer has always been burdened with debts. Therefore he has always been dependent upon credit, and the man who wielded the credit was the man who determined the farmer's economic position in the world.

The war came, and with it the farmer's opportunity. Just as with the war came the workman's opportunity, the manufacturer's opportunity, and the profiteer's opportunity. The profiteer grasped the chance. The manufacturer joined him. Labor succeeded—as Labor deserved to succeed—in seizing at least a hold on the lady's garment. But when the farmer sought to lay hands upon the fleeting vision his grasp was rudely torn away—by legislation.

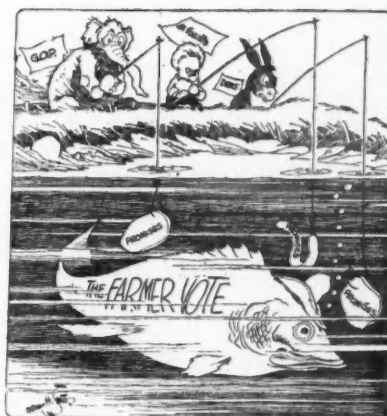
You will recall, during those hectic months of 1918 and 1919, a seemingly honest desire on the part of those in high governmental positions to "do something for the farmer." We are not sure whether the word was "for" or "to" the farmer, in the light of subsequent events.

At any rate, there was established a series of laws purporting to see that the farmer got a square shake in the general economic mixup that was sending prices topsy-turvy, that was boosting wages, that was putting a premium on every kind of work and every kind of product that came from soil, hands, or brain.

At any rate, with great and glad cries of admiration for their own generosity, these legislators and officials in Washington adopted what they called a bill providing for "minimum prices for farm products."

And the grim joke upon the farmer was discovered only when the rest of the economic world made it plain to the tiller of the soil that this was not only a series of minimum prices, but *maximum* as well.

In other words, it was a rigid, fixed, determined price level below which the farmer, of course, could not go, but above which the rest of us refused to permit him to go.



Dorman H. Smith, Kenosha Evening News

The Prize Catch of the Season

When Crucible Steel stock jumped from \$75 a share to \$500 and more, corn prices did not go above the "minimum" set by Washington. When other war babies, steel firms, chemical firms, clothing manufacturers, lumber concerns, coal operators, sent their prices sky-high and reflected their mushroom prosperity in the stock market, wheat prices did not rise above the "minimum."

But the farmer went on feeding the world, which consisted in those days largely of uniformed men, without much complaint or criticism.

He saw the prices for farm implements rise. He saw the cost of labor rise. He saw the cost of seeds and fertilizer rise. He saw everything going up with one exception—and that exception was the amount of money he received in return for the products of his farm, "manufactured" at such high cost in labor and materials, to himself.

There was no limit upon what a manufacturer might get for his products. There was a limit to what the farmer might get, and it was a limit that might very well have been imposed by legislative action, as far as its effectiveness was concerned.

And yet, in spite of all this, the farmer began to see daylight ahead. The world had to have his products. The winning of the war had to begin pri-

marily with him. He had all the markets (and more) that he wanted. The outlook was pleasant, and he began to bend his thoughts to paying off the mortgage on the old homestead. To be sure, he wasn't making very much money, but he was beginning to get his head above water, and in those days the politicians seemed to take a more kindly interest in his welfare than they had in times past. Statesmen delivered eulogies about him. Financiers began to deal more kindly with him.

So, with a feeling that at last his land had reached a valuation upon which a proper return to himself might be made, and with the additional belief that this

local banker does not *want* to be mean to his best customers. When he has to be mean, it is because those who hold the strings above him force him into that position.

Deflation set in.

Now the railroads, and the manufacturers, the merchants and others whose interests more directly concern the pocketbooks of those who sit on the financial thrones of New York have plenty of help in periods such as these. Through the manipulation of credit and, in part, through the manipulation of Congress, they are able to ease the shock and spread it over considerable territory.

One of the first of such measures was

enough, in the Middle West, where grain and livestock are the principal products, and where the bulk of America's food supply is grown.

The case of Iowa is typical. Five years ago good plough lands in that state were valued at an average of \$257 an acre. Today the government issues a statement placing the average value of Iowa lands at \$169 an acre, a deflation of \$88 which the farmer must suffer in credit.

Plough lands in Ohio decreased from \$132 an acre to \$96 in the same period. Figures for Illinois show a drop from \$213 to \$148. South Dakota values have fallen 59 per cent in the four years under consideration.

Looking back at the banner year of 1920, we find that the total value of farm lands, building and equipment at that time was some 66,316 millions of dollars.

Today, in 1924, the value of the same property is given as some 18,237 millions of dollars less, or a shrinkage of 27.5 per cent. So the only farmer to benefit from the manifestly good times of 1920 was the man who sold out, leaving his successor to hold the bag.

Actually, of course, there has been no drop in real land values. The same district in 1924 can produce as much as it did in 1920. Its potentiality is as great today as it was four years ago. If we were dealing in terms of bushels and head of cattle, instead of dollars and cents, we might arrive at a truer valuation for the farmer's property.

Sometimes we wonder whether folks remember that the word "pecuniary" comes from the Latin word meaning "cattle"!

What the depression of agriculture has meant in terms of hardship to the farmer is well known, but perhaps not well realized. A recent report of the United States Department of Agriculture, not inclined to pessimism, says: "As a means of gaging how the agricultural depression has affected the farm standards of living in the four years since 1919-20, the department points out that in this period wholesale prices of all commodities declined only 20 to 25 per cent, and living costs declined only 13 to 15 per cent, while the farmer's income declined as much as 60 to 72 per cent."

In his 1923 report the Secretary of Agriculture said: "The drastic economies . . . have compelled overwork by the farmers, unaccustomed farm work by farm mothers, increased work by children kept out of school—in too many cases the children taken out for good. Continued disappointment on the part of all members of the family, worry and discouragement, added to privation, have resulted in the breaking up of many a home."

Debts, foreclosures of mortgages.
(Continued on page 26)



© Ewing Galloway, N. Y. C.

One of the country's grain fields that are the focus of attention this election year. The farm problem is the subject of discussion on stump and platform and the radio.

real valuation would remain stationary, the farmer went out and, in Wall Street parlance, overstepped himself. He began to do himself proud in the matter of buying new machinery, of establishing new herds, and of putting his plant into shape for the coming boom times.

In this he was ably abetted by the banker who, having watched him wallow in the slough of despond for many, many years, saw an opportunity to aid him in escaping the mire. Unfortunately, some of the local bankers had, during 1919 and 1920, concluded that the expansion in other trades would hold good in the agricultural business. As manufacturing stocks had been boosted in Wall Street to fictitious levels, so in many states the so-called values in land had risen beyond what was reasonable.

Then came fresh legislation and administrative orders which effectually closed the channels of credit to the farmer, and his head once more was thrust below the surface.

The farmer is wholly and utterly dependent upon his local banker for credit. He cannot run his farm without credit. And when the Federal Reserve Bank, the bulwark of finance, of course, shut down on the local banker, that was the end of hope for the agriculturist. The

the Esch-Cummins act, which protected the carriers, as usual at the expense of the farmer.

It is *always* permissible to pass a law through Congress *guaranteeing public service corporations a return on their investment*, which was exactly what the Esch-Cummins act and other legislation set out to do. But it would be an unheard-of thing to guarantee the farmer a decent return on his investment, and the man who suggested a subsidy to agricultural interests would be regarded as a crazy radical.

Wall Street was able to deflate ordinary business through the simple process of saddling the loss upon the buying public. The deflation in the farming business had to be accomplished by saddling the loss upon the farmer himself. For, unfortunately, the farmer as a class has not had, and probably never will have, the protecting influence of an organization such as the country's stock exchange, to assist in the deflating process when that process becomes necessary.

So came a depreciation of agricultural property values amounting, according to some estimates, to some eighteen billions of dollars. It was a wholesale deflation affecting forty-five out of the forty-eight states in the Union.

The greatest loss came, naturally

Mrs. Fiske

By Frances Drewry McMullen

Both the writer of this article and THE CITIZEN are aware that the introduction is not according to the rules of the game—that it breaks the commandments in the magazine etiquette book. Mrs. McMullen tried it out on us, and we let it stand, for the same reason she wrote it—it really does tell you something about Mrs. Fiske that couldn't be told as well in a more conventional way.

This is, of course, another entry in the "twelve greatest" list. Mrs. Fiske was named as the most famous American woman representing the stage in the League of Women Voters' much discussed poll.



HE play was over. From the doors of the theater surging masses of humanity poured into the street, all pervaded with a gentle good humor and wreathed in smiles. Whatever the play, the evening was passed with Mrs. Fiske. For most of them that was enough. But not for all. These others turned toward the stage entrance to find Mrs. Fiske holding court in the wings.

"From THE WOMAN CITIZEN? I



Minnie Maddern was only fifteen when she became a full-fledged star. The picture shows how she looked at that age, playing in "Wild Wave."

must see her by all means"—this from Mrs. Fiske with her known aversion to interviewers and their mission.

The prospective interviewer, mystified

but elated, heaved a sigh of relief. It was no slight thing to be welcomed at the door of the little reception room, grasped warmly by both hands and led to a seat by her who commands the devotion of thousands of theatergoers the country over.

"It was just a tiny paragraph I saw in your magazine, but it pleased me more than anything I have seen in years—it was about women and furs," she explained.

So that was it. Access to the famous actress was easy for the representative of a magazine that had spoken a word for the cause nearest her heart.

"The fact that women are beginning to question their right to wear furs seems to indicate that they are becoming more civilized. Of course, we have a great way to go yet; we are still very close to the savage. The first thing man learns when he begins to emerge from the barbaric state is kindness and consideration for his fellow creatures. But this is a lesson too many women have yet to learn."

This was not the Mrs. Fiske I had seen a short while before gambling through riotous comedy. Nor was it the Mrs. Fiske chosen through the League of Women Voters' poll to represent dramatic achievement in the list of America's twelve greatest women. But it was the Mrs. Fiske once told by a reeling caddy to mind her own business, when she intervened in behalf of his much-abused nag. It was the Mrs. Fiske who had paused in almost every city of the country some time or other to bandage up a wounded puppy or to shelter a stray pet. It was the same woman who for years carried about countless copies of "Black Beauty" for free distribution; who had thrown herself into the thick of the contest against the horrors of Spanish and Mexican bullfights; who had never missed an opportunity to campaign actively against all manner of cruelty to animals.

But what of the other Mrs. Fiske—the actress? Apparently this woman was far less interesting to Mrs. Fiske herself.

"There's nothing to tell of my life, absolutely nothing," she insisted. "I was born in the theater and grew up in it. I can remember no beginning. I never thought of anything else. Of course, the theater is interesting to me; it is my life. But there is nothing to say about it, any more than there is about your home. You know every nook and corner of it,

but you don't go about telling of it.

"The child born in the theater never experiences the anxiety of a debut, the excitement and thrill of a first appear-



Mrs. Fiske as she looked at the start of her stage career—at the age of three. She illustrates the advantage of choosing theater folk for her parents.

ance. To him the stage has no glamour. He first appears as a baby in arms; then later from time to time, whenever a child is needed, he is brought on again. After a while he speaks a few lines and eventually rises to a full part."

It was in this way Mrs. Fiske started her own career. Marie Augusta Davey—for so Minnie Maddern Fiske was christened—was born while her actress-mother, Elizabeth Maddern, and manager-father, Thomas Davey, were stopping in New Orleans. She was cradled in the big trunk in her mother's dressing-room and first appeared on the stage in silent parts, having not yet acquired the faculty of speech. Later, she would pipe a juvenile ditty or dance a highland fling.

It was at the age of three that her stage career officially began, when she took the part of the Duke of York in "Richard III." Two years later she made her first appearance in New York as little Fritz in "Fritz, Our German Cousin." Traveling with her parents about the country on one-night stands she took part in all the popular attractions of the day, such as "Uncle Tom's

Cabin," "East Lynne" and "Rip Van Winkle," as well as in many Shakespearean plays.

At twelve she acted the widow in "The Lady of Lyons," with difficulty restraining her blond curls under her cap and managing a son several years her senior. At fifteen she became a full-fledged star in "Fogg's Ferry." New York critics, scoring the claptrap of the wild melodrama, did not fail to suggest even then the rising of a new star. Their prophecies were confirmed in "Caprice," "In Spite of All" and "Featherbrain." But upon her marriage to Harrison Grey Fiske, Minnie Maddern retired from the stage, devoting herself to writing and to books. During this period she completed several plays, among which are "The Rose," "Light From St. Agnes," "The Eyes of the Heart," "Not Guilty," and, in collaboration with her husband, "Fontenelle."

The Mrs. Fiske who emerged four years later at a charity matinee as *Nora* in "A Doll's House" was quite a different personage from Minnie Maddern of old, and decidedly a different actress. Free from the wornout technique in which she had been trained by long and strenuous experience, and standing firm on her appeal to thinking men and women, she set about with an indomitable will to conquer a new world. "Frou Frou," "Marie Deloche" and other plays were her instruments; then came *Tess*.

With "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" Mrs. Fiske reached the heights. Critics proclaimed her the peer of Duse and Bernhardt.

From tragedy she switched to sparkling comedy, establishing herself in "Becky Sharp" as the greatest representative of high comedy of her time and the equal of any who had lived before. As *Cyprienne* in "Divorcons," *Madeleine* in "Love Finds the Way," *Magda* in "Little Italy"; as *Mary of Magdala*, *Leah Kleschna*, *Hedda Gabler* and *Mrs. Bumpstead-Leigh*; as *Rebecca West* in Ibsen's "Rosmersholm" and *Lona Hessel* in "Pillars of Society"; in "The New York Idea," "Miranda of the Balcony," "The Unwelcome Mrs. Hatch" and "Erstwhile Susan"—she achieved striking success in a wide range of rôles. Taking "Salvation Nell," with the possibilities of a third-rate melodrama, she made it into a classic.

The Long Fight

Creation of character, however, was by no means all that concerned Mrs. Fiske. The stage manager and director side of her nature aimed at a finished, rounded, polished performance. She surrounded herself with the best available talent, seeking never to shine at the expense of others. Throughout this period her productions were marked by a high degree of distinction.

But the enterprises of this versatile

genius of the theater pursued a route marked by many battles. Probably in no other way did Mrs. Fiske contribute more to the development of the best in the theater than in those very battles, fought almost single-handed against the tyranny of the commercial spirit over art.

When she returned to the stage, practically every first-class theater in the country and most of the leading actors and actresses were controlled by the Theatrical Syndicate, a monopoly accused of using artistic talent for its own greedy purposes. Mrs. Fiske refused to become subservient to it. As a result, except in a few places, the doors of the best houses were closed to her.

Long and bitter was the struggle. But Mrs. Fiske fought on. Vaudeville houses, burlesque and stock companies gave way to her for a night or a week.



Mrs. Fiske—herself

"I have retired from the stage, but nobody knows it." This winter she is to appear in "The Rivals."

She played in halls, rinks, tiny private theaters and enormous auditoriums, everywhere except in tents; and people flocked to almost inaccessible places to see her. Under harassing circumstances she never yielded her professional dignity; but when reduced to playing in second-class houses she raised them to her own price level. Upon one occasion she even resisted the temptation of an extended engagement at a first-class theater, because of the exaction of Sunday acting, a concession the great syndicate stars would certainly refuse.

"Frantically fond of one-night stands," according to one of her managers, she traversed the country tirelessly, studying on the way, never losing a night from illness or late arrival for years, in spite of fires, floods and accidents.

All the time her acting grew better and better; and with the country acclaiming her, her enemies capitulated.

The fight to book directly, without dictation, with managers of theaters or their representatives, free from compulsion to play one theater or another—this right for which she had contended, was won.

The furor subsided, but Mrs. Fiske remained independent. And in the struggle she proved a valiant aid to the rank and file of the profession, awakening them to a sense of the dignity and responsibility of their work.

Mr. Fiske, Manager

Throughout this struggle and, indeed, through the career that established Mrs. Fiske in the impregnable position she holds, Harrison Grey Fiske played a leading part.

"Mr. Fiske has been my artistic backbone," she declared once. "His theater knowledge, taste and culture, his steadiness, have balanced my own carelessness. Without him I should have been obliterated long ago."

Her return to the stage after her brief retirement was in a play written by her husband; and many of her greatest successes were scored at the Manhattan, leased and managed by Mr. Fiske. He fought the Theatrical Syndicate through the columns of the *Dramatic Mirror*, which he owned; and to him have always been referred the rising young writers who besiege the sympathetic "leading lady" with their manuscripts. Mr. Fiske is art director of all Mrs. Fiske's plays.

Of recent years many critics have seen fit to lament the type of plays in which Mrs. Fiske has introduced herself to the new generation. Yearning for *Nora*, *Hedda* and *Lona*, they declare the recent offerings unworthy of the powers of a great actress. But the tragic rôles are wearing beyond her strength, she has found.

"I have retired from the stage, but nobody knows it," Mrs. Fiske explained several years ago. "I am a little tired and I must husband my strength. So from now on, for me, only 'play' in the theater."

Recipe for an Actor

But Mrs. Fiske has never lost interest in her own and others' development; and so she is never classed with those who have ceased to develop. Witness her own recipe for the actor:

"Go where you can find something fresh to bring back to the stage. It is as valuable as youth unspoiled, as much better than the other thing as a lovely complexion is better than anything the rouge pot can achieve. There should be, there must be, a window open somewhere, a current of new air ever blowing through the theater."

Mrs. Fiske opened another window for herself about a year ago when she adopted a baby son.

Such is the personality, the life, the achievement of which to Mrs. Fiske herself there seems "nothing to tell."

Polluted Sources

By Carrie Chapman Catt



HOLDING the belief firmly and unalterably that this nation and the combined nations of the world can and will work out a safe, sane and sensible plan whereby law and arbitration may be substituted for war, the writer determined two years ago to penetrate the fog surrounding the attitude of the United States on this question, and to do it single-handed and alone, merely for her own peace of mind. She believes she has fathomed the mysteries. The weary processes cannot be recorded here. A mere view is all that can be given.

The conclusion is that there is no real, sensible reason for much of the widely existing fear of working with other nations to bring peace. There is a "scare" of bogies in many a mind, and these scares have together produced the fog. It is well-nigh impossible for a genuine American to believe that any human would accept and promulgate some of the tales that are actually spread by organized effort.

Brigadier General Fries, traducing honorable organized women, and Brigadier General Bowley, libeling an honest Quaker gentleman—in the now-famous incident of the Spider Web Chart and its sequel—are probably neither unscrupulous nor intentionally untruthful. That they have seemed to be both is, undoubtedly, due to a somewhat overzealous patriotism trained in a narrow groove and to the same quality of gullibility they complain of in other people.

Proofs Missing

Brigadier General Bowley pointed to his sources of information, namely, Messrs. Eichelberger, Whitney and Marvin, believing they would hand out the documents containing the proofs for all he had said concerning Mr. Libby and the Council for the Prevention of War. Those proofs were no more forthcoming than they had been when the Joint Congressional Committee challenged the Spider Web Chart, and the Council has made an absolute denial of every charge as set forth in the *CITIZEN* for September 20 and as the Joint Congressional Committee had done at an earlier date. (See *CITIZEN* for May 31.)

This situation naturally demands that the spotlight of inquiry be directed to the sources behind which General Bowley took so sudden and startled a refuge.

R. M. Whitney has written a book on

"Reds in America." The advertising announces that he is the Director of the Washington office of the American Defense Society and that he has been a reporter and newspaper correspondent most of his life. The American Defense Society came into existence early in the war period, and has devoted itself

In the last number Mrs. Catt published her second article about the famous Spider Web Chart. Here she follows up the trails of accusations made in that connection, seeking out the sources of the charges brought against workers for peace. The next article in the series, to appear in the issue of October 18, is called "Three Super States".

to stimulating public opinion to regard war preparations favorably and, incidentally, it has issued considerable publicity discrediting and misrepresenting peace organizations and peace advocates. The Whitney book is announced as a digest of the documents discovered when the authorities raided the secret convention of the Communist Party at Bridgman, Mich., in August, 1922, "together with descriptions of numerous connections and associations of the Communists among the Radicals, Progressives and Pinks." Two barrels of buried documents were actually dug up by the raiders and the contents of much, if not all, of the material were given to the public by the press at the time.

It must be clear to all who are familiar with organized work that these Communists, holding an admittedly illegal meeting in secret, did not carry the choicest bits of their conspiracy in a barrel. These were probably in their heads. Quite evidently the barrels were shipped with duplicated documents for distribution and, although these were not intended for public knowledge, their contents are not so alarming as they are made to seem. Indeed, they conveyed so little new matter as to prove positively disappointing to the many people who really want to know just what strength the Communists can muster in this country.

The Communists, themselves, would, without doubt, laugh heartily at the contents of Mr. Whitney's book, but it was clearly not meant for them. Apparently it was intended for the gullible public. Mr. Whitney has woven together the secrets alleged to have been divulged by

the documents found in the raid with unsupported statements and unjustified conclusions and absolutely disconnected illustrations, picked up here and there and all designed to point the moral and adorn the tale. The reader needs to watch with care lest he fail to note where the digest of an alleged Communist document stops and Mr. Whitney's imaginative conclusions begin. A judge would scarcely receive such a book as evidence. To those who are accustomed to analyze what they read the book is a hodgepodge of a minimum of truth mixed with a maximum of error.

No chapter is more misleading than that entitled "The Labor Defense Council—Women's Clubs." A document, purported to have been found at Bridgman, recommends the conversion of working women to Communism and their organization into propaganda groups. This ordinary fact is bound up with the whimsical theory that established women's organizations, whose objects are well known and whose methods are frankly open, are already implicated in secret conspiracy to further Red propaganda.

"Interesting If True"

The following quotation given entire has, like many others, no connection with the context and is simply set in to adorn the tale, which it certainly does. It is chosen for quotation here because the readers of the *CITIZEN* are probably more familiar with the actual facts, which are perverted, than with most others.

"In an interesting article published May 1, 1922, *The Woman Patriot* (Mr. Eichelberger's anti-suffrage paper) says that the so-called Pan-American Conference of Women at Baltimore called by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance and honorary president of the National League of Women Voters, was in reality the Women's Third International. The article is too long for quotation here, but seven short paragraphs give all loyal Americans food for thought. It is not charged here that the women interested in this meeting, the first of its kind held in the United States, are working for Communism directly, but it behooves all loyal American women and men as well to watch their step in these times surcharged with danger. These paragraphs read:

"The two former internationals were
(Continued on page 28)



Mrs. B. B. Stephens

Madam Bank President

By Mrs. Key Cammack

Vice-president of the Association of Bank Women



Flora Buck

EMININE cackling and chuckling over its achievement can be neither so shrill nor so continuous as commonly alleged, else the statement that several women throughout these United—though widely differing—States, hold the office of bank president would not be so universally met with the incredulous—the almost horrified—protest, “President! Impossible!”

Tell your listener that there are over thirty thousand women bank employees. Attention may not be, even momentarily, aroused. Back your statement with another that a certain percentage have achieved official recognition. Interest may dawn. But assert that the final honor has been won, and count the contradictions! As many from women as from men! Yet banking is practically the sole field in which women have not been restricted to designated corners. The Association of Bank Women, a recent national organization now steadily pushing its membership of “executives” toward the two hundredth notch, and holding its second general convention in Chicago, simultaneously with that of the American Bankers’ Association, at about the time this magazine goes to press, has been publishing in its own monthly an account of the divergent magnets and goads responsible for the varied assemblage of successful women bankers.

They find that for every one who has gone into banking on the main floor, so to speak—that is, with immediate executive title—there are at least two others who have worked up *through* the bank, frequently from a stenographic position—a job full of informative possibilities for the woman of ambitious intelligence. This fact should encourage the many still secretarially employed. It also endows with a sturdy “perennial” character what might otherwise be considered a decorative arrangement of “cut flowers.”

Illinois, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Kansas and Oklahoma have contributed a president apiece to the A. B. W.

From Chicago, Mrs. B. B. Stephens, wife of a well-known “credit” man, turned her eyes upon Oklahoma with the deliberate intention of “buying a bank.”

This was as far back as 1911. For five years after purchasing the “Bank of Aline” in that State, she and her hus-



Emma Duerrwaechter

band ran it like a partnership, just the two of them, its later growth being a natural development. Like all banks in small communities, it is woven intimately into the local life, cashing “cream checks” and borrowing money from correspondent banks to carry the farmers through their harvests—everything from cotton to pecans being grown in that fertile soil. “Helping the farmer help himself is our one specialty,” insists Mrs. Stephens cheerily. “What he needs even



Jessie K. Taylor

more than bumper crops is an equalization of prices between those things he must buy and those things he sells.”

Her words echo with amazing accuracy those of Fred I. Kent, vice-president of the Bankers’ Trust Company, New York—quite at the other end of the banking game!

Mrs. Jessie K. Taylor, president of the Haddam State Bank, Haddam, Kan-

sas, reached her position *via* those of assistant cashier and director. She writes all advertising copy for the bank and holds office in many local organizations, rarely reaching her desk until lunch time. That she believes in banking for her sex is demonstrated by the work of a fifteen-year-old daughter upon the posting machine after school hours!

The president of the Germantown State Bank of Wisconsin, Miss Emma Duerrwaechter, began her bank training in much the same manner, with an energetic antecedent experience in the dry-goods store of her father. Hours were from eight A.M. to six P.M. and there young Emma went both before and after school, and during long vacations. The bank was organized by her father in 1910. She was attached to it first as Notary Public, and then in increasingly important positions until 1923, when elected president upon the death of her father.

Miss Flora Buck heads the Farmers State Bank of Illinois—an honor which she acknowledges with much modesty. A business course, including banking, at the Indiana Normal College, was her introduction to the work, though no banking ambitions were in her mind. From assistant to the postmaster, she became bookkeeper, then cashier, in her uncle’s bank, and on his death became president. Hers is a “home bank,” she says.

The First National Bank of Lidgerwood, North Dakota, the doors of which, owing to local conditions, were recently closed—it is hoped only temporarily—has had for president during the past seven years a woman, Miss M. O. Movius, who rose to the position through twenty years’ service as assistant cashier and cashier. The concentration evidenced as a child in perfecting her figuring and “pot hooks and hangers” carried her with speed through the Valparaiso Business School and the following seven years of post-office service in Big Stone City; having assembled ideas upon organization and administration, she developed a will to assume graver responsibilities, and, resigning her job, went first into business, then into banking. In 1896 the Movius State Bank was organized.

(Continued on page 28)

Woman's Opportunity In the Progressive Movement

By Isabelle Kendig

This page is supplied by the La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Committee



N every political campaign there are always two dominant factors—personalities and issues. The outstanding feature for women in the 1924 campaign is the presence of a third factor which is of the utmost significance—that factor is political opportunity.

Why Robert M. La Follette appeals to women who have fought long for suffrage, or for welfare or labor legislation, or who seek world peace, has already been presented in these columns. No other candidate for President has a record of consistent, constructive statesmanship on these issues equal to his. Nor need Senator Wheeler yield to any man for the fearless way in which he has stood, first in his own state, for human rights, and then in the nation, for clean government. Outstanding personalities, forceful leaders, who are not only God-fearing themselves, but who can put the fear of God in the hearts of other men, they appeal to women who recognize the need for strong leadership, for *uncommon* sense, for *uncommon* honesty, for *uncommon* courage in the administration of the government.

Fundamental Issues

The issues for which these men stand are fundamental. They propose not only to clear the government of the Falls and Daughertys and Forbesees and to replace special privilege with democratic control, but they offer a constructive program as well.

The national super-power system which they propose will greatly reduce house work in the average home by providing electricity at one-third the present cost.

The railroad program outlined, it is estimated, will save every family in the United States from \$200 to \$300 a year in reduced costs.

The tax measures proposed will reduce Federal income taxes for the average family.

The reduction in tariff rates means lowered costs for every home.

The program for agricultural relief, including control of speculation, reconstruction of the Federal Reserve and Federal Farm Loan systems, and reduction of freight rates on farm products, implements and materials to pre-war levels is one which every woman can translate for herself into lower food costs for all.

Law enforcement and abolition of child labor make special appeal to women.

And, finally, the peace program outlined by the Progressives is the only program which specifically proposes to abolish the *causes* of war.

It is a constructive program, and one which challenges comparison, point by point, with the time-worn planks of both old parties.

But while La Follette and Wheeler appeal personally to forward-looking women, and while they recognize that the Progressive platform embodies a sound economic and social philosophy, of even greater importance to them is the opportunity which the movement offers to help in the formation of a major political party.

Women as Auxiliaries or Co-Workers

For the past four years women have been groping politically. Possessing a new power in legislation and government they have, for the most part, exercised it only at the polls. Elsewhere they have pursued the time-honored methods of adopting resolutions, composing delegations, and lobbying to secure their ends. The year 1924 finds them for the first time taking an active part in shaping the policies and platforms of parties—which, after all, is the essence of government in the United States.

This is why the part which they are taking, as Republicans, as Democrats and as Progressives, in the councils of their parties is of even greater importance to them as *women* than either personalities or issues.

The Republicans, the Democrats, and the Progressives have all sought the support of women and given them increasing position and power in party affairs. But there is this difference: The two old parties have long since crystallized and crystallized without embodying the viewpoint of women. They may add any number of women to their national and local committees, but they do not thereby change the essential character of their organizations. Instead, in most cases, they merely create ladies' auxiliaries. The ladies are, to be sure, given special attention in the consideration of resolutions, in the arrangements for entertainment, and in seconding nominations. But both the Democratic and the Republican parties have functioned too many years without women to make it possible for them to reshape

their organizations and re-form their policies to embody the women's viewpoint, however fair and gallant and desirous of women's votes they may be.

Women in the Progressive movement, on the other hand, have not merely been invited in, nor have they come in as wives or daughters of Progressives; they have come in on their own account because it is part of the philosophy of Progressives that women are co-workers, co-partners, co-builders with men. Moreover, while the Democratic and Republican organizations can *persist* with women as a ladies' auxiliary, the Progressive movement can only *succeed* if women become an integral part of its organization and function equally with men in shaping its development. This is of the utmost significance to those women who believe that not until women cease to rely solely on indirect methods of influencing government and actually become an integral force in moulding party action will they realize the full power of suffrage and secure *equal representation* in government, thus making their viewpoint effective.

Women as Human Beings

The Progressive movement offers special opportunity to those women who seek not only to protect "women's and children's interests", so-called, but who are equally concerned with all fundamental economic and social problems. It has been a logical "next step" for women to pass from practically exclusive attention to home duties to those larger implications of home-making, expressed in our civic, state and national life.

But women are no longer just home-makers. Many of them have become lawyers, doctors, teachers, artists, writers and business executives. The home-makers, themselves, through the League of Women Voters and similar organizations are becoming something more than home-makers. They have become interested in public questions on their own account.

While women will undoubtedly add their own flavor to the political pot, it is certain to follow, as men and women work increasingly together, that the adventitious differences between them will tend to disappear and their common humanity be emphasized. This is the opportunity which the Progressive movement offers women *now*—the opportunity to enter politics and government as human beings, not merely as a sex.

The Duties of Citizenship

This page is supplied by the Republican National Committee

Why I Am For Coolidge and Dawes

By Mrs. Alvin T. Hert

VICE-CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

FIRST—Because as a woman I want my country run according to plain common sense. The Republican Party has run the country that way. Common sense government has given us comfort, prosperity and safety.

Second—Because I want to increase my savings.

Under Republican administration earnings always increase. Increased earnings mean increased savings, if we follow the example of President Coolidge.

Third—Because I believe in a Republican tariff.

Common sense tells me that when the Republican Party protects home industries, it protects *me*.

Fourth—Because running this country is the biggest *business* job in the world. Republicans have run it efficiently and economically.

Fifth—Because I hope the world may never see another war. Under this Republican administration America is doing a splendid, practical work in promoting world peace.

The Disarmament Conference, the World Court, the Dawes Plan for getting Europe out of its mire—these and other great things were promoted by Republicans.

THE Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor is the only bureau of its kind in the world. The bill creating this bureau was introduced by Representative Campbell, Republican, of Kansas, and Senator Kenyon, Republican, of Iowa. It was passed by a Republican House and Senate.

The first national conference on child welfare was called by President Roosevelt in 1909. A Republican Congress under President Taft's administration established the Children's Bureau.

The first Federal child labor law was introduced in 1906 by Senator Beveridge, Republican, of Indiana, and Representative Parsons, Republican, of New York. The Republican Party is now leading the fight for the ratification of an amendment to the United States Constitution which will give Congress the power to legislate on child labor.

Sixth—Because, being human, I hate to pay high taxes. President Coolidge stands squarely

for tax reform. The man who is *not* in office, but is trying to *get in*, makes lavish promises. I know what President Coolidge has done and is doing.

Seventh—Because I want to see our vast natural resources safeguarded and conserved.

It was a Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, who literally put conservation on the map! Under the Republican Party vast irrigation projects have been developed, our remaining forests protected, and millions of acres set aside for the pleasure and the benefit of all the people.

Eighth—Because I want honesty in government. I know and everyone knows that Calvin Coolidge and Charles G. Dawes are honest men.

Ninth—Because, as a woman, I believe in *keeping* a good public servant, if you are lucky enough to get one. We have one in Calvin Coolidge. The party which controls the government is our servant. In a big sense, it is our housekeeper.

Tenth—The Republican Party has made us safe, and comfortable, and prosperous. I can see absolutely no reason for changing. I can see every reason for sticking to a good housekeeper. Even if I had *not* been a Republican in the past, I should vote the Republican ticket *now*.

Your Responsibility—And Mine

By Mrs. John H. Booth

PRESIDENT NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

S EVEN million new voters will assume the duties of citizenship for the first time this year, according to recent estimates. The mothers and fathers of this country have the responsibility for seeing that these new voters, most of whom are first voters, consider their duties as citizens and register their opinions at the polls in November.

Women have a tremendous responsibility in this present national campaign. In 1920 the stay-at-home or slacker vote amounted to 25,605,063, which was a searching comment on the lack of inter-

est in government affairs on the part of a large number of the people of this country.

It is the particular duty of women to see to it that this stay-at-home vote comes out of its hiding and that the young man and woman who are to vote this year take their voting seriously.

The young men and women should see to it that they are registered to vote in October. In many towns it is possible to have their names entered on the registration book by a member of their family, in others it is necessary to have personal registration. There are absentee voting blanks on which young people

can vote if they are at college and find the journey to their homes too long or too expensive.

It is reckoned that there are 3,613,780 male voters who are potential first voters and 3,762,475 young women who are first voters, altogether a total of 7,376,255.

Women in the various states who are really interested in having the young men and women of this country express their opinions at the polls will do well to see how they can co-operate with existing organizations in their states to get out the vote. This is a responsibility which all of us much assume.

Victory Vote Drive

By Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson

DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

This page is supplied by the Democratic National Committee



THIS year the guns of the presidential campaign are training on the citizen qualified to vote, who four years ago, because of timidity, apathy or indifference, helped to pull down the voting percentage to the low-water mark of 49 per cent. The political parties, the League of Woman Voters and various other organizations, including the youthful Boy Scouts of America, are all using their wits for arguments and devices with which to bombard the stay-at-homes. It looks now as though there would be no peace of mind or even a safe place in the community for the woman, or man either for that matter, who resists the onslaught.

The part that the Democratic women are playing in the get-out-the-vote game has taken the form of a snappy, nationwide *Victory Vote Drive*, conducted from the National Headquarters in Washington.

The Man and the Issue

We have the honest satisfaction of going before new voters and independents with the best candidate and the greatest issues of the hour. Only a man of vision, initiative and courage; only an agent of the people with the record of unafraid public service; only a statesman who grasps public questions from both the national and international angle; most of all, *only the man who can and will lead Congress* is to be thought of for our next President.

The only man in the field who qualifies in all of these demands is John W. Davis. Absolutely alone among the candidates as a prospective leader of Congress, Mr. Davis makes a convincing appeal to voters who have no misgivings about the certainty that leadership of Congress is the *sine qua non* of legislation for the people, so of progress for the nation, during the next four years. As for issues, no amount of belittling by opponents of the Honesty in Government issue can lessen its gigantic importance as the outstanding consideration of the campaign. Are we or are we not a nation founded on government integrity? Do we or do we not believe in the preservation of the public faith? Have we or have we not grown so prosperous and property calloused that the fine spirit of honesty and justice is quenched? These are the questions we are asking new voters in the Victory Vote Drive; ques-

tions that must not be hushed up or sidestepped.

The Drive is unique in two respects, so far as political parties are concerned:

First, it is conducted through the agency of the two thousand Democratic Women's Clubs which during the past two years have been organized under the leadership of Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, not as competitors or substitutes for the precinct organizations of men and women, but only as a clearing house for educational activities which have aimed to fit women for more intelligent service in aiding and strengthening local party organizations. It has been through these clubs that the School of Democracy has flourished, and for the past nine months the Correspondence Course, a course in politics by mail.

Second, the drive offers a carefully planned program, a Red Letter Day program, worked out in detail for speakers, to be presented simultaneously throughout the country on the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th of October, all of which dates fall on Tuesday, significantly keeping up at regular intervals the enthusiasm for one's civic duty on election day, Tuesday, November 4th. The subjects for the meetings are, of course, partisan and very much up to the minute—"Campaign Issues," "Responsible Government," "Wasted Votes" and "Davis Is the Man."

A feature of the program is the analysis of subjects for speakers, with frequent references to the party's campaign literature, eighty per cent of which, by the way, is the work of women. There are also references to current magazines. Speakers, I find, vary in the habit of using material for reinforcement of statements and arguments. Some have the library habit and, in preparation for a talk, painstakingly delve for facts and current opinion, often at the expense of the taunt, "highbrow stuff"; others, with the help of native wit, call up from a fund of observations and experiences all the material they require. The program is equally helpful to both in suggesting topical arrangement for speeches.

Further, in order to serve as a summary of points; to crystallize the main, outstanding arguments; to furnish parting shots and put political punch into the program, a flier has been provided for distribution at each meeting. The four of them are variations of the theme, "You Have Only One Vote."

In this way the program, broadly

viewed, not only stresses the needs of women for sound political facts, for a grasp of constructive methods—or, for what one recently termed the "lady-like" campaign features—but also, by means of the accompanying fliers, fearlessly and more expertly than the casual observer admits, flings the logic which animates the men's game of practical politics. Women do the latter a little more reservedly, but quite as effectively and brilliantly as men, and, I should like to add, do it with a commendable lessening of political buncombe.

There has been throughout the preparation and launching of the Victory Vote Drive a sincere effort to combine the inspirational value of the "hoopla campaign" with the substantial merits of the campaign of education. Some would say that it cannot be done. I am of the opinion that it can. It depends upon the leadership in Washington and the leadership of every Drive captain, together with the success of cooperation. The union of the two methods made a quick appeal; for inside of a week after the preliminary activities were launched more than twenty states had responded.

This cooperation goes to show that the program with its suggested scheme of organization and conduct of the Drive, as well as detailed meeting plans, accompanied by sets of twenty-five pieces of honest campaign literature and a hundred post-card invitations to be sent out locally for the meetings, offers to clubs and individuals just the needed time-saving material which busy people in the heat of a campaign turn to with gratitude.

Tying Up the Job

The efforts in the aggregate of the numerous groups now occupied with getting out the vote should provide a variety of answers to party workers in every quarter of the country who ever since they have been active in political organizations have asked almost desperately how to reach apathetic voters. It would be a timely, constructive service if out of this campaign there might be compiled a little handbook of the arguments, methods and devices which proved most effective in arousing the stay-at-home women qualified to vote. I remember that in the suffrage days, in the Board room of National Headquarters, Mrs. Catt had a way of saying at the end of an important gain, "Now, let us tie up this job." I repeat her words, "Let us tie up this job."

Editorially Speaking

A Great Dream Coming True

A BIG event in the history of the world is trembling on the brink of accomplishment. The outlawry of war and a definite program for peace, such as American women have been praying for, seem nearer today than would have been believed possible even a short time ago.

The keynote of the plan, which is outlined on page 6, is Arbitration.

It marks a crisis in international thinking that the Prime Ministers of France and England have agreed to submit all international differences of every description to arbitration. "The old superstition that questions of vital interest and national honor would never be submitted by strong and proud nations to any tribunal but the savage one of war," as ex-Justice Clarke puts it, has gone by the board.

If the Protocol is accepted, the nation that refuses to submit to arbitration, by that act stamps itself as an aggressor, and will have opposed to it all the forces of public opinion, economic—and, if necessary, military—of the members of the League of Nations.

So much confidence is felt that the Protocol will be adopted and ratified that the League of Nations has already scheduled a great International Conference on reduction of armaments, to meet in Geneva next June. The United States, and all other countries not members of the League of Nations, will be invited to participate. By that time Germany will probably have been admitted to the League, and the United States and Russia will be the only large nations on the outside. Since President Coolidge had planned to call such a conference in Washington, and since Mr. Davis's belief in the League of Nations is well known, and Senator La Follette is for treaties to outlaw war, it does not seem likely that the United States would refuse such an invitation, no matter what party wins the election.

While recognizing the tremendous impetus given by the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, we must admit the great disadvantage which a conference in Washington suffers because of the lack of machinery to press for action and to see that decisions are carried out after the conference is over.

The urge for the abolition of war is so strong in the United States that it is unthinkable that we should not join our forces, this time, with the rest of the world, in abolishing the scourge of war. The great pity of it, to many Americans, is that we are not there now, officially, with all our prestige and power, lending a helping hand in the great work of codifying international law and making war a crime against civilization.

No wonder that the hotels in Geneva are said to be thronged with Americans, fascinated spectators of the great drama which is being played.



The Cost of Child Labor

THE National Child Labor Amendment is generally urged on humanitarian grounds, for the good of the children in the states which allow child-exploitation. But the states which already have child-labor laws need a national child-labor law for their own protection. The competition of the Southern mills, with their cheap child labor, is constantly pleaded by Northern manufacturers as a reason for cutting down wages. It is often a mere excuse, for many of the New England mills and of the Southern mills have the same owners. But the honorable manufacturer who does not employ child labor undoubtedly suffers an unfair handicap in the compe-

tition of these child-slaves. We need the National Child Labor Amendment to protect not only the children of the South but the thousands of women factory operatives in New York and Massachusetts and all the industrial states.

Some of the Northern mills have already moved south in order to use child labor. If the defeat of the amendment should hold out a prospect of the opportunity to utilize child labor for an indefinite time to come, all the states that now have advanced humanitarian legislation will be likely to see their industries move away and concentrate themselves in that part of the country which lacks protective legislation for children. This would mean not only intensive exploitation for the unfortunate children of that section, but a loss of business prosperity to the rest of the states. In the absence of national regulation, the most ruthless employer sets the pace.

The National Child Labor Amendment went through Congress by a very large majority, and, although the opposition was able to keep both the Republican and the Democratic national conventions from recommending its ratification, Coolidge, Davis and La Follette are all of them personally in favor of it. The three leading candidates for the presidency, who can agree upon hardly anything else, are all agreed on this. They think the amendment a good thing, and see in it no danger either to business prosperity or to personal liberty.

A. S. B.



Read Them and—Register

FOR the third time the Campaign Pages (see 13, 14, 15) furnished by the three National Committees, put before you arguments for the three leading political candidates and platforms. This arrangement has been made because the CITIZEN believes its readers want to hear all sides of the issues and desire all candidates to have a fair field. These pages will be presented in each of the two following issues.

But—the information, the food for thought they give you, will do you no good unless you register and vote. Registration days are not far ahead. Don't forget—nor neglect.



Three Hundred Chances

SPEAKING of registration, a writer in the *National Municipal Review* argues against the present system. The prevailing American method calls for the voter's appearance at the polling-place on one of several days before election. If he is absent or ill on those days he cannot vote. The system has been considered the best check against fraud and repeating. But in a few places—the one mentioned in Minneapolis—a plan for permanent and continuous registration has been adopted. At any time during the year, with the exception of Sundays and holidays and the fifteen days before election, a citizen of Minneapolis may register at any one of several designated offices. He has a choice of nearly three hundred days, instead of five or six, and both honest reasons and flimsy excuses for not registering are removed. Minneapolis found that the scheme saved much money, increased the number registered and eliminated clerical mistakes. We have heard of the plan being tried elsewhere with similar success.

It may be recommended for general consideration. If women think it a good bit of housekeeping, they might take on the job. Meantime—under whatever plan obtains this year—don't fail to register.

Hush!—the Primaries

WHILE special efforts are being made by women's organizations to arouse interest in the primary elections, there seems to be a conspiracy of silence about them on the part of the political parties, the election officials and even the newspapers. On registration days voters are urged to register. Weeks before the general election every kind of publicity is used to make people vote; but the primaries come and go and the public is scarcely aware of them. One searches local newspapers for notices of them in vain. Nowhere is there a reminder of the day or hour. No effort is made by party workers to get out a full vote.

Yet, if primaries are to serve their purpose, they should be far more important than the election.

In the writer's polling place, on Long Island, where 650 voters are enrolled, by 6 o'clock sixteen men and women had appeared. In New York City districts the proportion was even smaller. Where there was a spirited contest in one district, twenty-five votes had been cast at 5 o'clock. In another, with no contest, five votes had been cast.

Yet, the taxpayers have to meet the cost of election officials, rent, printing of ballots and all other election expenses, as if it were a real election and not a farce.

Suppose that the voter has found out the hour and place and presents herself to do her duty by voting. What then? In most districts she finds one set of candidates: no choice! She is obliged to vote for the entire set as given her, or write in other names, which she knows is quite futile. All she can do is to rubber-stamp the candidates already selected. Is it any wonder that the primary vote is small?

What is to be done about it? The question is a difficult one. Women wish to retain the primaries, but they want them to mean much more than they now do in most states. Should primaries be open, as in Wisconsin, or closed, as in New York? Where do they bring out the biggest vote?

We would like to propose that the primary laws of the different states be studied by a small expert commission, and that their recommendations be adopted and given a good trial by some progressive state.

One thing is obvious: Contests in the primaries should be encouraged if a big vote is desired. At present every effort to set up a second candidate for an office is made to appear party treason by the "regulars." For our part, we approve of them.

The Library in a New Rôle

"A PEOPLE can be a democracy if it can learn to read—to get the wealth in store in the literature of the race, to weld itself together into a single mind," said Alexander Meiklejohn before the American Library Association. "You are in charge of the books. Yours is the strategic position." A responsibility to serve that end has been accepted by the American Library Association in a new undertaking. So far the library has covered a large field in lending books and in reference service, but has not been active as an aid to individual study. The new plan visualizes the public library with a whole "faculty" of specialists serving as educational advisers—not teaching, lecturing, hearing recitations or correcting papers, but simply advising serious readers, planning their courses of study. In this new view, the librarian will become a chief agent in adult education, consciously filling the ever-growing demand for knowledge on the part of those whose opportunities for regular academic study have been lost or have passed. The commission, appointed by the executive board of the American Library Association, has begun by appointing Mr. L. L. Dickerson, until recently advisory librarian in the United States Army, to study adult education activities in this country and abroad.

The movement deserves intelligent interest and cooperation. It is in line with the modern spirit in education—and may count for much in raising the level of citizenship and culture.

No Excuse for Mine Explosions

"FORTY-SEVEN men entombed in a mine by a terrific coal dust explosion"—that type of headline is terribly familiar. During this year, more than four hundred miners have lost their lives in eight major coal dust explosions in the United States. Needless to say, according to the American Association for Labor Legislation, which says there is a simple and inexpensive means of prevention. It is the use of powdered shale or rock dust sprinkled through the underground workings. Tests made by the Bureau of Mines prove its efficacy. In England it is required by law in bituminous mines, and as a result explosions due to coal dust have been stopped. Some companies in the United States have equipped their mines, and the state of Utah has put into effect a new set of mine safety regulations which requires this use of rock dust. In the history of industry there are all too many instances where life has been held cheaper than any kind of device to save it. There can be no excuse for that—if indeed there ever is any—in this case, and such records in the papers mean nothing less than criminal carelessness.

It is an excellent place for informed public opinion to come into play.

The Admiral and the Play

AGITATION over a play now running in New York has features of unusual interest. The play is called *What Price Glory?* and it purports to depict the life of our marines in France during the war. We have not been able to see the play because, from the first, the house was sold out far in advance. But we gather that the life depicted is not particularly beautiful: that it is a mixture of quarreling, seduction, profanity and heroism. It contains no propaganda—it is just a picture of the life, take it or leave it. Critics who were also soldiers have—several of them—said the play is a true bill.

All went along well, with the public clamoring for tickets, until one day the Mayor of New York raised an alarm about this and other New York plays, on the basis of complaints received (in this case, on account of the profanity) and suggested a meeting of Admiral Plunkett, General Harbord, the Commissioner of Licenses and the Police Commissioner. General Harbord declined.

There was a lot said in the press about the complete lack of relation between the army and navy and play censorship, and violent protest was all ready to explode if the military authorities attempted to do anything more than complain to the authorities, as any citizen may do. The producer cut out some swear words. Then it appeared the profanity was not the whole trouble; that the real difficulty was that someone thought the play dishonored the uniform; that it would prevent recruiting; that it might be considered pacifist. It seems there is a Federal statute prohibiting the use of the uniform in any way to dishonor it, and the question has now been passed to the Judge Advocate General of the Army.

Such a statute may perhaps be made to apply. The question is whether the play is a true picture, and the marines themselves ought to answer that. One of the things we have learned in recent years is that war isn't pretty, and though fine souls may show themselves fine under its stresses, it isn't calculated to improve moral tone. We shall do well not to give countenance to any effort to make the ugly thing attractive. Armies, marines, navies, it appears, must exist; but they needn't exist on false pretenses.

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

Officers

President.....MISS BELLE SHERWIN, Cleveland, Ohio
Honorary President.....MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, New York City
First Vice-President.....MISS JULIA LATHROP, Rockford, Ill.
Second Vice-President.....MRS. MINNIE FISHER CUNNINGHAM, New Waverly, Texas
Third Vice-President.....MISS RUTH MORGAN, New York
Treasurer.....MISS KATHARINE LUDINGTON, Lyme, Connecticut
Secretary.....MISS ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, Girard, Ohio

Regional Directors

First Region.....MRS. JAMES E. CHEESMAN, Providence, Rhode Island
Second Region.....MISS GERTRUDE ELY, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Third Region.....MISS ADELE CLARK, Richmond, Virginia
Fourth Region.....MRS. WILLIAM G. HEBBARD, Winnetka, Ill.
Fifth Region.....MISS MARGUERITE WELLS, Minneapolis, Minn.
Sixth Region.....MRS. CHARLES H. DITTRICH, Hastings, Neb.
Seventh Region.....MRS. W. A. SHOCKLEY, Reno, Nevada

To Richmond in 1925

A THREE-DAY meeting of the Executive Committee of the National League of Women Voters brought to Washington headquarters, September 15, 16 and 17, Miss Sherwin, Miss Lathrop, Mrs. Cunningham, Miss Morgan, Miss Hauser and, on the 17th, Miss Ludington, who had just returned from her summer in Europe.

It was decided, as was to be expected, that the World Court shall be the League's major congressional measure in Congress this winter. While the National League is working with the Senate on this question, the state Leagues will be busy with their legislatures in an endeavor to secure ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. Miss Lathrop reported excellent aids in the ratification campaign already available in the shape of two recently published pamphlets. Forty-two legislatures will be in session, and Arkansas has already ratified.

The time and place of the 1925 Convention were decided. The Convention goes to Richmond, Virginia, and the dates are April 15 to 22. Invitations were received from Governor Trinkle, Mayor Bright, of Richmond; from Joseph Smith, president of the state Chamber of Commerce, and from W. T. Dabney, business manager of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, as well as from the Virginia League of Women Voters, and the Richmond League. To make the Virginia invitations even more pressing, Miss Adèle Clark came in person to present them.

The special committee on Immigration, authorized at Buffalo, starts under auspicious leadership. Miss Frances Perkins of New York is the chairman and Miss Julia Lathrop and Miss Edith Abbott of Chicago are members.

A very considerable number of new publications are ready or in preparation, but to give a detailed account of them here would be an unfair encroachment on the prerogative of the editor of this department.

Plans were made for a meeting of the Regional Directors and a few of the regional secretaries at headquarters in Washington, in November, just preceding the annual mid-convention meeting of the Board. This meeting of the Board of Directors comes later than usual this year, in order that all the officers may devote themselves unreservedly to the get-out-the-vote campaign up to November 4.

The reports of the various departments indicated that the League is growing and that there has been healthy activity in all departments since the last meeting of the Committee.

There has been no noticeable slowing up within the summer, largely because of the get-out-the-vote campaign.

The members of the Executive Committee expressed themselves as well pleased with the increased registration and the vote in the primaries as so far reported. It is confidently expected that the great activity of the League in this connection will form the basis for a large increase in permanent organization.

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, *Secretary*.

The League's Infant Industry

NO more substantial steady service is rendered by any department of the National League of Women Voters than the division of publications, now installed in a workroom of its own in the Washington office and equipped with ample stock shelves and shipping facilities. Here a total of 710 orders for literature were taken care of between July 1 and September 11, to say nothing of the sending out of 6,734 pieces of circular mail and the preparation of many special exhibits for conventions, county fairs and other special occasions. The number of publications sent out in this period—46,494—shows that in the publications department the League has a growing business on its hands, for during the full three months' period preceding the total reached only 41,457.

An interesting undertaking of September was the equipping of every regional secretary with an exhibit of League publications of handsome blue cardboard pages bound together and cut to fit into a slim and shiny suitcase made to order for the purpose. The regional secretaries may now go about equipped with their "sample cases" like so many commercial traveling salesmen—with the difference that their errand is not commercial but educational.

—G. H.

At National League Headquarters

SEPTEMBER was a continual round of doings at National League headquarters in Washington. Of the many interesting meetings and conferences, one particularly stands out as a forceful illustration of how the work, the achievements and the future of the League revolve around the program of the three national departments and six standing committees. When Miss Sherwin called the conference to order on the morning of September 13, she expressed great pleasure in having "all her family" together for the first time since the Buffalo convention. In the group were the three vice-presidents, six standing committee chairmen and all members of the national executive staff.

The conference lasted six hours, and even then many were reluctant to leave the round-table discussion which had been so productive and which had given a comprehensive survey of the work state and local Leagues are doing in behalf of the adopted program. Special interest was attached to the list of active chairmen in the state Leagues, to the review of the work since the Buffalo convention, to the need and popularity of publications, and to the tentative schedule mapped out for presentation of the 1925-1926 proposed program to the states.

The meeting marked the first formal gathering of the national executive staff after the summer vacations. It brought back Miss Marguerite Owen in the new capacity of congressional secretary, and Miss Helen Rocca, who was in Miss Sherwin's office in Cleveland. Miss Rocca will do teaching and research work, particularly in connection with the efficiency in government department.

In addition, two new regional secretaries, Miss Hestor Hollingshead, of Boise, Idaho, and Miss Jeffries Heinrich, of Richmond, Virginia, had the opportunity of "listening-in" at the conference before starting out on field work. Miss Hollingshead, who is to aid in organization work in the seventh region, is a graduate of Smith College, in the class of 1920. She found much enjoyment in teaching in the Boise public schools for two years after graduation, and for the last two years has been doing social welfare work in Seattle. She was in the Washington headquarters for two weeks and, before returning to her new duties, visited New York, Illinois and Minnesota League headquarters. Miss Heinrich is now in Alabama, having started her work for the third region by assisting local leaders in the conduct of citizenship schools. Ever since her school days at the John Marshall High School in Richmond and at Westhampton College, from which she was graduated in 1920, Miss Heinrich's chief interest has been citizenship work. She has been teaching history in the Richmond High School for the last four years.

Miss Adèle Clark, director of the third region; Miss Edith Rockwood, executive secretary of the Illinois League, and Miss Carolyn Newburgh, executive secretary of the Ohio League, were among the League leaders who were recently welcomed at national headquarters.

Of "our visitors"—and the headquarters is a popular one, situated, as it is, within a stone's throw of the White House—none was more warmly welcomed than Mme. Branko Adjemovitch, wife of the secretary of the Serbian Legation. Mme. Adjemovitch is a warm friend of the League and follows its progress closely. She is an active suffrage worker in Serbia.

Second Regional Conference

ONE hundred and fifty delegates from the five states in the second region attended, on September 18, the third of a series of successful conferences at the home of the regional director, Miss Gertrude Ely, in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. In the absence of Miss Ely, who is in Geneva attending the sessions of the League of Nations, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, of New York, a sister of Miss Ely, welcomed the guests. Mrs. Tiffany read a cablegram of greetings from Miss Ely.

The morning session, with Mrs. John O. Miller, president of the Pennsylvania League, presiding, was devoted to the discussion of increasing membership in the League and to the all-absorbing topic of "how to get out the vote." Representatives from each state spoke on both subjects. Of special interest was the report of Mrs. Tiffany on the methods which the New York City League, in co-operation with many other powerful organizations, is using to get out the vote. If any citizen of that metropolis forgets to register it will not be the fault of Mrs. Tiffany's wide-awake committee. Slips in dry goods packages, covers on milk bottles, telephone operators, radio, movies and megaphone will reach the voter wherever he or she turns. Mrs. C. P. Fowler, of Narberth, Pennsylvania, told of the picturesque caravan which left Independence Square, Philadelphia, October 1, on a month's tour through the state in an effort to keep alive the issue. Delaware also reported on the plans for its Highway Tour during October.

After luncheon Miss Julia Lathrop, first vice-president of the National League, and well known for her work as first chief of the United States Children's Bureau, made a stirring plea for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. Miss Lathrop said she did not intend to make a pleasant address, yet she kept her audience both amused and deeply interested. Miss Ruth Morgan, third vice-president of the National League, in her discussion of the World Court, described the splendid work of her committee in providing the necessary help and information on this subject so dear to American women. There was marked interest in the statement of Miss Morgan that "the next six months or year would be the most critical in our history of international relations."

Before adjourning a cablegram of good wishes and congratulations on her approaching birthday was sent to Miss Ely by the conference delegates.

Leagues and League Work

IN preparation for election day, the Girard (Ohio) League is arranging as the feature for its October meeting an address on election laws by Lynn B. Griffith, county supervisor of elections. Every person connected with the administration of election laws and the procedure of voting has been especially invited to the meeting. Perhaps it will be helpful for other Leagues to know that the Girard League found that even those charged with the supervision of voting on election day were not familiar with every part of all the laws, so the League has undertaken to instruct not only its members, but also the officials and workers, if they need it.

OLIVE TILFORD DARGAN, whose name is familiar to readers of *The Atlantic Monthly*, has recently been appointed as North Carolina's representative on the National League's social hygiene committee.

THE District of Columbia League at a recent meeting mapped out plans for an intensive 1924-1925 program. Mrs. George A. Ricker, president, announced two lecture courses will be given, one of which is being arranged by Mrs. Albert Putney, chairman of the committee on international relations. A drive for District suffrage is to be waged under the leadership of Mrs. Edna L. Johnston. Mrs. Laura A. Bradley is serving as chairman of a special committee to arrange a series of luncheons or dinners throughout the winter months, at which prominent speakers will be presented.

MORE than 20,000 handbooks containing unpartisan information on candidates to be voted on in the November 4 election are being distributed by the Minneapolis League. The information is gained from replies to questionnaires sent out by the League. Two sets of questionnaires were circulated, one to candidates for policy-making offices and the other to candidates for purely administrative offices.

WITH Mrs. William D. Sporborg as chairman, the new Port Chester (New York) League is assured of success. Mrs. Sporborg is a recognized club leader in her native state. Seventy-six members joined at the organization meeting July 1.

BELIEVING that "more information about a candidate's views on outstanding public issues is essential to an intelligent choice in the primary election," the Massachusetts League issued a sixteen-page pamphlet containing information about candidates for the United States senatorship and governorship in the September 9 primary. The pamphlet contained a list of the questions submitted to both groups of candidates, their answers, and short biographical sketches.

UNDER the directorship of Mrs. James E. Cheesman, the first region has been having an unusually busy August and September and is now preparing for an October filled to overflowing with conventions, meetings and campaigns. Mrs. Cheesman visited New Hampshire and Maine the latter part of August, formed new Leagues, conferred with state officers and addressed several meetings. The United League of Rhode Island is making elaborate arrangements for its annual convention October 6 and 7 in Providence, just as the Vermont League is doing for its meeting, October 10, at St. Johnsbury. October 13 is the date for the Maine state convention at Portland. The three conventions are to be honored with addresses by Miss Julia Lathrop, first vice-president of the National League, and also Mrs. Cheesman.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

Get Out the Vote

WHY brag about your lofty aim
If you don't intend to shoot?
What good's the horn upon your car
When you fail to make it toot?
And what's a pass to foreign lands
If you won't get on the boat?
And what, oh what, is Suffrage
If you women will not vote?

—T. V. B.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR: "It is debatable whether primary elections in many cases are not more important than final elections. There can be no good candidates in final elections unless good candidates are nominated in primary elections. In many cases there is a bipartisan political machine which seeks to control the primaries of both of the great political parties, and the only opportunity alert, progressive citizenship has for self-assertion is in the primary elections. If the opportunity is lost, then it is lost for good. . . .

"Let the whole trade union movement begin now and keep constantly at the job of educating trade unionists and non-trade unionists alike to what is a paramount duty in every election—the casting of a vote by every person eligible to vote."

—SAMUEL GOMPERS.

BOY SCOUTS: "The efforts of the Boy Scouts of America must be on a strictly non-partisan basis. We want men and women, regardless of party affiliations, who are citizens of the United States, to register and vote. . . . Our interest is not in party politics but participating citizenship. . . . In communities where there are local councils it will be the responsibility of the executives to develop plans for organized effort, but, independent of this, every Scout official and every Scout can exert his influence in his own home, among his own relatives and in his own neighborhood, so as to make the participation of the Boy Scouts of America in this nation-wide effort very much worth-while."

—JAMES E. WEST, *Chief Scout Executive*.

Everyone knows how the Boy Scouts can and do help. St. Louis has learned very recently. In the registration drive, the Boy Scouts helped the St. Louis League in distributing registration reminders, directing voters to registration booths, and giving out information at headquarters.

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS: Elizabeth Hauser was asked to tell business women how to get out the vote at a rousing meeting held in Youngstown, Ohio, the last of August.

CHURCHES: Pastors of churches of all denominations are asked to sign "Get-Out-The-Christian-Vote" pledge cards by the *Homiletic Review*, which prints a form for the purpose. The signer pledges himself to lend his moral support to the campaign and to try to have 100 per cent of his congregation vote in the November election.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS: "With less than fifty per cent of the registered voters going to the polls at the last presidential election, the Federation sees a problem in good citizenship that needs answering," Mrs. Sherman says, adding, "Get out your men folks or don't criticize Government affairs. The American family

has a stake in such a situation, and the matter of voting is a duty and not a job."

—MRS. JOHN DICKINSON SHERMAN.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN: "We are using all the resources of the Council to persuade every Jewish woman to use her ballot in the elections next November. The plans include block leaders, automobile committees and telephone squads. The synagogue will supplement the message brought by the house-to-house canvassers, and the rural districts as well as the cities will be covered in the campaign. Our most able women speakers are scheduled for addresses before public meetings this autumn, and local committees on Immigrant Education are stressing the importance of the ballot in their classes."

—MRS. SIEGMUND HERZOG.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION: "The campaign to get out the vote has a deeper significance than the mere casting of a large number of ballots on election day. Voting is an indication of some interest, at least, in public affairs. Your campaign, therefore, is one to arouse the American people to take an active interest in civic affairs—an interest which will lead inevitably to a wider exercise of the suffrage. I am sure that the schools of the country, and the teachers, both in the schools and through the National Education Association, will lend a most sympathetic support to this movement."

—JESSE H. NEWLON.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION: "Mobilize for registration day," is the instruction sent out by the legislative committee, of which Miss Henrietta Roelofs is chairman. The committee recommends precinct chairmen who will check up on Association memberships between the two registration days, the formation of automobile corps and all other approved methods of campaigning to get out the vote.

MARY had a little Vote—
By nature quite erratic—
And everywhere she went with it,
The men said things emphatic.

She took it to the primaries,
Which was against all custom;
The men cried, "Welcome, Mary's Vote!"
But, all the same, it fussed 'em.

And so the bosses tied it up—
Put Mary on committees—
And tried to train the little beast
To sing the party ditties.

But when it saw the candidates
(At least, so I've been told it)
It bucked and balked—tore up the walk;
No party lines could hold it!

"What makes the Vote behave so queer?"
Young politicians cried.
"In Mary's hands it gets that way!"
The boss, in gloom, replied.

—ANNA SUMMERS LARKIN.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

ALABAMA is divided in three parts—for the get-out-the-vote campaign. Mrs. Emmet Hildreth will stir up the southern counties and help local Leagues to organize for a big vote in November; Mrs. Neil R. Wallace will rouse the northern counties to campaign for votes, and Miss Jeffries Heinrich, the secretary of the third region, will visit central Alabama, bringing with her all the ideas she was able to pick up at national headquarters.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA: On registration day the Atlanta League set up a portable booth and pledged itself to register 1,000 new names. The close of business found more than 1,500 names secured by League women at their booth.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA: Getting out the big vote which has been reported in these pages has inspired South Carolina women to demand a poll-tax law for women. League women hold that all election laws should be uniform and that the schools need the money.

DES MOINES, IOWA: Co-operation is the keynote in Iowa, and a closely knit committee which represents virtually all the organizations of women in the state is directing the get-out-the-vote campaign from the League's headquarters in Des Moines. The committee plans to have every woman in Iowa cast her vote next November, either in person or by the use of an absent voter's ballot.

HASTINGS, NEBRASKA: Twelve thousand persons sat in the grandstand each day and watched the races at the county fair. Old-time suffragists couldn't bear to lose such an opportunity and, consequently, before each event small-boy sandwich men paraded and performed hi-jinks while reminding the crowd of its duty on registration and election days.

HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS: The Hawaiian League is organizing to get out the vote in the general election, and it is to be congratulated on its leaflet, a copy of which has been received by the National League.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA: Mrs. Walter S. Greenough knows how to make a story interesting to local editors. Recently a story which contained the names of League women in every town in the state was released to all the newspapers, and the editors were informed in a footnote that "any woman in your city who is mentioned in this article will give you an interview about the get-out-the-vote campaign."

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS: The Wyandotte County League is appealing for votes in a forceful way. In announcing a recent meeting, at which an intensive campaign to get more voters to the polls on election day was outlined, the League sent out postcards on which were printed such important facts as: "In 1920 Kansas cast 515,045 votes," "Kansas wants 643,848 votes this year," "Let Kansas be the winner of the Silver Loving Cup." The card also carried a direct appeal to newspapers, ministers, teachers, librarians, radio broadcasters, motion picture operators, telephone operators, printers, salesmen, milkmen, newsboys, drivers, airmen, clubs, and all organizations, to help in the campaign.

KEARNEY, NEBRASKA: They are after the early worm in Nebraska. Under the leadership of Mrs. Maud Marston Burrows, the get-out-the-vote committee meets at breakfast and plans and has its work well under way before the rest of the world is astir.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA: Mrs. F. S. Bissell asks: "Wouldn't you rather vote for that little boy than make Red Cross bandages for him?"

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA: Mrs. Sarah Matthews, former secretary of the third region, spent a few days at National League headquarters and reported on the work being done under county leaders in Virginia.

NORTH DAKOTA: They did this in North Dakota:
Vote cast in primary, 1920, 121,216.
Vote cast in primary, 1924, 155,647.
Percentage of increase, 28.4.

OHIO: And this happened in Ohio:
Vote cast in primary, 1920, 480,789.
Vote cast in primary, 1924, 785,900.
Percentage of increase, 63.4.

OMAHA, NEBRASKA: All the organizations which are represented on Omaha's get-out-the-vote committee will meet at a luncheon on October 4 to hear about the plans for the big drive to send Omaha voters to the polls. More than 800 invitations have been issued and a brilliant program has been arranged for the luncheon, at which the details of the drive will be presented.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND: Some of us may have experienced difficulty in our youth in trying to watch a three-ring circus, but the difficulty of watching was invariably outdistanced by our admiration for those who could run a three-ring circus. In Rhode Island the League is running booths, giving instructions in marking the ballot, distributing literature and conducting an information service at four county fairs, and negotiating with a fifth fair. A man told Mary Gallahan that the League's booths were the best thing on the fair grounds.

A get-out-the-vote speakers' bureau has been organized in Providence which is holding special courses of instruction for campaign speakers. The bureau issues primers of political information and trains and furnishes speakers with Cheesmanian efficiency.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI: They have ideas in St. Louis. Now it is hundred per cent posters. Every factory, mill, plant, shop, house, flat, that succeeds in registering all its eligible voters will be given a window card which proclaims that "Every Qualified Voter in This Place Is Registered." Fifteen hundred workers will canvass the city in an effort to make every house eligible for a window card.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Mrs. Paul Raymond's get-out-the-vote committee designated September 12 as a voters' mobilization day, and the committee posted League women at registration booths and on street corners to tag all the citizens who were registered. It was considered very bad form in San Francisco on that day to be seen without an "I-have-registered" tag.

TEXAS: This is a new record:
Vote cast in primary, 1920, 449,800.
Vote cast in primary, 1924, 724,000.
Percentage of increase, 37.8.

—ANN WEBSTER.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

Women Campaigners

THE women of all parties are campaigning busily.

The Democratic National Committee has just issued a Women's Democratic Campaign Manual—an attractive-looking text-book that gives campaign issues, party records, sample speeches, "don'ts for women speakers" and a selection of political jingles and songs. The issues, treated separately, are conservation; the tariff; foreign relations; party records in sponsoring social legislation; a comparison of labor records, and civil service.

Mrs. Izetta Jewell Brown, of West Virginia, who so brilliantly seconded the nomination of Mr. Davis at the Democratic Convention, has started on a speaking tour in support of her candidate. Her itinerary covers a wide range of miles and states.

Mrs. Norman McMillan Adams, daughter of John W. Davis, is to conduct the nation-wide drive to interest first voters to cast their ballot for the Davis-Bryan ticket.

College clubs are flourishing among the Republicans. It is estimated that before the campaign closes five hundred such clubs will be in existence among the schools of the North, East and West. These are, of course, not restricted to women, but as eighty per cent of the schools are coeducational and the women are represented in equal numbers with the men in these clubs, it is plainly an activity in which women have an important part. In some places there are prominent women officers. About three hundred normal schools also are counted on for club organization, and these are strongly feminine. Much stress in all parties is being put on organization to get out the vote.

Mrs. Louise M. Dodson, of Des Moines, Ia., has been appointed national director of organization for the Women's Bureau. Mrs. Dodson held a like position with the Republican National Committee in the 1922 campaign.

The Fighting Bobs is a new Progressive campaign idea. They are a recruiting committee for Progressive candidates. Theoretically, they are made up of women and girls with bobbed hair, but actually the hair is not measured as a test of eligibility. The chairman, Miss Margaret Vale (who, by the way, is Woodrow Wilson's niece), owns no bob. Organization of the Fighting Bobs is under way in many parts of the country. They will work with the state commit-

tees of the LaFollette-Wheeler campaign, organizing with generals, colonels and captains. First steps in organization are along professional lines—actresses, stenographers, business women, etc.

Mrs. La Follette has taken the stump for her husband, her first speech having been made on September 28 at Mountain Lake Park, Maryland. She is an experienced campaigner, who worked for suffrage years ago along many lines.

Rosalie Jones and Helen Todd, both New York suffrage workers, have started on a speaking tour of the Middle West, in the interests of the La Follette-Wheeler ticket. They are traveling by auto, with the Liberty Bell, symbol of their party, giving its name to the tour.

In charge of the women's work at various party headquarters you would find the following women:

Republican: Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, national committeewoman from Kentucky, is vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee, and in charge of women's activities the country over. Mrs. Charles W. Sabin, national committeewoman for New York, is chairman of a committee of three women in charge of women's activities in the Eastern Division. The other two are Mrs. George Orvis, of Vermont, and Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton, of Pennsylvania—both committeewomen.

Mrs. Guy P. Gannett, national committeewoman from Maine, who, as reported in the September 20th issue, was summoned to help Mrs. Hert in Chicago, was unable to undertake the work.

Democrat: Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, committeewoman from Missouri, is vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and in charge of women's activities throughout the country. Mrs. Dorothy Branch Jackson, committeewoman from New Hampshire, is vice-chairman of the Eastern Division, in charge of women's work. She is assisted by Mrs. Fannie Dixon Welch, who is vice-chairman of the State Central Democratic Committee of Connecticut.

Miss Jessie Scott is the woman vice-chairman of the Western Division at Chicago, with Miss Madge O'Neil, national committeewoman from Iowa, and Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, national committeewoman from Illinois, assisting her.

Progressive: Mrs. Mabel C. Costigan is chief of the National Women's Division, and Mrs. Glenn E. Plumb vice-chairman in charge of the Western Division.

Women's Activities

A NEW dignity pervaded the Women's Activities Exhibit this year, at the Hotel Commodore, September 22-27. It seemed to breathe confidence in itself as an established yearly event, on this, its third venture. The New York League of Business and Professional Women, which is responsible for this annual exhibit, certainly deserves much credit for its success.

Many of the booths—small shops in themselves—were familiar to old exhibition visitors; many new ones were present. Of course, the purely feminine appeal was strong—beautifiers, modistes, correct forms, trinkets for finger, neck or arm, lent color. Candy, cooking and pottery had representatives; embroideries, dolls and books vied for recognition. Sandwiched between these were educational mediums—with a range as wide and varied as the actual objects on sale. Tea-room training courses, interior decorating courses, secretarial schools begged attention. For those with humanitarian interests, there were the Vivisection Investigation League, the American Women's Hospitals, the Near East Relief; for those politically inclined, the League of Women Voters, the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the National Woman's Party, and a Child Labor Amendment booth. In fact, woman's interests along every conceivable line were represented.

Two new features were added this year. One was the School for Home Economics, taught by electrical experts with "First Aid Electrically in the Home" as the basis of the course. The history of electricity, the meaning of terms, and simple repair jobs were taught. At the end of the week those who had been faithful in attendance qualified as home adviser of electrical engineering—a fairly new vocation for women.

The other was the Vocational and Education Conferences, open to any body, which were held daily by several women's colleges. The general theme was "The Cultural College and the Unadjusted Girl in Business and Professions." Vassar, Radcliffe, Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, Smith and Bryn Mawr each took charge of afternoon and evening sessions for a day. College training for all branches of the art and business world was stressed. While the employer used to shun the college graduate in favor of "practical experience," he has now found, it was claimed, that college training means efficiency and rapid advancement. A college degree

has become in many lines a magic charm, and these conferences were to make mothers and daughters realize the fact.

W. L. R.

Bank Women Meet

WHILE we are going to press the National Association of Bank Women is holding the second convention, in connection with the sessions of the American Bankers' Association at Chicago, September 29 to October 2. Banking is a profession slow to open its doors to women, and that it has opened them wide is proved by the positions they now hold. (See Mrs. Cammack's article elsewhere in this number.)

The president of the Association is Mrs. William Laimbeer, assistant secretary of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company of New York; the corresponding secretary is Miss Nina Bruère, assistant secretary of the Central Union Trust Company of New York; the treasurer is Miss Jean Arnot Reid, manager of the women's department of the Bankers Trust Company of New York.

Women in Office

REPORTS of nominations are still coming. Now that primaries are over, won't League of Women Voters presidents and state party chairwomen please hurry in their reports?

In Georgia Miss Margaret Culbertson has been elected treasurer of Fulton County—the first woman to hold any county office in Fulton. She succeeds her father, who, until his death, had served as county treasurer for seventeen years.

Michigan reports that Mrs. Charles H. Anderson, of L'Anse, was nominated on the Republican ticket for state Representative. There is no Democratic candidate.

New Hampshire has not sent us a full report as yet, but Mrs. Effie Yantis, who was a legislator last year, has again been nominated candidate for the House of Representatives.

Mrs. Mary T. Norton is the Democratic nominee for Congress in the Twelfth District, New Jersey. In all probability she will be elected, as she is in a Democratic District, which will mean the first Congresswoman from the East. Miss Norton stands for the Child Labor Amendment.

The New York Republican State Convention has nominated for Secretary of State Mrs. Florence E. H. Knapp, to run on the ticket headed by Theodore Roosevelt, candidate for governor.

In North Carolina Mrs. Kate M. Cowan has been chosen by the City Commissioners to succeed her late husband as mayor of Wilmington. Mrs. Cowan, who has the distinction of being the first woman mayor in North Carolina, was chosen from more than a half dozen candidates. Her term will expire June, 1925.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ



Mrs. Read returns

EXTENSION work in club organization to enroll 2,000,000 farm women in club activities is suggested by Mrs. John D. Sherman, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. In addition Mrs. Sherman asks that a junior membership campaign be waged. "Every state should conduct a campaign for the enrollment of junior members. I should like to see a million more young women being developed to carry to success the things we are only able to begin."

GEORGIA clubwomen are building a \$40,000 addition to the Tallulah Falls school for mountain girls and boys. Of this sum Atlanta has undertaken to raise \$20,000.

For fifteen years Georgia clubwomen have owned and operated this school at an approximate annual cost of \$10,000 and with almost no outside help. All administrative work has been done by the clubwomen themselves as a labor of love.

They have now outlined a building program and campaign with Mrs. T. T. Stevens, chairman, and Mrs. A. P. Brantley, president of the state organization.

THE youngest and smallest of all state federations is that of Alaska, consisting of eight clubs and 250 members. The smallest and newest of these clubs is composed of the only white women—eight in number—of an Indian village. Their prime object is to establish a licensed physician in the town.

Yet Alaska's clubs are active, according to the report of the Federation president, Mrs. Howard Ashley. Clubs have furnished schools with equipment, fire escapes, playgrounds and sleds, with home economics and domestic-science rooms. They have established libraries in four towns. They have done much work for Indian welfare, celebrated Garden Week, made their towns into "cities beautiful" through civic campaigns, offered prizes for children's gardens, and planted trees. Clubs have offered prizes for the best amateur house

plan adapted to the Alaskan climate, in observance of Better Homes campaigns.

Alaska women are never tired of telling that the first act of the Alaska legislature was to give women the vote. Only recently Alaska women have won the right to serve on juries also.

TWENTY THOUSAND clubwomen in the State of Washington are undertaking to direct a movement to have the legislature appropriate half a million dollars to reopen the Women's Industrial Home and Clinic.

"This," writes R. Belle Colver, state press chairman, "might seem on the face of it enough to insure the measure's success, but the clubwomen are taking no chances. They will not rest their case until every candidate for the legislature is pledged or placed on record. They intend to quiz candidates and 'know their man' before they vote for him."

"Our present system of caring for delinquent women is inefficient and a wanton waste of the taxpayers' money. In Seattle alone in eighteen months there were 1,377 women arrested for crimes, misdemeanors and delinquencies, of whom 499 served jail sentences. The repeater is housed with the hardened evil-doer and no reform is possible."

HEALTH work among the 13,000 Chippewa Indians of Minnesota is being carried on by clubwomen and members of the American CHILD HEALTH Association as a demonstration of what can be done in Indian Welfare Work. An elaborate account of this activity appears in the September number of *The President's Letter*, official organ of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs.

CLUBWOMEN in practically every state are planning to help celebrate National Education Week, which has been set for November 17-23, inclusive.

Canada's Institutes

CANADA'S rural women, banded together in the Federated Women's Institutes, that world-girdling organization born in an Ontario hamlet twenty-five years ago, recently put on a series of demonstrations which were the chief feature of the women's side of the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto. The Federation in each of the nine Provinces which comprise the Dominion was represented by the Institute activities in which each specializes, and an effort made to show what rural women have done and are doing in the upbuilding of the nation. Besides this, suggestions were offered through lecturette, demonstration and exhibit as to ways and means of adding to the income by various side-lines.

There was no theorizing. Every woman and girl who spoke was a prac-

tical illustration of success in some sideline of agriculture—poultry raising, bee keeping, flower growing, jam making, etc. Added to this there were talks by leading retail grocers on markets and marketing; a Federal poultry inspector explained the meaning of "Record of Performance," a scheme worked out by the Department of Agriculture for the improvement of the flocks; and a number of other men from both Provincial and Dominion Government services spoke on the particular branch of agriculture with which they are connected.

Twice daily demonstrations took place in the different booths. Nova Scotia, whose Institutes have specialized in nutrition, compared the old-time, cold, messy lunch wrapped in a piece of newspaper with the hot school lunch of today. British Columbia showed a model of Saanich Health Center (an Institute activity); samples of salmon caught and canned; wool, in all stages from the sheep to the cloth, and specimens of pottery—all income-earners in the home. Manitoba sent a fashion parade that had already toured the Institutes there, showing the fat woman and the thin one how they should, and should not, dress. A Frenchwoman from New Brunswick, working at spinning wheel and loom, showed how these ancient crafts are bringing prosperity to many farm homes, and Ontario's four rooms—kitchen, dining room, sitting room and bedroom—proved what \$487 can do in the way of attractive furnishing. Cooking demonstrations were held daily.

Two of the most salient features of the whole display, arranged by Mrs. Henry Aitken of Beeton, and presided over by Mrs. David Watt of Birtle, Manitoba, president of the Federation, were the continuous attendance of large numbers of men, and the fact that many of the demonstrations were in the hands of young girls, the Junior Institute taking charge of the entire program on "Young Canada's Day."—G. C. MARY WHITE.

"Obey"—A Trouble-Maker

TROUBLE seems to be brewing for the meeting of the National Assembly of the Church of England in November. It is over the little word "obey," which has caused trouble more than once. The League of the Church Militant insists that the word be deleted from the marriage service, and only the November meeting can give the answer. However, the League is active in canvassing the women of England for their support.

Holding Her Own

ME. ADRIENNE BOLAND, France's most prominent woman flyer, has again proved her ability. In the eleven-day "tourist airplane" competition, she tied with ten male contestants.



The Bookshelf

IN line with James Harvey Robinson's plea that men of science impart some of their fascinating discoveries to those of us who lack scientific minds, here are four exceptionally interesting new books:

"*Science Old and New*" is a group of short sketches by J. Arthur Thomson, editor of the recent *Outline of Science* and a man who combines the highest scientific standing with an ability to impart his enthusiasm to laymen. The sketches deal with recent discoveries concerning animals and plants, insects and fishes, and with man and his place in nature. Professor Thomson writes about plants that eat animals, how fishes change their color, how the elephant got its trunk, sea snakes and sea serpents. The book is stimulating not only because of the freshness of its material and the vigor of its presentation, but because it opens new fields of thought to every-day minds. It is a book to be read aloud to children or grown-ups, to

be picked up and browsed around in, to captivate wandering attention.

In the old Greek mythology, Daedalus learned the secret of flying and imparted it to his son Icarus, who, intoxicated with the joy and the power of it, flew so high that the wax of his wings was melted by the sun and he was dashed to death. J. B. S. Haldane, of Cambridge, believes that science is Daedalus, the conqueror. Bertrand Russell, mathematician and sociologist, believes it is Icarus, doomed to perish by its own rashness. Their contrasting beliefs are set forth in two small books bearing the names of the Greeks who are their respective mascots. Mr. Haldane's is the more sparkling of the two, perhaps because of its optimism. He predicts that growth in applied sciences will "magnify injustices until they become too intolerable to be borne, and the average man, whom all the prophets and poets could not move, turns at last and extinguishes the evil at its source."

Mr. Russell, on the other hand, feels that science is more and more controlled by selfish men for selfish ends, that, by making possible close organization and control of populations, it will bring about a despotic world state whose power over the individual will be unlimited. The two essays are the products of two brilliant minds playing around among the future, and are vivid and stimulating reading.

"*Salvaging of American Girlhood*," by Dr. Isabel Davenport, is an example of the concrete contribution of science to the problems of every-day life. Dr. Davenport is a psychologist who believes that the average girl is normal but very ignorant in matters of sex; that her instincts are sound, but her knowledge is a curious mixture of superstition, hearsay and gossip. Half the book is devoted to a study among normal school students, in which Dr. Davenport gauged their knowledge by the questions they asked her. The other half is a plea for a new sex psychology based on normalities rather than abnormalities, and having as its aim "specific preparation for marriage and parenthood as the right of every normal child." It includes a concrete program for teaching girls which would clear away the fog, the emotion and the superstition from sex education and make it a clear, healthful and helpful part of education for life.

Dr. Davenport's book comes like a clean mountain breeze through the fog of abnormalities which the Freudians seem to regard as characteristic of every one. Her language is accurate and vigorous, and her plan both practical and



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Sheila Kaye-Smith

There are wide spaces between names on our shelf of author pictures, but here is another young novelist in the row. An Englishwoman, with already several books to her credit—"Isle of Thorns," "End of the House of Alard," "Joanna Godden," all with her own Sussex for background. Sheila Kaye-Smith is more like Hardy than anyone writing in England, but she is not a mere imitator. "Sussex is her private park," someone has said of her, and she knows it and its people within a fifteen-mile radius of St. Leonard's, where she lives, as if she were all of them. She herself is slender, exquisite, beautifully dressed, fastidious and sophisticated to a degree. She has been writing since she was fourteen, definitely working to become a great novelist. That "best seller" written at fourteen, was unfortunately lost to the world, because her family made a bonfire of it. But many critics think she has made good on the ambition. Meantime, she has just married a clergyman.

valuable. One's only wish is that she would write the textbook which she suggests, and that it might go not only to girls but to their mothers, aunts and grandmothers who believe and foster age-old superstitions under the guise of "wisdom."
M. A.

"A WOMAN'S QUEST" should be read by all who are interested in the history of the woman movement. But it has a much wider appeal. It will interest everyone who enjoys the story of a noble life, told with straightforward simplicity. It is the life history of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska, a remarkable woman of Polish-German extraction, who early saw the need of trained women physicians and conceived the idea of a woman's hospital. After distinguishing herself in Germany in the practice and teaching of midwifery, and rising, despite strong conservative opposition, to a place of high trust and responsibility, she resigned it, and came to America, while still a young woman, in pursuit of her life-long object.

After many hardships and discouragements she met Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and helped her and Dr. Emily Blackwell in founding the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, the first woman's hospital in the world, where "Dr. Zak," as she was affectionately called, became resident physician. Later she helped to develop the second, the clinical department of the short-lived New England Female Medical College; she aided in the conception of the third, the Woman's Hospital of Philadelphia, and was largely instrumental in founding and building up the fourth—the New England Hospital for Women and Children, with which her memory is inseparably connected. "Dr. Zak" thus played an important part in opening the medical profession to women, and she stood shoulder to shoulder with the Doctors Blackwell in insisting upon the necessity of sound and thorough training.

The book is mainly an autobiography. "Dr. Zak" draws many graphic pictures of the society of the early days, the distinguished men and women whom she met in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Cleveland (where she took her medical degree), and the almost unbelievable persecutions to which the first women doctors were subjected.

The book reminds us that the first general training school for nurses in America was founded in connection with the New England Hospital for Women and Children, and the first Hospital So-

cial Service in America was organized in connection with its maternity department. The many friends of the hospital will find both interest and inspiration in this account of its early struggles. In-

cidentally, "Dr. Zak" tells some new and good stories of the pioneer advocates of equal rights. From beginning to end the book is full of interest.

A. S. B.

Safeguarding Health

By Gulielma F. Alsop

College Physician at Barnard

THE first necessity in the modern crusade for the physical fitness for the nation is a high health standard. In establishing a high health standard for the individual it is imperative for each person to know just how well she can be, how free from colds and indigestion and headache, how buoyant and full of vitality. To establish this knowledge all the methods of direct teaching, propaganda, screen pictures, health pageants are brought into play. Ultimately each individual must try out in her own person the case for perfect health, putting all the laws of health into effect in her own body and watching for the promised result.

But in this campaign environment plays a great part in success or failure, and, from a disease point of view, man's greatest environment is man.

A research into the laws governing a healthy community will necessitate the same means of study as a research into the laws governing individual health. There must, first of all, be a standard for community health. The baby death rate of New York City, the best for a large city anywhere in the United States, would have been thought incredible fifty years ago. People never dreamed what an improvement scientific care would make.

If the infant mortality of fifty years ago were reproduced in New York now every newspaper in the city would make such an outcry that the Board of Health would be deafened. All the citizens of the town now have more or less vaguely in their minds a standard of city health. They are still resigned to certain of the infectious diseases of childhood, little realizing that diphtheria has been almost conquered and that, with the work of the two doctors Dick, scarlet fever is being conquered. In another generation both diphtheria and scarlet fever will be diseases of defective community health.

This establishment of a standard for city health depends upon the active interest and cooperation of every member of the community, especially upon every woman with children to guard, either in the home or at school. Each citizen must know something of what is being done for community health. If she lives in a small town, there may be no public health officer at all. In that case, an agitation for the employment of at least a part-time public-health officer, working in combination with an adjoining town-

ship, may be the obvious result of her interest. In a larger community the voters ought to know the public health officer, at least by name and reputation. In a great city they ought to know something both of the personnel and the methods of the Board of Health.

Some of this information can be gleaned from the daily papers, more from a health magazine, as *Hygeia*.

In a large city like New York the Board of Health carries on research work on the disease as well as active disease prevention. It does most fascinating things—from fumigating ships entering the harbor to giving a prize to the best baby.

The personnel and duties of the members of such an organization vary enormously. When public health work became so exacting and demanded such definite specialized training, schools of Public Health and Sanitation were established. Part of a regular M.D.'s training was required and part of an engineer's training. Graduates of such schools are called doctors of public health. Others trained for public health work are called sanitarians. It is the duty of the sanitarian especially to study the living conditions of each community. In the facts that he accumulates about the disease lies the power of finally eradicating it.

These health authorities of a city gather information by every available means. For instance, a series of maps of the various districts of the town are prepared. If scarlet fever is the epidemic disease of the spring, or typhoid the epidemic disease of the autumn, a check is made in the block where each scarlet fever or typhoid patient lies. If, in the case of scarlet fever, all the checks lie in one school district, then the school of that district is closed. If, in the case of typhoid epidemic, the checks follow the line of a milk wagon's delivery, suspicion immediately fastens upon the milk or the employees of that dairy, and investigation is made there.

In one most baffling case of a typhoid epidemic in a Swiss village there seemed no visible source of origin for the outbreak. The only other typhoid case was in a small settlement on the further side of a high mountain range. A sanitary survey was made of the entire region, including a study of the water supplies of the mountains and valleys. It disclosed the startling fact that a stream leaving the distant village went

Science Old and New, Putnam, 1924. \$3.50.

Daedalus, Dutton, 1924. \$1.00.

Icarus, Dutton, 1924. \$1.00.

Salvaging of American Girlhood, Dutton, 1924. \$3.00.

A Woman's Quest: Edited by Agnes C. Fietor, M. D., F. A. C. S. Appleton. \$3.20.

underground and tunneled the mountain range, to reappear in the village fountain of the second valley—where all the drinking water was drawn. This water, running underground and in the dark, was still highly contaminated with the typhoid germs from the village across the mountain.

Without such a study of the geographical conditions of the land, the source of the contamination would never have been discovered.

In some of the newly established Schools of Hygiene and Public Health each student is assigned a district of a given circumference in which to make a sanitary survey of the hills, slopes and inclination of the land, the surface, the subsoil and deep water supplies, including wells and springs. Upon this geographical chart are indicated the houses and

other buildings, including the proximity of the outhouse, toilet and barn to the water supplies. A second map indicates the diseases of the locality, and the student makes some tentative conclusion as to origin and spread.

By this method a great mass of information is gained about the preferences of different diseases and the conditions under which they flourish. During an epidemic an epidemiology chart is made, showing the number of cases in each district, and giving indications for necessary quarantine.

These graphic methods now in use very generally against disease are gradually giving the public health doctor a definite knowledge of the enemy's weakness and power, and enabling the money of the modern voter to be used scientifically in the eradication of disease.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

MERTON OF THE MOVIES.—Harry Leon Wilson's story of the mooning, stage-struck boy has here a truer reproduction than it had on the speaking stage. The picture has a better unity of mood and a far more delicate handling of the farce situation created by *Merton's* too innocent sojourning in Hollywood. There is more pathos in the stage *Merton's* voice than in any possible "closeup", but clever direction of the screen play has made far more of the rest of the material. Glenn Hunter has the leading rôle, in any age's picture. A Paramount picture, from the Wilson novel and the Kaufman-Connelly play, and directed by James Cruze.

BREAD.—This story of a successfully bread-earning woman and her difficulties in marriage with a non-budgeting, reason-proof, 1899-model husband is one of those rarer pictures peopled with characters reasonably and unreasonably human. There are no theatrics, and there is much plausible and interesting drama. This is partly a matter of temperate acting, with Mae Busch very far in the lead of a good cast, and partly a matter of intelligent direction. A Metro-Goldwyn picture, from Charles G. Norris's novel of that name, and directed by Victor Schertzinger.

THE MAN WHO CAME BACK.—The picture tells the story of a man who came back, after telling in detail how he got there—"there" being the depths of physical degradation in the low dives of a Chinese port. With a girl who has followed him down, he attempts to rise, each using the threat of moral suicide upon the other as a help to keep straight. A pineapple ranch in Honolulu serves as a logical background of regeneration. Dorothy Mackail and George O'Brien give life to the principal parts in a fair melodrama, marred by a rather violent conclusion. A Fox picture, from the

play of the same name by Jules Eckert Goodman, and directed by Emmett Flynn.

THE WARRENS OF VIRGINIA.—North and South and old-fashioned love are in this war story, taken from the play put on the speaking stage by David Belasco. The picture has most of the elements of the typical Civil War melodrama, fairly done, and a dramatic climax, and is no more sentimental than the stage and screen type. Schoolgirls and boys should like it. A Fox picture, from the play of the same name by William C. deMille, and directed by Elmer Clifton.

THE DANGEROUS MAID.—Still older-fashioned war and older-fashioned romance and older-fashioned melodrama is this picture of seventeenth-century England, with a girl doffing her feminine silks and satins, also ruffled. All the king's horses and all the king's men are there, with duellings and revolution. A teen-age romance with a comedy edge furnished by Constance Talmadge in the rôle of *Lady Barbara*. A First National picture, from Elizabeth Ellis's novel, "*Barbara Winslow, Rebel*," and directed by Victor Heerman.

The Farmer

(Continued from page 8)

bankruptcies, have been appallingly numerous. Senator Walsh reported from official estimates that 8½ per cent of the owner farmers in fifteen corn and wheat producing states lost their farms between 1920 and the spring of 1923, and that 15 per cent more were, in fact, temporarily insolvent, but held on through the leniency of creditors. The agricultural distress was reflected in the large numbers of bank failures through the agricultural sections of the West.

For all this deflation is not the only cause. There is also the collapse of the foreign market for our exportable surplus—a cause which involves the whole subject of our foreign relations. And there is the tariff. Everybody expects and gets protection save the farmer. With the result that the farmer himself suffers from every burden of high tariff and receives none of the benefits except, perhaps, in the beet-sugar raising state of Colorado, where it may be said that he gets some small percentage of the benefit from the tax on sugar.

In the past few months relief has come to the farmer through a rise in the price of wheat, due to a world shortage. For the first time since the war wheat has risen to 150.

But the public should not be fooled as it usually is, into looking upon crop reports as a barometer of the farmer's condition. Crop reports are nothing but a temporary indication of just what deficit the farmer will have to face at the end of the year.



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The true barometer is credit conditions, and these are, again, wholly artificial because they can be sent up or down at will by the manipulation from above. We can create healthy conditions by the proper use of credit. We can, as we usually do, create unhealthy conditions by the improper extension or withholding of credit.

It is not enough to say: "American farmers will produce the greatest grain crop in history," when we know that what the farmer is to receive for that greatest grain crop depends wholly upon men who have no interest in the farmer except to skin him and exploit him."

It is not enough to say: "Poor crops mean higher prices to the farmer for his products," when we know that the margin of profit will go into the hands of the speculators.

So the farmer once more goes into politics, with the somewhat forlorn hope of electing some representative to a seat in Washington from which he can do for agriculture what the senators from the Steel Trust, and the senators from the Railroad Trust, and the senators from the Sugar Trust, and the senators from all the other trusts, big and little, have done for *their* constituents.

But in considering what way the farmer will enter politics, it is imperative to consider something of the character of the average farmer himself. And we fall back upon the undeniable truth that at heart he is conservative. The farmer hates change. He has an abiding distrust of isms. He doesn't cotton to new-fangled notions of running anything, from farm machinery to governmental machinery. And it is not until his position is in extreme jeopardy, until he has tried everything else, that he will abandon the methods or the ideas of his ancestors.

Until the Bull Moose party of Theodore Roosevelt came along to shatter the bi-partisan complacency of Democratic and Republican managers, the farmer was either strictly Republican or strictly Democrat. There was no half way and no temporizing with him. He took his politics as he took his religion—straight and undiluted.

The advent of a third party in 1912 had much to do with shattering his faith in ancient institutions. The war, the subsequent events, have helped to demolish many more political gods.

We recently traveled through Kansas over the hard dirt highway from St. Joseph to Colorado, between rows of corn and wheat, some of which flourished as a green bay tree and some of which betokened a stunted youth. At every filling station and garage, which have supplanted the old corner store and livery stable as "political headquarters," men were talking crops and politics. Particularly politics.

"Will Kansas go Republican, as usual?" we asked on all occasions.

"Probably. But there'll maybe be some surprises when the votes are counted. La Follette is going to cut into the vote. We've tried everything else, and we might as well try this."

Not in one case but generally, wherever the gas ran low or the oil needed replenishing, was this sentiment expressed. No Kansas man, it seems, will concede that La Follette or anybody else can move the sunflower state out of the Republican columns. But all of them have *half a mind* to vote for La Follette.

This sentiment of distrust for the old parties, or rather for the old party leaders, may not have crystallized sufficiently to change the composition of the government at Washington. But it is not going to take many years to change those who have half a mind to vote for something else into men with a mind fully made up to send statesmen to Washington who will represent them instead of representing Eastern capital.

And the situation in Kansas is the sentiment of one of the most conservative agricultural sections of the United States.

In Paper Backs

The Psychology of Politics: A pamphlet in the series of "lectures in print" published as extension courses by the People's Institute, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. This lecture, by Everett Dean Martin, is a searching analysis of the attitude of the public toward political affairs, especially the general failure to take real interest in politics, and the crowd's worship of itself under party symbols and party leadership. Not particularly hopeful, but challenging and prickly.

What the League of Nations Has Accomplished: By Arthur Sweetser, Assistant Director, Information Section, League of Nations Secretariat. A pamphlet summary of the League's record in a little less than ninety pages, efficiently indexed and chapter-divided; with sufficient detail to aid argument or discussion, and not too much. Published by the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 6 East Thirty-ninth street, New York. 25 cents.

Radio Talks on Women in Industry: Very entertaining and instructive short talks, with pen-and-ink illustrations, about women's hours, wages, budgets, working conditions, about the exploded theory that women work temporarily and for pin-money, and about the combination of work and marriage. Bulletin (though it reads like popular magazines) of the Women's Bureau, No. 36. 10 cents. The talks were broadcast by Mary N. Winslow and Mary V. Robinson.

A smaller pamphlet, by Mary V. Winslow, on *Married Women in Industry*, is Bulletin No. 38.



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Polluted Sources

(Continued from page 11)

held in Zurich in 1919 and in Vienna in 1921, under the names of International Congress of Women and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

"Frequent changes of name, as advised by Nicolai Lenin, are resorted to by the International feminist pacifist bloc as often as necessary, but the entire movement originates with the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance.

"The work is divided up, like an army's artillery, cavalry and infantry, into three mobile divisions:

"The political under Mrs. Catt and her International Woman's Suffrage Alliance and the League of Women Voters.

"The pacifist under Miss Jane Addams and her Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

"The industrial under Mrs. Raymond Robins and her International League of Working Women and Women's Trade Union League.

"The three branches are employed precisely as a wise general would engage artillery, cavalry or infantry; using all three together whenever necessary and each one alone for special objectives."

Probably every reader of the CITIZEN knows (1) that Mrs. Catt did not call the Pan-American Conference nor have anything whatever to do with the call; (2) that the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance no more originated the International League of Working Women and the International League for Peace and Freedom than did the American Defense Society; (3) that these three organizations have no organized connection and have never acted together for any purpose; (4) that the In-

ternational Alliance and the League of Women Voters, the organizations we know best, have no more connection with Communism than has the President of the United States, and (5) in all probability that statement is equally true of the other two international groups. (6) More, instead of "three internationals," which sounds Communist, women of different groups have held at least fifty international conventions and, lastly (7), the Pan-American Conference, held in Baltimore, had no relation to any international convention heretofore held and had as its object good will on these Western Continents and the common advancement of women. In other words, in these seven paragraphs are seven blunders in statement actual or implied.

A reporter whose ignorance would lead him to include so crass an innuendo in an article designed to prove a conspiracy would deserve and receive prompt dismissal. When the director or secretary of the American Defense Society introduces it as one of the demonstrations to prove conspiracy to overthrow this government by revolution, he achieves two results: he throws suspicion upon every other statement in the book and, second, he arouses suspicion of the honesty of the society he represents.

Undoubtedly, there is a "Red conspiracy" in America, but a book designed to warn the public of its presence in which tales of the Soviet leaders are intermixed with stories of people as far removed from Communism as is the North Star can have only two equally undesirable effects: one, to frighten the gullible, who will suffer from their fright because they will not know what to do, and the other, to arouse the contemptuous skepticism of the intelligent

who would know what to do were there real danger. No one would look to Mr. Whitney nor the Defense Society for reliable information on any subject after a careful perusal of this book. It is a pity, for someone who really knows should tell us soberly and with no ulterior motive about the aims of the Communists.

Mr. Eichelberger's reliability as a purveyor of facts is illustrated by the above quotation used by Mr. Whitney. Fred R. Marvin, editor, *Mountain States Banker*, is less well known. He has written a pamphlet, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." He quotes from Mr. Whitney. Mr. Whitney quotes from him, both quote from the *Patriot* and the *Patriot* quotes from the other two in the trio. The three have clearly pooled their material, which is mostly of the hearsay variety and lacking in actual fact. These are quite clearly the sources from which the offensive Spider Web Chart and the offending speeches of Brigadier Generals Fries and Bowley were drawn and which may even have aroused the suspicion of Secretary Weeks himself. No careful investigator can examine this material without arriving at a firm conviction that the sources are badly infected and that the poison is plain falsehood. He must turn, next, as we shall do, to the query "From whence comes the infection?" Are the three gentlemen referred to by Brigadier General Bowley as the source of his fright as badly duped as was he?

Madam Bank President

(Continued from page 12)

ized, in which she was officer and director. Five years later the institution became a National Bank and she cashier. In 1916 she was elected president. She and her bank showed deep—but unemotional—interest in the farming community. Loans were made on the most favorable terms compatible with prudent judgment. "Scientific farming" was encouraged. Miss Movius was made president of the Fourth District Group of the North Dakota Bankers' Association and was elected to the Advisory Board of the Association of Note Bankers. She is also Director in a branch of the Federal International Credit Bank of St. Paul, Minnesota. Preference in the employment of girls and women marked Miss Movius as a feminist. Some have been in the bank twelve years, winning official titles commensurate with their worth. Doubtless among them further fledgeling presidents may be found!

But it is the soil of Wisconsin which appears singularly favorable to the growth. Word has just come of an amazing number of vice-presidents and presidents in that state, and upon the modest unknown the "spotlight" of the *Bank Women's Monthly* will be immediately turned.

Here's Shoe Comfort

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With Our Readers

This letter comes in with a request for publication, just as we are going to press. The Democratic National Committee will of course have a chance to answer.

ON the page supplied by the Democratic National Committee in your issue of September 6 I find this paragraph about the tariff, deliberately misrepresenting it or grossly in error:

"Women are the purchasing agents for all of the 25,000,000 families in the United States. It is estimated that the retail value of the commodities purchased by women every year is \$40,000,000,000—about \$1,600 to a family. Under the present Republican tariff there is a tax on nearly every article and commodity in common use in the American home. The aggregate of these Republican tariff taxes increases the expense of every American home by at least \$125 a year."

If the tariff increased the expense of every home \$125 a year, in 25,000,000 families it would total \$3 billion and 125 millions (\$3,125,000,000), whereas the total is about 4 billions—imported, raw materials, free list and all—i.e., the custom duties would be 75 per cent of our total imports, manifestly a wrong statement by the D. N. C.

F. T. BOWLES.

Elmira, New York

And the Republicans may talk back to this.

I WISH I might ask, through the CITIZEN, where this Utopia is, that J. Calvin Brown speaks of in the article, "Politics and the Home"—your Republican page in the September 20 issue. Perhaps Mr. Brown has never visited Pittsburgh or any large industrial center. There are numbers of men and women who have not regular employment, and I am in receipt every day of letters and pamphlets asking for help for the unemployed in the Pittsburgh district. And numerous farmers and small bankers are far from the great prosperity he speaks of. I would suggest that Mr. Brown use a little common sense and give the people credit for at least a little intelligence and some right to expect common honesty in their representatives. He and the Republican party have strayed a long way from the principles of "Honest Abe."

I surely appreciate the fine and impartial way in which the WOMAN CITIZEN presents the aims and platforms of the three great parties.

MAY B. EVANS GARDNER.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

I AM glad to see Mrs. Catt unwinding the Spider's Web, in which, apparently, certain militarists sought to discredit the civic-minded and forward-marching women of our nation.

As I see it today, there is rising in the nation a sort of Combination Political Salad composed of all varieties of Disgruntleds—Militarists, Wets, Anti-Federalists. Under the term "De-Centralization," these reactionaries try to cover moves to put the present back into the past. For federalization in education, in liquor, in child labor, is advance! It is giving to all what formerly the few had. Mr. John Morley put it well when he said, "We need Federal, state and local control, according to circumstances." There is nothing to show that up to date we have too much central control in these great common evils like liquor, illiteracy, child labor, etc. De-Centralization, Back to the Town Meeting, the slogan of this Combination Political Salad, means breaking down the very thing we have been working for—uniformity of treatment throughout the nation for common evils.

Mrs. Catt knows peace. I know prohibition. Too much centralization is a camouflage for the wets who, knowing they do not get

far with the women if they talk wet, change about and talk Bureaucracy. It is such a nice mouthful of a word, and when they get enough innocent women talking it, they will apply it to the Prohibition amendment. That is Bureaucracy, Germanism—in other words Federalism. It spells Satan! Down with it and up with beautiful individualism which gives the fair right to every state to run a saloon if it pleases.

The fact is the wine interests of Europe are desperate. American prohibition must be undone, or they are undone. They openly tell of giving money to help elect wets here, but the wets, finding the pure wets growing scarcer, have to tie up to the Anti-Federalists to get a hearing. There is one source of the strength of this rising tide of De-Centralizationists.

"I am so sorry you are a Communist," said an old anti-suffragist to me. "Why am I a Communist?" said I. "Because you believe, 1) in Federal prohibition, 2) in Federal aid to education, 3) in the Federal Child Labor Amendment."

The sin is Federalism. The goal is local

option, for liquor, child labor, public education, etc.

Thus we are getting from all sides an attack on welfare legislation—an attempt to intimidate women's organizations and church groups out of welfare legislation, under camouflage words of high sound that mean Stand Pat!

ELIZABETH TILTON.

Cambridge, Mass.

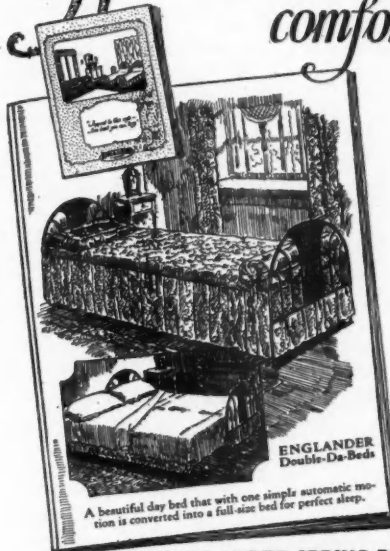
An elderly gentleman sends the following letter, to relieve his feelings. He is a good friend of the CITIZEN, so we give him his chance—and refrain from saying a single word about comfort.

Why, Oh! Why, Oh! Why?

This caption is the refrain of a piece we play on our player piano, but it represents the state of my mind when I see the modern fashion in which woman has utterly destroyed all beauty in the female form. No bust, no waist, no hips—the outline of the modern fashions for women has all the beauty of a plank or board out of a lumber pile, and no more.

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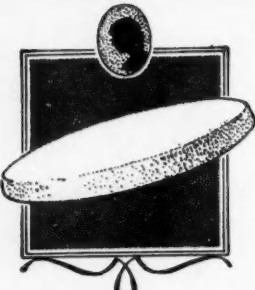
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GLEASON'S Parliamentary Digest

The Digest was written by a woman who has been for seven years the National Superintendent of Parliamentary Law for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; she was for four years Parliamentarian of the Los Angeles District Federation of Women's Clubs, and is now Parliamentarian for seven different organizations and has had much experience in teaching and presiding. Mrs. Gleason knows the needs of our women and wrote the Digest, to be used as a text as well as reference book, for the purpose of making it easier for our women to study and understand parliamentary procedure. Why not form a Parliamentary Section in your Club and study the Digest? Hundreds are doing it; "Knowledge is Power." The Digest is based upon "Robert's Rules of Order Revised," 1923 Revised Edition, \$2.00. If your book-store does not carry the Digest, send direct to the author. **MRS. I. W. GLEASON**
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Hogarth, the great English painter, said "the curve line is the line of beauty", and a woman's form is all curves—not a straight line on her. God never made any such looking things as the modern woman fashion plate. Why are women such slaves?

A DISGUSTED MAN.

I NOTICE the mention several times "that now the price of wheat is soaring so high, the farmer will likely put his trust in God and the same old ticket." I would like to say this will not be the action taken at the polls. A few years ago the farmer might have been fooled by being told that it was to the credit of the administration that wheat prices were high, but now he knows perfectly well that it is due to the fact that there is no wheat grown this year in comparison with other years. And he is not even concerned at the latest government report of 836,000,000 bushels this year grown in the United States as compared with 786,000,000 bushels last year. He knows that is a false report.

The farmers and their wives will vote for men whose past records show their desire to serve the people, and against men who serve only special interests. Both old parties have ceased to function for the majority of the people.

MRS. ELIZA BUCKLAND.

Thornton, Idaho.

This man reader of the CITIZEN asks to present his idea of a needed reform—rather a sweeping one. Any answers?

Editor WOMAN CITIZEN:

VICTOR HUGO once said, "There is only one thing that is mightier than armies and that thing is an idea whose time has come." Victor Hugo's "Idea whose time has come" is here. It came to Nebraska. It is crying out to the people of Nebraska, and to the people of all America, "We must get partisan politics out of lawmaking. Voters must know the facts before they register their verdict at the ballot box."

Government by party has failed. It furnishes a bad environment for our boys and girls who are to be the citizens of the next generation. A political press and a political forum are bad schools in which to educate our boys and girls in citizenship.

The problem of blind voting must be solved. An intelligent, unprejudiced electorate is the only solution to the problem.

But how can we get partisan politics out of lawmaking?

I want to tell you. Nebraska is at this time in the midst of a campaign to amend its constitution to provide for a single house legislature of one hundred members. Another amendment will be voted on at the November election that, if adopted, will remove party designations and the party circle from the ballot. We believe that both amendments will pass by rousing majorities. When they are adopted every lawmaker in Nebraska must sit to serve the people in the making of our laws unfettered by political handicaps. Political regularity and the party whip have come to be more powerful factors in the making of laws than the interests of all the people. In these days, when special interests are knocking at the doors of every session of our legislature asking for some special privilege, the single-house legislature is the only remedy. Here it will take fifty-one votes to pass and fifty-one votes to defeat any measure that may come before the legislature for consideration.

The complex problems of this nation must be solved. Shall they be solved by the unthinking people on prejudice or shall their solution come through intelligent study and cooperation?

OTTO MUTZ,

Secretary-Organizer, Better Government League of America, Nebraska Chapter

OUR OWN DINGBATS

IF, as Republican papers say, La Follette is cutting only into the Democratic vote, and if, as Democratic papers say, La Follette is cutting only into the Republican vote, then how many times did who drag what around the walls of Troy? ♦ ♦ ♦ And it will take more than five weeks yet to find out. ♦ ♦ ♦ The amount, of plain and fancy making-up-our-mind we have to do before that time, too, is another paralyzing thought. ♦ ♦ ♦ The Prince has gone, bag and baggage (thirty-seven pieces, we hear), and all that remains is a tidal wave of gray felt hats—cut brim—worn by the imitative Sex. ♦ ♦ ♦ Did any of you get copies of the last issue with a funny line in the tearoom page? ♦ ♦ ♦ Where the General Federation has its address in, extra, we originally had a nice little line, reading, "On the contrary, if anything"—just like that. ♦ ♦ ♦ We still sob when we see, instead, "Club Headquarters at 1734 N." ♦ ♦ ♦ (Business of killing the printer with sad kindness.) ♦ ♦ ♦ It is rather awful to consider how overworked the spirits of Lincoln and Jefferson must be in presidential campaigns. ♦ ♦ ♦ Have you noticed? ♦ ♦ ♦ Both furnishing inspiration for all parties, too. ♦ ♦ ♦ If someone should offer you a helping of chevon, and you took a chance, do you know what you would be eating? ♦ ♦ ♦ Goat—no less! A word to line up with pork, beef and mutton. ♦ ♦ ♦ Try it on; that is, if you care for goat. ♦ ♦ ♦ Maybe you don't know what the skip-stop system in street car lines is, now? ♦ ♦ ♦ If we'd known about it this summer, we should have used it in announcing that the CITIZEN would appear only once in July and August. ♦ ♦ ♦ A melancholy conviction is assailing us. ♦ ♦ ♦ Here we were all ready to attend political street meetings—preferably with the orator on a real soap box or cart-tail—red flares, band, all the rest of it. ♦ ♦ ♦ But it begins to appear that there ain't no such animal. ♦ ♦ ♦ We've been to a mass meeting, where the speaker's movements were restrained by the ever-present microphone—but no red fire, no parades. ♦ ♦ ♦ We thought these things came with the Vote. ♦ ♦ ♦ Established notions certainly do stick. For instance, "Here's dat quatah Ah borrowed from yuh last year," said one Rastus, according to "Life." "Yuh done kep' it so long, was the answer, "Ah don't know if it's wuff while foh me to change mah 'pinion of yuh jes' fo' two-bits." ♦ ♦ ♦ We see the Germans have just invented a way to telephone from moving trains. ♦ ♦ ♦ A long way from the days when phones were so unfamiliar that a Swede, just arrived in this country, told the operator, "Aye vant to talk to my wife." The operator's voice (says the "Watchman-Examiner") came back sweetly, "Number, please?" "Oh," replied the countryman, "she bane my second vun." ♦ ♦ ♦ Well, no one has guessed a dingbat, so we'll just have to come out and admit frankly that, whatever else it may be, a dingbat is one of these little jiggers we put between sentences. ♦ ♦ ♦ So. ♦ ♦ ♦

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The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Managing Director **Editor**
 MRS. RAYMOND BROWN VIRGINIA RODERICK
Contributing Editors
 CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
 ALICE STONE BLACKWELL
Advertising Manager **Associate Editor**
 MRS. ADELAIDE STEWART WINIFRED L. RICH

The Woman Citizen is published bi-weekly September to June and monthly July and August (twenty-four issues) by the Woman Citizen Corporation, at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Directors of the Corporation: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City, Pres.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City; Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, New York City. By subscription, \$2.00 a year, postage to foreign countries, fifty cents extra. Single copies, fifteen cents.

Entered as second-class matter November 15, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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 Vol. LIII Old Style
 Vol. IX New Style

No. 9

OUR OWN DINGBATS

THOSE were rash remarks we made about Election Day missing a chance to interfere with the closing of a magazine. ♦ ♦ ♦ Right under our nose was Columbus Day, laughing at us from a fatal spot on the calendar. ♦ ♦ ♦ We can't remember holidays we weren't brought up on. ♦ ♦ ♦ Recent advertisements of the saxophone intrigue us greatly. ♦ ♦ ♦ Our social accomplishments are so slight, and here is a promise of welcome in any drawing-room through an instrument that requires "no tiresome practicing" and not even "musical inclination"; just "a few minutes a day"—and, of course, the saxophone. ♦ ♦ ♦ We are intrigued also by the new (to us) phrase, "charley horse," which seems to be all we got out of the far-famed baseball series. ♦ ♦ ♦ We hope never to have a "charley horse," though. ♦ ♦ ♦ Another count against cities: Here we didn't even know autumn was going on. ♦ ♦ ♦ In our park the leaves were merely prosaically coming off ♦ ♦ ♦ and then one day we were kidnapped and driven through a golden, crimson glory that had been there all the time. ♦ ♦ ♦ Right into a *Citizen* article at that. ♦ ♦ ♦ We recognized Bear Mountain Park and Inn from our own picture. ♦ ♦ ♦ On the whole the English way of holding elections pleases us more than ours (hoping that isn't treason to the Constitution). ♦ ♦ ♦ The suspense is so much shorter. ♦ ♦ ♦ And we bet they still have soapboxes. ♦ ♦ ♦ "He who laughs last," says something called Yellow Jacket, "is usually the dumbest." ♦ ♦ ♦ We don't believe in ghostly possession. ♦ ♦ ♦ But when a perfectly good water-cooler which has led a model life for weeks, suddenly, without human intervention, hurls itself full length on the office floor, you need some theory. ♦ ♦ ♦ What theories have you? ♦ ♦ ♦ People keep telling us partisan stories these days and daring us to print them. ♦ ♦ ♦ We take the dare, offering each reader the privilege of changing the party name. ♦ ♦ ♦ It's about a little boy brought up, in the days when party lines were Chinese walls, an all-wool Republican. ♦ ♦ ♦ One rainy Sunday, his grandfather, who was chiefly responsible for the all-wool, kept him home from Sunday-school and expounded instead the picture of Christ before Pilate. He dwelt long on the hard, ugly expressions of the accusers, and the boy, gazing with disapproval, asked, "Grandpa, were they Democrats?" ♦ ♦ ♦ Change the name to suit taste and repeat as often as wished. ♦ ♦ ♦ We have no dog, but if we could have we should choose one like the hound described in *Judge* which trailed squirrels when his master carried a rifle, rabbits when he had a shotgun, and one day when he took a fishing rod, dashed off into the garden and began scratching for worms. ♦ ♦ ♦ We should expect ours to hunt down authors when we showed him our manuscript case.



Stanford Studio, Cleveland
Mrs. Siegmund Herzog

*"Vote
As You Please
But
Vote"*



Steffens-Colmer Studio
Adelia Prichard

HAVE you registered? Here are five more women asking you, all bent on getting out your vote. And they are by no means all. Other women's national organizations are also lined up in this campaign. Not to mention the women leaders in the political parties. Or the junior organizations. Or a dozen men's groups. It's going to be a bad year for the would-be stay-at-homes—no doubt of that.

The National League of Women Voters set the ball rolling among the women's organizations. The idea was proposed at a board meeting in 1922 and approved by the national convention in 1923. Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, of Texas, second vice-chairman of the League, was put in charge. She faces you from the center of the



Underwood & Underwood

page, with the League vote slogan faintly suggesting the energy and fire she has put into this drive. Other organizations responded promptly to the call.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs can boast Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker's long, splendid service as head of the Department of Citizenship, with a definite policy of vote promotion. Her literature is still working as leaven. Mrs. Alvord, of Michigan, head of the department since the last Biennial Convention, is carrying on the big task, and the Federation's adequate machinery is at work on reluctant or neglectful voters.

Mrs. Herzog, National Chairman of the Committee on Civic and Communal Affairs of the Council of Jewish Women, is directing the campaign of its 223 sections.



Henrietta Roelofs

ADELIA PRICHARD, president of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, is leading her forces, and all the clubs are organized locally for intensive pursuit of the vote. The National Y. W. C. A., under Henrietta Roelofs, head of its national legislative work and of rural work as well, has sent to its twelve or thirteen hundred associations directions for local vote-drives. The Girls' Friendly Society in America, with its president, Margaret C. Maule, leading, is another factor, and the American Association of University Women lined up too.



Mrs. William R. Alvord

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

OCTOBER 18, 1924

Number 9

News Notes of the Fortnight

With the Nominees

THE two presidential nominees who are on tour are working in the Middle West. Mr. Davis, as this is written, is making his second visit to Indiana, and Senator La Follette is in Kansas, concentrating on the farm country. Mrs. La Follette is assisting her husband's campaign with a speaking tour. The battle is getting hotter and hotter in the doubtful states, especially those in the far North and West, and both Democrats and Republicans in their official speeches are urging as reasons to vote for their candidate the danger that the election may be thrown into Congress.

The President's latest speech was made by radio from the White House to employees of the H. J. Heinz Company at a dinner given on an anniversary of the founding of their business. General Dawes and other Republican speakers continue to stress the menace of the third party movement to the Constitution, and the Democrats, though disagreeing with third party principles, continue to denounce the Republican strategy as raising "bogeys."

The Democrats are rejoicing in the organization of a National Democratic Labor Committee to campaign for Mr. Davis. Forty-four leaders are represented, led by Major Berry, who was a candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket.

La Follette electors have been barred from the ticket in Louisiana. The attorney general's ruling was that only registered voters who had declared themselves independent of affiliation with any recognized parties could legally sign the petition necessary to place the names on the ballot, and most of the names were those of party people. President Coolidge telegraphed regret for the situation. The La Follette appeal for a reversal of the ruling failed.

Charges and counter charges have been pretty thick in the air this fortnight. There is Senator La Follette's telegram to Senator Borah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Campaign Ex-

penditures, charging that the Republican National Committee is about to raise an enormous fund to buy the election, and calling for a thorough investigation. The charges of course have been hotly denied, and the Borah Committee will meet the challenge and hold a meeting. There is William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who says he has evidence that the third party people and some Democrats are conspiring to force a deadlocked election and throw the choice into Congress in the hope of electing Bryan. This is denied. There are the charges, used in Mr. Davis's speech at Baltimore, that the Aluminum Company of America, in which the family of Secretary Mellon is heavily involved, is a monopoly and profits greatly by the Republican tariff, under which it raised its prices. The Davis charges are supported by the records of the Federal Trade Commission. And there was the spectacular demand made by Brookhart of Iowa, renominated for the Senate, that General Dawes should quit the ticket, followed by an attack on the President. The Iowa Republican State Committee announced that Brookhart had read himself out of the party.

The Labor Government Falls

THEY do it differently in England. We think we are getting very close to election day now (this is written October 13th), but the English have slipped in ahead of us. Concentrating a whole campaign in nineteen days, they will determine their next government by an election held on October 29th. But not for four years, probably. What has just happened to the MacDonald Labor Government may happen again.

Labor came into power last December, but it has not had a majority in the House of Commons. It held its place because the Liberals voted with Labor against the Conservatives, and it was clear that whenever the Liberals decided to withdraw their support, Labor would fall. For under British convention—certainly different from ours—it is the rule that when the party in power is de-

feated in a vote on an important question, its Cabinet resigns and its Prime Minister usually asks the King to dissolve Parliament in order that an election may be held. Sometimes the King merely calls the leader of the next strongest party to form a new government; but in this case a dissolution was granted and the campaign is hotly on.

The question on which the MacDonald Government fell—October 10th—was in one way comparatively trivial, but it was one that involved the self-respect of the government. Both Conservatives and Liberals moved a vote of censure for the suspension of prosecution of James Ross Campbell, editor of a Communist paper, charged with attempting to corrupt the military and naval forces.

In the course of a hot debate MacDonald protested that the censures were insults to the Cabinet, and a last-minute effort on the part of the Liberals to secure his consent to the appointment of a commission with no Liberals on it to study the case, was refused. The vote was 364 to 198 against Labor. The Government will be in power until after the election, and perhaps longer, until the Irish bill and other matters are cleared up.

Just beyond this question lay the major one of the Russian treaty, with the proposed loan to Russia, and on this Labor would, it appears, have surely fallen if the crash hadn't come on Campbell.

The Labor Government's record, not particularly distinguished on domestic policies, is marked by brilliant success abroad. It was Ramsay MacDonald who brought the British and French governments together again after the repeated failures of his predecessors; who contributed so much to the launching of the Dawes plan and the peace of Europe.

Labor goes into the election fighting and confident. A combination between Conservatives and Liberals, by which only one will stand in certain constituencies, is under way. One prophecy is that the election will show that the Liberals have practically committed suicide by forcing an election at this time.

Muscle Shoals

HENRY Ford has just announced that he has withdrawn his offer for Muscle Shoals, because "business cannot wait on politics." His offer, made three years ago, was \$5,000,000 for property upon which the Government had spent \$90,000,000—a bid whose terms were in violation of the provisions of the Federal Power Act.

The New Proposal for Peace

THE text of the Protocol of Geneva, which promises to be epoch-making, has just been made public. Details remain to be grasped through careful study; but the main outline stands clear as reported: assertion that a war of aggression constitutes an international crime; the jurisdiction of the World Court to be accepted as compulsory; aggression defined as refusal of arbitration; the application of sanctions, including force, when a nation, refusing arbitration, resorts to war; a conference on disarmament to be held next spring, to which nations outside the League shall be invited.

The point won by Japan established the right of a nation to have discussed in the Council or the Assembly a question which the World Court has ruled is a domestic question; no nation can be declared aggressor for refusing the Court's judgment, without at least thorough discussion.

The Protocol was approved by the Assembly and now goes to the various parliaments involved. If ratified, the Protocol will be incorporated as part of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Two misunderstandings should be corrected. First, the United States is not asked to join the Protocol, all of whose provisions are limited to members of the League. Second, the British Navy is not, as was at first reported, to be handed over to the Council, but is to be used to an extent fixed by the British government, "if sanity, reason, right and justice fail and sanctions have to be employed."

Naturally, criticism has set in, and must be considered in the study of this document which will engage attention for months. Its lines are, first, the familiar charge that the Protocol attacks national sovereignty. This its defenders deny, claiming, on the contrary, that it tends to safeguard each nation's rights, increasing its security. Another criticism is that the Protocol confirms the boundaries fixed in the Treaty of Versailles and so solidifies injustice. And another is that it emphasizes the employment of force and so gives that principle new values; while at the same time it does not even suggest the codification of international law.

A League authority and worker expresses in a personal letter the general

point of view of those who hope much from the Protocol:

"No matter what the difficulties may be, nor how slowly the matter proceeds, we have at least the beginning of the outlawry of war, right where it should begin—at Geneva, where there is international machinery to carry the great task forward."

World-wide support of the Protocol has been urged by resolution of the administrative committee of the Federal Council of Churches.

FIFTY-five nations are now members of the League, Santo Domingo having been admitted within the month.

Prohibition and the Philippines

THE Philippines are in a peculiar situation in regard to the prohibition law. The Eighteenth Amendment specifically applies to the insular possessions of the United States, including the Philippines and Virgin Islands. But the enforcement code was not made to apply, that matter being left to the Island Governments themselves. An opinion of the Attorney General, 1920, declared that the amendment applies to the island possessions; and this opinion was recently endorsed by Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General, who has charge of prohibition matters. But it appears that the Philippine Govern-

ment never adopted an enforcement code and that the operation of the law has been deliberately circumvented. At Washington it has been the practice to withhold certification of invoices of liquors from the United States bound for Manila. At Manila, however, it appears that the cargoes are admitted, after a nominal fine has been paid, and it is now said that Governor-General Wood encourages the evasion.

The question is up for action.

Exit "Devil's Island"

THE abandonment of Devil's Island, if Premier Herriot of France is able to bring it about, will be another step away from the old theory of punishment as torture. Devil's Island was the scene of the imprisonment of Captain Dreyfus—a bare, torrid rocky island off French Guiana, where French convicts have died by hundreds. One after another, civilized countries have abandoned this kind of horror—prison ships, penal colonies. Herriot's plan is to bring the prisoners back to France to some central prison.

Anatole France

THE death of Anatole France, at eighty, is a loss to the world as well as to his country. He leaves behind him a shelf full of living books, and the fame of being a master of French prose and of human emotion.

Very Briefly

ABOUT three million war veterans are late in applying for their bonus. This means prolonging the time in which a force will be necessary to administer it. The applications can be made as late as January, 1928. If a veteran dies without making application, his widow will receive only about a third of what she would have got if he had applied.

France's Minister of Marine is ready to present a program for the restoration of a defensive navy to France.

The Dawes plan is now officially in operation.

The German loan of \$200,000,000, keystone of the Dawes plan, will have been offered and oversubscribed before these lines are read.

A trade treaty between France and Germany is under negotiation, and a preliminary protocol has already been signed.

Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, has retired from his kingdom and from the Moslem Caliphate—under pressure of the Wahabi tribesmen—and has sought refuge with his son Feisal, King of Iraq. These men sprang into picturesque prominence during the war; their cooperation was of critical importance in Allenby's campaign in Palestine.—October 13, 1924.



Elizabeth Creveling Crittenden is responsible for our cover this time. She received her art training in Boston and later taught mechanical and free-hand drawing. For a time she lived in the Middle West, painting and exhibiting in that part of the country. Then she came to New York, where she studied portraiture. She has exhibited with the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, and the Independent Artists. Love of the outdoors has always claimed Mrs. Crittenden, and it is the trees, the vistas, the pictures painted by nature which she likes to transfer to canvas. That's why we chose this particular cover.



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

Washington, October 9, 1924.



ACK in the country—up where you still see oxen lumbering along—when Washington is mentioned, it is necessary to explain whether it is Washington, Connecticut, or Washington, D. C. One summer is enough to prick the bubble of anybody's pride. The only Washington to some is the little Connecticut village of a few splendid hills, where the good folks yet hear the rumble of a locomotive with alarm. To others it is only a place farther down South than most New Englanders ever stray, where a lot of politicians do wicked and complex things to American government. Yes, one summer puts a Washingtonian in his place.

"District of Columbia? You will need a five-cent foreign stamp for that. That is South America," said a village postmistress a few weeks ago.

"No," you say. "District of Columbia is the place where your famous Senator So-and-So spends his official time."

"Never heard of him," is the rejoinder. "Expect he is one of them that goes to Hartford."

Seen From Connecticut

And so you will find, not, of course, because of this trivial encounter, but by actual investigation, that people are often more interested in local politics, in county and state situations, than they are in national affairs.

"Going back to Washington?" says the expressman, viewing an accumulation of trunks. "My! I'd like to be going where those trunks are labeled."

"Yes, it is a wonderful place to live," we reply, chiding ourselves for thinking that baggage haulers have no esthetic taste or interest in political life.

"Oh, I don't want to live there; I want to see the baseball."

So we fall again into that abysmal mistake of thinking of the whole human race as a mass of duplicates; but as a matter of fact even gentlemen at the capital who usually seriously discussed

the politics of the world today mumbled that if Walter Johnson had done so and so, and had strained himself a little, he could have caught that ball, and so on.

But now let us pretend that we are from Washington, Connecticut, and until lately thought that the District of Columbia was comfortably located in South America—for the sake of a fresh impression of the capital.

We are very certain that our readers join us in welcoming Mrs. Stokes again to our pages. Coming back to Washington after a summer in New England, she has an unusual opportunity to get a fresh impression of the campaign as it looks in Washington. We get the advantage of balancing our own eastern, western or southern impressions, gained from our newspapers, by comparison with hers, gleaned in the capital from a correspondent's many sources.

In the next issue she will devote special attention to the Democratic situation.

The air here is full of Colonel Harvey. He has thrown off his queer ambassadorial garb, which never suited his personality anyway, and reverted to the old-time political power he was in the days of the Roosevelt and Wilson campaigns. As editor of the *Washington Post*, the administration newspaper of the Harding régime, he has been working as hard as any of the scribes attached to the Republican organization to instil in the public mind a convincing impression of Calvin Coolidge. Colonel Harvey, as much of a psychologist as he is a writer, has coined a slogan which has the elemental scare and primeval instinct that Republicans want to put into the heart of the country—"Coolidge or Chaos." To counter it, the Democratic organization has twisted it into "Coolidge and Chaos." Colonel Harvey has been writing accounts of the baseball games, for which he facetiously said he

was eminently fitted on account of his experience in reporting the first game at Peacham which was won by the curved ball technique, of which he graphically wrote at the time for the *St. Nicholas* magazine. What Colonel Harvey is writing about the political situation could be summed up in three words—Why change? PROSPERITY. And alongside in his paper is the announcement that Washington has arrested twice as many drunks in September this year as it did in September a year ago. This may be one kind of prosperity.

Coming now suddenly from Washington, Connecticut (the only village in New England allowing innocent motorists to embark on roads under construction that yet have no bottom), we are in the midst of what appears to be the greatest wave of prosperity ever known to a boom town. Bare spots around the capital where once mushrooms grew are now filled with English "group community houses," and the city is bulging with small home building, layers of new apartment houses and embassy buildings, notably an extraordinarily handsome structure for the Italian government. Already one large sign says, "Rents reduced in this building." As for radio saturation, the air is full of the stuff. The capital takes radio with its food, but all Washington seems like compressed yeast compared with other cities—more automobiles to the square inch, more radio per roof top, more children to the front yard, more heads to the sightseeing bus window than any other. Of course, the old city is spread out over a large area, but the fringe is suburban, and the center of town swarms like a university campus, with the White House for its center.

In the White House

And in the White House, the President is as solemn and silent as ever, with the corners of his mouth drooping down, except when the picture men gather around him, when he has learned to grin and turn the corners up. He has exercised this smile and it is more and more

easy for him. Even though he is pursuing his strangely lonesome and silent campaigning, the President does not give the impression of having completely satisfied himself as to the result. The atmosphere around the White House is not that of a fight already won. To be too sure of success in these last few weeks is to be inefficient, is the White House idea. No matter how many voters in this country might be committed in their minds to the Coolidge candidacy, if they did not come forth on election day and declare themselves, the advantage might be lost. So the President wants to get out the vote, and the Republican Committee could do with more funds.

One Man's Prophecy

One analysis made here recently gives 195 electoral votes reasonably sure for Davis, 183 in the electoral college for Coolidge, 63 for La Follette, and 90 votes left in the doubtful column, in which case neither major candidate would have the necessary 266 votes for a majority, unless he carried all the doubtful states. All prophecies and speculations as to the outcome are particularly hazardous in this election, but the following comes from an experienced source:

DAVIS		Votes
Alabama	.....	12
Arizona	.....	3
Arkansas	.....	9
Delaware	.....	3
Florida	.....	6
Georgia	.....	14
Kentucky	.....	13
Louisiana	.....	10
Maryland	.....	8
Mississippi	.....	10
Missouri	.....	18
Nevada	.....	3
New Mexico	.....	3
North Carolina	.....	12
Oklahoma	.....	10
South Carolina	.....	9
Tennessee	.....	12
Texas	.....	20
Virginia	.....	12
West Virginia	.....	8
		195
COOLIDGE		
Connecticut	.....	7
Illinois	.....	29
Kansas	.....	10
Maine	.....	6
Massachusetts	.....	18
Michigan	.....	15
New Hampshire	.....	4
New York	.....	45
Pennsylvania	.....	38
Utah	.....	4
Vermont	.....	4
Wyoming	.....	3
		183
LA FOLLETTE		
California	.....	13
Minnesota	.....	12
Montana	.....	4
North Dakota	.....	5
South Dakota	.....	5
Wisconsin	.....	13
Washington	.....	7
Idaho	.....	4
		63

DOUBTFUL

Iowa	.....	13
Colorado	.....	6
Indiana	.....	15
Ohio	.....	24
New Jersey	.....	14
Rhode Island	.....	5
Nebraska	.....	8
Oregon	.....	5
		90

The Democratic organization has strained every nerve to produce a situation which would draw the President out of his seclusion and launch him into a speaking campaign, for they know that his strong point is not his platform presence.

The President has so well succeeded in shutting away from public gaze his real self that a true appraisal of the man has been made by very few. Extremes have been written about him, either that he is so wise that he is silent, or so silent because he is dull. It would be well for right-thinking persons to reject both extremes of judgment until he has had an opportunity to show himself unhampered by political exigencies, but there is this to say about the President, his silence covers the working of a very strenuous political machine. Every move he makes is weighed for its political significance, whatever other considerations may enter. He has come a long way in organization politics and he knows all the factors involved.

The La Follette Situation

The next thing that strikes your correspondent coming back with a fresh outlook is the change in the attitude toward the La Follette campaign. During the summer the maneuvering of the independent leaders was watched with interest, but not with much concern. Today it is regarded first with concern and then with interest. The headway made by the La Follette movement is being reflected here with apprehension and the Republican managers are now making no secret that there are two real opponents in the field instead of one. The California situation as I write is almost crucial. The action of the California Supreme Court in barring the names of the La Follette electors from the California ballot has been a boomerang and the state is now the center of the most powerful campaign forces in the Republican organization, while Senator La Follette's strength is growing in Southern California, upon which Republicans depended to save the state for their ticket. If La Follette wins California the election is considerably nearer Congress. In fact, political observers who a few months ago talked of the possibility of throwing the election into Congress merely as an interesting possibility are now thinking of it more as a probable outcome.

However, there is this psychological factor to be considered: it is much easier to imagine a "swing" toward La Follette

by the discovery of a few La Follette votes than it is to realize the measure of the Coolidge saturation. The dissenters who will vote for La Follette are now noisy little missionaries. But the large Republican hordes are back home sawing wood, content not to change things as they are, with prosperity and peace at their back door. These are the votes that are powerful and steady. However, this is no prophecy or prediction. It is easy enough to see that the La Follette movement has gained enormously in strength, but, to resolve political factors into elemental reasons, there still exists a bulk of voting humanity uninterested in anything but business stability and no bother. Whether the La Follette campaigners will reach it in these last few weeks with talk of greater farm relief, lower freight rates, less oppression from the Supreme Court, and general housecleaning of the Government departments, remains to be seen. From all over the country come reports of converts to the La Follette ticket, but Republican converts were made when Noah was a little boy and all their male descendants are still voting Republican.

Although the President sits back silent, the Cabinet is all over the country at given spots delivering speeches to order. Chairman Butler is using his force in every nook and corner where campaign strategy calls for high-powered attack. United States senators are at it, even with Senator Borah on the stump and reported as saying that President Coolidge is the "greatest man" in the political history of the United States. It is only a short time since President Harding was the greatest man in political history, and only a little longer since Woodrow Wilson was the greatest man in political history; only a little longer since Theodore Roosevelt was the greatest. It is some time since Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton and George Washington were the greatest men. On all sides are these descriptions of candidates as paragons and angels.

About the Cabinet

There is considerable speculation here as to the President's inner feelings regarding some members of his Cabinet, particularly toward Secretary Wilbur, who was recalled from his speaking tour because of his inability to differentiate between political speeches which say nothing and are happy and acceptable and his personal convictions, which in any campaign must be more or less suppressed. Secretary Wilbur has not been noted for his discretion from the first. He was too prone to say unguarded truths and to speak out his personal preferences. If Mr. Coolidge returns for four years more, many here believe that he will accept at least one or two

(Continued on page 24)

Fame via Test Tubes

By Katherine Scarborough

No less than four of the women chosen by ballot as the "Twelve Greatest" are connected with great universities. One of the four is presented here—one whose fame is solid among the highest level of scientists. Her record goes to prove, if proof were needed, that science is not an un-feminine field.



EST tubes are more fun than teas.

That, in a nutshell, is the reason Dr. Florence Rena Sabin, of Johns Hopkins, is one of the twelve most famous women in the United States today.

For Dr. Sabin is not only a famous woman. She is a famous scientist, asking no quarter from men or women in her own field and known the world over among members of the medical profession for her remarkable discoveries concerning the lymph and blood vessels of the body.

Many years, full of labor, full of devotion and full of joy were spent by Dr. Sabin in her laboratory at Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, studying these two phases of anatomy. The results of her work have been so important as to connect her name with these subjects for all time in the medical literature of the world.

By means of an ingenious method, skillfully applied, Dr. Sabin was able to discover the origin of the lymphatic system and to trace its development. Her thesis on this subject, published a number of years ago, won her a prize of \$1,000, awarded by the Naples Table Association for the best scientific thesis written by a woman, embodying new observations and new conclusions based upon independent laboratory research.

In 1919 Dr. Sabin published the results of another important piece of research work, contributing to the Mall Memorial Volume a notable article on the origin and development of the blood and blood vessels. At present she is engaged upon a study of the living blood, having also invented a process whereby she is able to keep her specimens alive for five or six hours—a thing no investigator heretofore has been able to do.



Hughes Co., Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Florence Rena Sabin, of Johns Hopkins University, knows enough about the lymph and blood vessels of the body to make her famous.

Dr. Sabin seems extraordinarily young to be so famous a person. She was born in Central City, Colorado, November 9, 1871, but her dark, curly hair, with only a thread or two of gray, her clear, dancing eyes, her smart gown, her ability as a chauffeur (for she drives her own car with all the dexterity an alert mind and capable hands can bestow), all vigorously deny the years she so gaily acknowledges.

For those who would have women rise to success over mountainous obstacles the career of Dr. Sabin will be, perhaps, disappointing. Coming from a line of physicians and teachers, she had no difficulty in persuading her parents to permit her to go to college when she broached the subject. With their complete approval she left Central City for the land of her forefathers and matriculated at Smith, graduating in 1893 with the degree of Bachelor of Science.

Her great-uncle had been a "country doctor" in New England and her father had completed two years of a medical course before the lure of the West proved stronger and he became a pioneer. A love of medicine and the spirit of the pioneer commingled in the blood of the young student and the course in biology at college set the seal to her desire. She determined that she, too, would be a physician.

At the Johns Hopkins Medical School she again failed to encounter the opposition to women students which has characterized so many medical schools, the Johns Hopkins School itself having been made possible through the generosity of a woman—the late Miss Mary Garrett, of Baltimore—who contributed something like half a million dollars to its establishment.

Dr. Sabin takes her honors lightly. She is even apt to scoff at them a bit and insists that she does not deserve special credit for what she has done because it all has been such fun. From

the first time she "cut" a college tea in favor of a rendezvous with a microscope until today she has enjoyed every bit of it, working patiently for months at a time to establish a single fact the truth of which her experiments seemed to indicate.

"There is nothing showy about it," she says, "but it is all so necessary if ever we are to conquer disease. It is constant application in the laboratory that makes possible such great discoveries, for instance, as insulin. Rewards like that are worth to a scientist everything that one does by way of preliminaries."

Dr. Sabin's great dream is a real share for women in the intellectual development of the world.

"There is no reason why a woman cannot rise to the first rank in any profession if she wishes to," she says. "Sooner or later the world will have to concede the right of everyone to work. Society will have to make adjustments, I know, before this condition can be realized, but they will have to be made. Marriage and a career are quite compatible and must be so if women are to share in the progress of mankind."

"These adjustments already have been made in the case of great artists and musicians, and they will be made for women in the other professions. If a woman has children that complicates matters somewhat, but I have faith enough in society to believe that it can solve the problem to the advantage of the world. The years spent in rearing children form comparatively a small part of a woman's life, and it is not fair to penalize her for the remainder of her days by saying, 'Thou shalt not work and progress.' Work is the salvation of life and modern housekeeping methods constantly are making it possible for a woman to spend less of her time at drudgery and more of it doing the things that really are worth while."

Three Super States

By Carrie Chapman Catt



BENEATH the surface of things rumors are always spreading from man to man and house to house. Workmen lunching together from dinner pails, women preparing a church supper, clergymen in council, politicians in conference, indeed, wherever two humans meet, there is a center for the promulgation of rumors. With "A man told me who knows"—"I heard it straight"—"Everybody is talking about it", the gossip travels and the story swells as it goes. This is true at all times, but the after-war psychology creates gossip based on fear, and at this present moment three unrelated and equally terrifying "reports" are engaging attention at the talk centers. How extensively they have traveled no one can measure; but that they are held at this moment in millions of minds as possibilities of danger and consequent reason for extra preparedness precautions no one who investigates can doubt. Subterranean rumors in time usually evaporate into thin, hot air. When serious enough, however, they come into the open where they either explode like a toy bomb or are dealt with according to their importance. These should be hauled out of their holes and the sunlight of truth let in upon them.

Underground Rumors

The three are:

1. The Catholics of this and all other countries owe first allegiance to the Pope, and the Hierarchy of the Church is seeking through its members to set up a super state over all the nations, and especially this one.
2. Soviet Russia is sending millions of dollars to organize a revolution here (as well as elsewhere) and the "Third International", or some other, will be a super state to rule the world when its aim is achieved.
3. The Jews, believing themselves "the chosen people", are about to set up an international super state, and through it to control the world.

There are three distinct and important reasons why these three rumors should be examined fearlessly.

1. None of them is mere idle gossip—they are definitely being propagated by organized groups whose agents, traveling among credulous people, are gaining converts by telling secretly such amazing whoppers as would make the immortal Ananias by comparison seem a saint.
2. The effect of this propaganda is to

establish falsehood, fear, suspicion, hate, the well-known bases of murder, riots and incendiarism. No nation is normal nor safe when such agitation is proceeding beneath the surface.

3. Each one separately is being used as a reason why the United States should be prepared for war and in support of the charge that every person who labors for permanent peace is an enemy of his country. From the wild tales supporting each wild theory the

Here is another article in Mrs. Catt's series, in which she records her search for the underlying sources of propagandas that are poisoning opinion and affecting peace movements. The next article in the series, to appear in the issue of November 1, is "The Red Menace."

poison seeps, drop by drop, into the hidden sources from which comes the propaganda against all peace movements, and from these sources it percolates outward and upward in all directions.

Although the three propagandas are usually disconnected, each one carries the alarming news that the United States is about to be ruled by an alien authority in the form of a super state which even now has a well-developed, organized conspiracy to seize our land through some form of revolution. Thousands of people have swallowed these tales wholesale and are literally trembling in fear of the next movement. Shades of George Washington, somebody's "goin' to git us if we don't watch out!" Let us examine the three scares in order.

The oldest and most familiar is the fear that the Catholic Hierarchy is seeking to control our nation and the world. At irregular intervals this scare crops out and rages over the country, to die down again without any evidence of exterior damage being done. Once there was a Know-Nothing Party which voiced the anti-Catholic sentiment of its day. Later there arose an anti-Catholic secret society which made considerable headway and then disappeared. About fifteen or twenty years ago there was the same outcropping of anti-Catholic sentiment, which was, in part, organized. It now arises again under the standard of the Ku Klux Klan. What is it all about?

There is, in truth, one point of irritating conflict between Catholics and

other people in this country. It is known as the public school question. Open, frank discussion of this question without rancor or intolerance, will assuredly lead to understanding, compromise and good will. Nothing else will ever solve the problem, and it will remain a sore spot so long as it is unsolved.

On the other hand, it is certain that the underground talk, the method heretofore employed by anti-Catholics, gives protection to wholly ridiculous and unfounded stories and stimulates plain, old-fashioned bigotry. More, it is the lies told by the underground method that smoulder through the years when no anti-Catholic movement is apparent and that burst into a fresh flame constituting a new movement at irregular intervals. Liberal-minded Catholics and Protestants alike should be anxious to heal this sore spot and remove it forever from our land.

The truth is that this country opened wide its gates to the peoples of all nations and faithfully promised that here all men should be free to worship God in their own way. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof". Religious liberty has been our most emphasized "American principle". When, therefore, Catholics came in response to the invitation of our open door to cast their lot and that of their children and their children's children with that of other faiths in this "land of the free", they came with the assurance that they would have liberty to worship God in their own way. That pledge cannot honorably be broken, either by public or secret action. Catholics have precisely the same right to live here that the rest of us have. They have the same right to their religion and all it entails that we have to ours. Protestants, Catholics and Jews have an equal right each to conduct their worship of God in their own way up to the point when the practice of any one of these faiths interferes with the rights of another faith—then compromise must be effected if peace and tolerance are to continue.

The Public School Question

The public-school question is just such a point of conflict. It has little to do with the private right of freedom of worship, but rather hinges upon the desire of each group to surround its children with its own church influence and

to protect them from the possibility of being swayed by the teachings of another faith. The manifest remedy is to remove all religious teaching from the public school and institute a government inspection of all schools—private as well as public—and to allow nothing of a religious nature to be taught in any of them except a code of morals about which there is no controversy. Have Protestant, Catholic and Jew tried to discuss the question of public education with a view to compromise in the interest of the public good? That is the only hope of making a final adjustment of the questions at issue.

With the present method—a whispering campaign that is spreading incredible tales about Catholics and Jews among Protestants, and about Protestants among Catholics and, perhaps, among Jews, the main question is forgotten and the controversy has descended into the morass of malignant fabrication. The Klan followers charge Catholics with ambition to create an empire which the Pope will rule from Rome; yet the Klan calls itself an "Invisible empire" and works as a secret bloc in politics, apparently aiming at minority control of this country and its policies, a condition as inimical to the sovereignty of a free people as the alleged aim of the Catholics. What the Klan teaches its members of-

ficially, we can not know, but we do know that tales spreading among its members, as well as outsiders, menace the common peace.

Perhaps the most interesting and widespread is the whispered message, "Whenever a Catholic baby boy is born, a gun is bought and hidden away to make ready for the time when Catholics will revolt and take over this country". This would be too ridiculous to print did we not know that it is being repeated by believers in it to others, some of whom may believe, every day of every week. According to the official Catholic Directory for 1923, the total number of Catholics in the United States, which means men, women and children, is 18,260,793. We are a population of 110,000,000. Do numbers count for nothing? Why be afraid?

The Knights of Columbus seem to be the dread enemies the Klan fears. They were organized to parallel the Y. M. C. A. and their probable aims are quite the same.

In Texas, the press reports that a campaign pamphlet recently circulated definitely stated that every member of the Knights of Columbus had taken an oath "to hang, burn, waste, boil, flay, strangle and bury alive every Protestant and every Mason in the United States, sparing neither sex nor age", and further, it

was declared that the order to carry on this war of extermination had come from the Pope himself! Verily, the capacity of the human race to lie and believe lies is limitless! In another state the K. of C. are pledged (so the Klan followers say) to bring "death to all Yankee vipers and snakes". Perhaps the Imperial Wizard and the little King Kleagles do not promulgate such rot and nonsense, but somebody is doing it, and small minds are believing it.

Among the more educated classes another form of scandal is traveling. "Did you not know that the real reason why the Senate in 1920 failed to ratify the League of Nations was the discovery that such a League would be the long-planned Catholic super state?" From half the states of the Union this assertion has been found to be traveling among people who ought to know better. Did the far reaches of the Senate debate start the rumor, or did the rumor in truth frighten the Senate? God alone knows.

Meanwhile, what are Catholics thinking? All this hubbub cannot leave them undisturbed. Go among them and inquire and you will find that many of them are as scared of the Klan as the Klan is scared of them. Many believe the Klan is armed and means to hunt

(Continued on page 29)

"What Price Glory?"

"WHAT PRICE GLORY?"

was the most discussed play of the season even before censorship threatened. The discussion still goes on—and the play. There is no argument as to whether or not it is a good play: opinion on that seems to be unanimous. The questions are, Is it a true picture of war? Is it meant to be? Does it malign the army with implications that it drinks, swears and seduces? Does it, on the other hand, make war glamorous? And so on—and on. Certainly there is no deliberate propaganda in this play. Certainly the authors make no assumption to portray the whole army by way of a few scenes from the life of one company of marines whose captain himself complained of the material he got. But somehow you know this play has the real feel of the thing, anyhow; and you



White Studio

Louis Wolheim as Captain Flogg and William Boyd as Sergeant Quirt

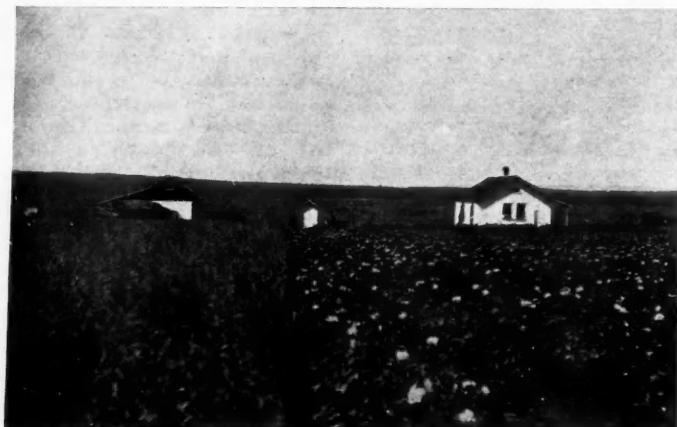
don't need the testimony of the soldier who has seen half a dozen performances already, because he finds it so natural.

The story is of a company of marines—a rough lot, with a hard-boiled captain and an equally hard-boiled top

sergeant, both given to drink, who have quarreled in all parts of the world. There is swearing. There is quarreling between the two over the one light o' love French girl; there is no glory or glitter, no talk of lofty ideals; of plain, straight seeing things through there is plenty. In the second act, in the dugout, you feel the sheer butchery of modern war and the men's utter helplessness in its giant machinery. These men aren't fighting a war—they are trying to take a small railway station. It's a humorous play—don't forget that, with lines that set the house rocking. And splendidly

acted by the whole cast.

Laurence Stallings, who, with Maxwell Anderson, wrote it, was a captain of marines, and lost a leg and won years of pain as a result of Belleau Wood. He ought to know.



Courtesy Canadian Pacific

The women of the western provinces were the feminist pioneers. The pictures show a glimpse of their country—a ready-made Alberta farm and a Canadian Rocky Mountain.



Courtesy Canadian Pacific

Canadian Women's New World

By E. L. Chicanot

Author of "The New Canada," etc.



AMONG the countries of the world Canada is probably almost unique in one respect—a practical numerical balance between the sexes. Canada's population is divided between 4,529,945 males and 4,255,538 females. The United States, with fourteen times Canada's population, has over two million extra men, and the United Kingdom, with approximately five times as many people as Canada, has about two million superfluous women.

Inevitably, this balance affects the status of women in the national life. As a direct result, Canadian women have always occupied an elevated place and had high consideration in its economic and other affairs.

The Vote by Request

Though Canada has a long and romantic history, the Dominion must nevertheless be regarded as barely emerging out of its pioneer stage. Up to recent years Canadian women have been the mates of pioneers—the mothers of the present civilization. Their principal place in the development of the country has been that of wives and mothers. The largely undeveloped state of the country and the fact that the sex had a slight inferiority in numbers have tended to keep women out of the economic field and from competition with men.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Canadian women were therefore playing no part in the national drama. Women's societies and rural organizations have nowhere been more active or efficient than in Canada. The Federation of Women's Institutes, for instance, one of the largest organizations of women in the world, had its origin

thirty years ago in Canada, where today it has ten thousand members.

The first demand for political equality and parliamentary representation in Canada came in the agriculturally aggressive western provinces, where women's organizations had reached heights of the utmost efficiency in operation and become important factors.

There was no pleading or importuning, no hammering at legislative doors to get the vote. As soon as it was appreciated that the demand came from the voice of a majority, the franchise was given the women of the various western provinces simply because they asked for it. Rapidly one province after another followed the example of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, until women were voting in the elections of all the provinces with the exception of Quebec, where conditions are not typical of the rest of Canada.

When the question of conscription was an issue in 1917 it was logically considered that women, who were so greatly and intimately concerned, and had made such stupendous sacrifices, should have an equal voice in the decision. They were therefore granted the Federal franchise.

The end of the war found the status of Canadian women drastically altered. Canadian women had played a part in the actual prosecution of the war both at home and abroad and, taking the places of absent men, had occupied many spheres they had never before dreamed of entering. They acquired a new sense of power, and, finding their new positions desirable, were indisposed to resign them. They began using their political power and making invasions into men's professions and callings.

In the various provinces, particularly

in the West, the powerful societies of farm women began to take on a political complexion and to have aims and ambitions which took them farther afield. They worked strenuously and successfully to bring about certain pieces of legislation beneficial to their interests. Their individual votes and organized strength have made them factors to be reckoned with in the trend of all legislation.

Women's use of the ballot was followed almost immediately by their entry into the legislative assemblies, where they are gradually securing greater and stronger representation. In the first Alberta election after the franchise, in 1917, in which a large percentage of the votes were cast by men on active service in England and France, one of the members elected was Miss Roberta McAdams, a nurse serving with the Canadian forces. Not long afterward Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith, a woman who had been very active in provincial women's organizations, was elected to the legislature of British Columbia. Familiarly known as "Our Mary Ellen," and representing part of Vancouver City, she is now a member of the provincial cabinet, being the first woman of the British Empire to attain that rank.

Sharing in the Government

Canada has another woman cabinet minister in the Honorable Mrs. Parlyb, who sits in the Alberta ministry without portfolio, looking particularly after the interests of women and children in the province. The first woman elected to the Dominion House of Commons was Miss Agnes McPhail, who now sits with the 234 men members from all over the Dominion in the Federal Assembly at

(Continued on page 26)

What Women Have At Stake

By Emily Newell Blair

VICE-CHAIRMAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

This page is supplied by the Democratic National Committee



LNASMUCH as the American system of government is by political parties, it is a fair assumption that there has never been before the electorate of this country a more important issue than that which will be decided by the election November 4. That issue is "Are we to have responsible party government, or are we to place our whole faith and trust upon one man?" In other words, are we to change our system of government in vogue since 1776, and put in its place rule by a single man, because parties are no longer to be trusted?

This is the question to be answered by women who are wavering as to whether they will vote for Davis, Coolidge or La Follette.

Government's Downfall

Many times before men have formed democracies and republics. They, too, were based on the desire of men and women for individual liberty and were aimed at the welfare of the whole people. Then came privilege, and with privilege came corruption and more corruption until the moral sense of the people was blunted and they said, "Oh, well, it does not matter—the wonder is there is not more of it." Then the government grew rotten at the core and the people lost their faith in the republic, and facing away from liberty turned toward some strong man they thought might save them and it.

The nation that allows the canker-worm of corruption to exist is on its way to rottenness, but the nation that turns to the "strong man" to save it is on its way to despotism. The only safeguard is a strong party government with a party held responsible at the polls for permitting corruption and encouraging privilege.

Three Alternatives

Today we face three alternatives: We may say with our votes, "Oh, well, it does not matter—corruption; the wonder is there is so little," or we may turn to a so-called strong man and say, "Please lead us out of this," or we can invoke party responsibility, and, turning to the Democratic party, say, "We like the work you did in showing up corruption. We will give you a chance next and hold you likewise responsible. If you do not make good next time we will turn you out."

THE TESTING OF WOMEN

For years it has been said that given the vote women would bring their high moral sense to the ballot box, and because of it exert a good influence on politics.

The election of 1924 is women's proving ground; this election will put the new voter on record as being for or against HONESTY AT HOME and HONOR ABROAD. This is the test of a lifetime, the Republican administration having been the most corrupt and dishonest of our generation.

Your vote for the Republican nominee will be construed as your endorsement of his administration and of his defense of its corruption.

Your vote for the Third Party nominee will be wasted. If you want HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT and HONOR ABROAD vote for John W. Davis and the Democratic ticket.

There are, I know, a number of women voters who feel that both old political parties fail to reach sufficiently high standards and who therefore want to cast their votes against both as a matter of protest. One trouble with this protest vote is that such a vote means the return of Mr. Coolidge to the White House. It will be counted as condoning his administration. In view of this serious situation it would seem more important to cast it against Mr. Coolidge and for Mr. Davis. But there is another side to this vote of protest. It is, in this case, a vote against party government itself.

If the vote for Mr. La Follette meant indeed what some of his ardent followers think it means, a realignment between the old parties so that all conservatives will be getting in one party and all progressives in another, it might have point! But it does not. Among the people following him are people as far apart in their philosophies and ideas as any now working together in either the Republican or Democratic parties. There are the Vice-Chairman of a Law Enforcement League and the Wisconsin brewery interests; the League of Nations enthusiasts and the irreconcilables; the high-tariff advocate and the free-trader, the militarist and the pacifist. Does this look like a definite realignment of people who think alike?

Lack of Logic

One of the things confusing to women in the old parties has been the fact that the very women who came to our party conventions, begging us to put a dry plank or a League of Nations plank in our platforms, giving us to understand that with them this was the paramount issue, have announced themselves as supporters of La Follette, who is against both. It is logic that makes clear lines between parties—consistent logical thinking—and this does not argue that these La Follette followers have more of it than Republicans or Democrats.

Therefore, this particular party can take the place of neither the Democratic party nor the Republican party for the fundamental reason that it takes over the principles of the Republican party and a program partly Democratic and partly Socialist. Of which party, then, may I ask, does it take the place? Where then shall those go who believe in the fundamental principles of liberalism, majority rule and equality?

Mr. Davis's Principles

Mr. Davis is a libertarian in viewpoint, believing in the equal rights of the individual, every individual, rich and poor alike. He considers the property rights only one of the human rights and not the paramount one, and he believes that government is intended to insure to the individual all rights except when they shall conflict with the rights of other individuals. He believes in the Democratic philosophy of government, the right of the majority to govern and the right of the individual to health, wealth and the pursuit of happiness. He believes in applying these fundamental principles to the problems as a changing civilization produces them, for he knows that wherever applied these principles have prevented special privilege and the accompanying autocracy. They have safeguarded human rights. He knows that it has been under Republican rule that capital has grown despotic. He knows under Democratic rule labor has been protected. His viewpoint and outlook mean what they meant in Jefferson's time, Jackson's time and Wilson's time, namely, a widening opportunity and exact justice to all, and special privilege to none.

Because his principles are those of liberalism, Mr. Davis will become, as Woodrow Wilson did, the leader of all true liberals and progressives.

What This Election Means to Women

By Pauline Morton Sabin

MEMBER NATIONAL REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FROM NEW YORK

This page is supplied by the Republican National Committee

IN the closing weeks of the campaign, the Ship of State is being lashed by the fury of a seething sea, but the women of the country have stout hearts and a faith that serves them in good stead. They are to participate in the coming election on the same plane as the men. They have shown a deep interest, are calmly analyzing the conduct and the character of each candidate for the Presidency, and will form their judgments independently of their fathers, brothers and husbands.

They have not made a declaration of independence, and while successful clubs have been formed for their educational advancement in the science and practice of politics they are indebted, for their first-hand knowledge of aims, methods, procedure and controlling currents, to their cooperative participation with the political organizations.

I think we have been very wise in not organizing a feminine bloc, and it will be for the greatest good if the women will continue to cooperate with the men. In these days of group formations, a temptation presents itself to militant women who have demonstrated their ability to inaugurate and direct civic movements to set up a separate organization unaffiliated with either of the historic parties. It is argued that if this were done the historic parties would become suitors—very probably great rivals—for the favor of the feminine organization. Plausible promoters think they can sell the idea. But the women will not "fall" for the suggestion, no matter how attractively it may be dressed and presented. One reason why they will not is that as a class they are not asking for selfish advantage. They want no preferential legislation; they will not band together to get "jobs." They are more unselfish than the men who make of politics a profession. The women are concerned only for the general welfare and will vote for candidates whom they believe to be wise, sincere, capable and experienced.

What Women Want

As women learn the arts of government and acquire that combination of qualities essential to leadership more and more they will command the support of other women for posts of distinction, but even then our women will continue to

put fitness before sex. What women want is a steady improvement in the conditions under which women work; a governmental prohibition against the heartless dwarfing of the men and women of tomorrow that results from prematurely putting them into industry today—law enforcement, an economy in government, so that taxes may be reduced to a point that will lighten the budget of the housewife; and a fostering of agriculture, commerce and industry through a beneficent policy of protection and a greater freedom of action to legitimate business enterprises. All this will

"WE do not need more material development, we need more spiritual development. We do not need more intellectual power, we need more moral power. We do not need more knowledge, we need more character. We do not need more government, we need more culture. We do not need more law, we need more religion. We do not need more of the things that are seen, we need more of the things that are unseen."—CALVIN COOLIDGE

make for greater contentment in every American home. It is the day-dream of every thoughtful, worthy woman.

In regard to candidates:—

The women find in Mr. Davis a candidate of irreproachable character, large experience, with a national and international outlook. He has a flair for world affairs. But he is the standard-bearer of a party that is not cohesive, that does not believe in the things he advocates, as can be proven by his record on fundamental questions involved in the Democratic platform. Mr. Davis disappointed his friends by "trimming" when he was called upon to advise as to the choice of a vice-presidential candidate. His selection of Governor Bryan, an exponent of the school or faction that is as widely separated from the Davis school as one pole is from another, was an unworthy surrender for the sake of political expediency. We cannot take Mr. Davis without taking Mr. Bryan. *It is because that ticket faces both ways that*

the Democratic campaign has completely collapsed.

Senator La Follette's Record

And what is our alternative? Mr. La Follette has been in public life for a generation. He has been the author of liberal legislation, some of which has been good. For a long, long time he has nursed an ambition to be President. It has warped his vision and soured his disposition. He was a thorn in the side of President Roosevelt and President Taft. President Wilson found in him a marplot and the patriots of Woodrow Wilson's day, who supported our war policy one hundred per cent, branded La Follette as disloyal to his country. He withheld support from President Harding and has blocked the progress of Calvin Coolidge. He delights in assembling and arraying class against class. He deliberately and habitually foments class hatreds. *No contrast could be more marked than that between the chaos advocated by La Follette and the calmness of Coolidge.*

Can any mother whose son was called to the colors condone the conduct of La Follette? Would any prudent woman choose him as the custodian and administrator of her own affairs or the equally important (to her) affairs of state? Will any loyal woman give aid and comfort to a man who for a whole generation has worked industriously to pull down the pillars of the temple by attacking our constitutional rights and privileges?

The women have faith in Calvin Coolidge.

They know he is a man of conscience, of deep sincerity, of trained intellect, of unmatched courage, of impeccable honesty, of rare good judgment and of notable achievement in statecraft. Why change?

I have a firm faith that the women love the institutions that are founded on the loyal sacrifices and the accumulated wisdom of a century and a half and I predict that in November they will register an emphatic disapproval of those who advocate destructive measures as a substitute for the orderly processes and of constructive measures.

There is a Biblical saying which might be considered by every voter before he casts his vote on election day. It is, *"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."*

What La Follette Will Do and Has Done

By Alice Stone Blackwell

This page is supplied by the La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Committee



A FOLLETTE should be elected because of his high personal character and his superb record of public service—a record with which no other candidate's can compare.

In Wisconsin, he fought a powerful and corrupt political machine, conquered it, smashed it, rose to be Governor, put through important progressive legislation, and forced the great corporations to pay their fair share of the taxes. He found the state in debt. At the close of his administration he left it out of debt and with a surplus in the treasury.

Saved \$2,000,000,000

During his twenty-three years in Congress he has always fought ably and valiantly for the public good, and against the various grabs and steals attempted by the great tax-dodging corporations. In 1917-18 he saved billions of public debt by compelling profiteers to pay higher taxes. In 1919 he saved \$900,000,000 by forcing bloated appropriation bills to go over to a special session, where they were cut down by that amount. In 1921 he saved \$300,000,000 by defeating the attempt to exempt foreign trade corporations from taxation, and \$500,000,000 by defeating Harding's proposal to lend that sum to the railroads. In 1922-24 it is estimated that he has saved at least \$200,000,000 by exposing the Teapot Dome scandal and compelling the cancellation of oil leases. And these are only a few of his achievements.

He has also to his credit a long list of wise, constructive legislation. Out of thirty-one proposals urged in La Follette platforms in past years, and denounced at the time as wildly radical, thirty are now law. He stood for woman suffrage when it was intensely unpopular. As Governor of Wisconsin, he appointed women on important boards while it was still a great innovation. In Congress he has worked untiringly for measures in behalf of women and children—the Child Labor Amendment, bills for the betterment of women's wages and working conditions, maternity legislation, etc.

La Follette seeks to curb the power claimed by the United States Supreme Court to nullify acts of Congress. There is not a line in the Constitution conferring such power. Roosevelt advocated the recall of judicial decisions.

Abraham Lincoln said, in his first inaugural:

"If the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers."

In no other country do the courts override the action of the national legislature. It is unreasonable and unjust that a handful of men, appointed for life, should claim an absolute veto over all the acts of the elected representatives of the people. Bad in principle, it has proved worse in practice. The most important humanitarian and progressive legislation of the past few years has been set aside by the Supreme Court, often by a five to four decision. Women felt especially outraged by the throwing out of the national child labor law, when the opinion of one prejudiced old man was allowed to deprive many thousands of children of their right to health and education. The women's minimum wage law and many other valuable laws were set aside in the same way. The Supreme Court now stands as one of the chief obstacles to reform. La Follette wants to submit to the people a constitutional amendment to curb this power usurped by the court. Coolidge and Davis are not willing to let the people vote on it.

He wants to secure to our citizens the right to a jury trial when charged with contempt of court. A judge can forbid a man to do something he has a perfect legal right to do. If the man persists in doing it, the judge can send him to prison without trial by jury. This power has been so abused, especially in labor cases, that "government by injunction" has become a scandal.

On Prohibition

As to liquor, La Follette is a total abstainer. He does not believe in the theory of prohibition, but he voted for the submission of the nation-wide prohibition amendment because he thought the people should decide the question. Now that they have decided it, he believes in enforcing the law. He says he would put at the head of the Department of Justice and in every United States District Attorney's office "men who would vigorously enforce all the laws," and he would instruct them to prosecute profiteering monopolies "with the same vigor which I should require of them

in the prosecution of a bootlegger."

I believe that prohibition would be better enforced under him than it has been under the present administration.

Protector of People, Not of Profiteers

The most important issue in this election is the struggle between the profiteers and the people. For many years, the great trusts and corporations have been growing bigger and bigger, the large concerns constantly swallowing the smaller ones, until now almost every necessity of life is controlled by a small group of men who can dictate the price, and who keep it artificially high. Sugar, meats, coal, lumber, steel, transportation, etc., each has become a practical monopoly. In twenty-five years, the cost of living has more than doubled. The American consumer is being bled white by excessive prices.

These giant monopolies have built themselves up to their present size by defying the anti-trust laws and by securing special favors. They have grown so strong that they now control both the Republican and Democratic parties, and run the Government in their own interest. As they are the chief menace to the American people at home, they are also the greatest peril to our peace abroad. They invest their immense profits in enterprises in shaky Latin-American republics, and in Europe and Asia, and then want to send our young men abroad to fight and die to safeguard their investments.

To resist their tremendous pressure calls for a man of extraordinary force and backbone. La Follette fills the bill. He has been fighting them all his life. He can neither be bullied nor bought.

Big Business for Coolidge or Davis

Coolidge's record, both in Massachusetts and in Congress, has been simply that of a machine politician. He has almost always done just what "Big Business" wished. Davis has been the counsel, representative and eulogist of "Big Business", which means, generally speaking, the big profiteers. The great predatory corporations are perfectly willing to have either Coolidge or Davis for President, but they shudder at the idea of La Follette.

When your house or store has been systematically robbed for years, and you are about to engage a watchman, you do not choose for that post any candidate warmly recommended by the thieves.

Editorially Speaking

Prescription—Commonsense

THAT such bogeys as are described by Mrs. Catt in her article, "Three Super States", on page 10, are held as sincere convictions by any one of ordinary intelligence is difficult for most of us to believe. It happens that a striking proof of the credulity which accepts as true the most palpable absurdities, came in a letter from a one-time subscriber which was received by the WOMAN CITIZEN a day or two ago. The letter read:

"The League of Nations has been one of your hobbies. Well, the Pope is in favor of it also, with himself at the head to rule the world... You have favored the Child Welfare bill, and look at it—children controlled by your drunken neighbor should he happen to have that kind of pull and be appointed a Federal officer... How much do you know of Rome? How many people (heretics) were put to death from the reign of Constantine to the reign of Louis XIV of France? Who killed the French Protestant colony on the St. John River, Florida, and founded St. Augustine? Why did they not kill the Catholic servants? Inform yourselves on a few of these questions and bolt the Al Smith Democratic party. What the Church once did she will do again if given a chance for she boasts that she never changes."

What the persecution of the Middle Ages and the cruelty and treachery which attended the settling of America has to do with "Al" Smith it would be difficult to discover; or how the League of Nations, of which the Council, besides Catholic Italy, has as permanent members England, France and Japan, is in danger of being ruled by the Pope. But the fear that giving the Federal Government power to protect children from being exploited means that your children may be controlled by your drunken neighbor, is so beyond the bounds of reason that one who credits it might well believe in necromancy and witchcraft.

There is no question that such credulity is being exploited by both individuals and organizations. The best antidote is commonsense. After all, faith and trust in the decency of mankind is a better basis of living than suspicion and fear.



Know Your Congressmen!

IN the conclusion of her Washington letter Mrs. Stokes makes a point that cannot be overemphasized—the importance of intelligent, informed voting for your congressmen. As she explains, Congress in many instances has more to do with determining the issues of government than has the President. It is easier to find out about the presidential nominee than about the nominees for Congress; which is where the obligations that go with the privilege of voting come in. Every woman can hunt out the records of the nominees for Congress in her district—can discover whether, if they have already served, they stood for the issues she believes in; or if new, what platform they run on; frequently she can find their answers to a questionnaire by which women have got them on record. Machinery for making public the nominees' actual records—as distinguished from their partisan claims—ought to be better than it is. Thanks to the League of Women Voters and other organizations it does, however, exist. In exhorting citizens to inform themselves before election day, someone said recently:

"If you go to the polls without knowing about the nominees, it is like going to the last game in the baseball series without knowing who the players are or what has happened in other games."

Know your congressmen!

Dance-Hall Problems

THE essential abnormality of city life is painfully clear from a report on dance halls in New York recently made by Maria Ward Lambin for a committee of the Women's City Club and the City Recreation Committee. The facts that the dancers pay something like \$5,000,000 a year, and that the yearly attendance in Manhattan's 238 licensed halls is well over six millions—show the size of the social need. This is one aspect of city congestion—homes won't hold the young people, and their social demands create dance halls and other public recreation places. The conditions uncovered by the committee are fairly ugly—immorality, sensual dancing and drinking in varying degrees; though Miss Lambin takes occasion to say: "In justice to the dance hall it must be noted that these [dancing, drinking, the ease with which promiscuous acquaintance can be made] are characteristics common to all classes of society."

The committee condemns slow jazz, particularly, and the perversion by cabaret hostesses of their duties. It condemns utterly the "closed" halls, where the girls are paid four or five cents each for short dances, and women from outside are not admitted. The picture is not all dark, however—some places are commended as meeting a social and recreational need, competently and cleanly.

For part remedy of the general condition the committee suggests a volunteer citizens' committee, with emphasis on the importance of its permanence, in place of sporadic investigations.



"Workers' Education"—Reversed

OTHER factors besides dance-hall environment have to do with morality, of course; and twenty-four girls this past summer found out one that is probably basic. Wages. These twenty-four were college girls, from thirteen different colleges (with a young Swedish countess thrown in), who, under the management of the Student Council and the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association, hunted and held industrial jobs. They did it for the simple purpose of adding to their own education and their understanding of the world we live in. They admit that they never got altogether into the experience, since they knew their work was temporary; but they learned, and they are telling those thirteen colleges—and Swedish royal circles, and others—what they found out.

They worked in a variety of places—a hide and leather works; manufactories of candy, chewing gum, corsets; on tobacco, radio and textiles. Their average weekly wage was \$13.80; average expense, including room, board, carfare, recreation and miscellaneous, \$11.76; average saving, \$2.88. Doctors' bills, clothes, union dues, insurance, emergencies, had to come out of the \$2.88, and obviously couldn't. In these days when some have acquired the habit of speaking enviously of the plumber's wages, it is just as well every so often to recall what wages working girls get, and what lives those wages determine. The twenty-four agreed that as a rule the better the wages the better the morals. They also pointed out the familiar fact that, living in boarding houses, these girls have no chance to meet young men formally and pick-up acquaintance is the rule.

Sociology studied out of books with a practical background like this may really count in women's education. It is an experiment well worth carrying farther.

War Horrors Won't Stop War

A NEW chapter in the "Next War" was written at a recent international gathering of scientists in Philadelphia. According to the newspapers the statements made by army officials concerning the great increase in destructiveness of weapons since the war "made the audience gasp." The range of guns has practically doubled, air bombs are six times more destructive than those used in the London raids, airplanes can be set to drop bombs automatically over a given point with no pilot aboard, a whole nation can be put to sleep by gases launched by radio-controlled planes.

Before the world war people used to say that modern war would be so horrible that human beings could not stand it. That was before the days of poison gas and liquid flame. But they lived through four years of it, including poison gas and liquid flame. Let us not delude ourselves with thinking that the new horrors will prevent war. There is only one way to ensure peace, and that is through the nations of the world agreeing to international law, to enforced arbitration and penalties, just as disputes among individual men have long been settled. The World Court, the League of Nations, and the Protocol of arbitration—these are the best hope of the world that the forces of science will not destroy civilization but will be used to make human life happier.



Peace Zeppelins

THE same marvelous power of modern science that could turn the world into a very complete hell is just now demonstrating itself in another way. As this is written, one great dirigible has safely crossed the continent from East to West—the first transcontinental trip for the incredibly big aircraft, and another dirigible is making its way above the sea, from Europe to America. If it succeeds—and if it doesn't another will—there is another epoch-making event. And despite all the suggestion these bold flights hold for war, they mean a new bond between peoples, a new possibility for the development of friendly relations. That is the smooth, sunny side of modern scientific developments. The power to choose which side shall be uppermost—the bright or the dark—lies in the will of peoples.



Tolerance

TWO very, very different persons have, within the fortnight, undertaken propaganda for tolerance. One is Elihu Root, who has helped in the organization of a society intended to foster "a spirit of toleration in economics, politics and religion"—the parent organization being amazingly made up of fifty Protestants, largely Masons, and fifty Catholics, mostly Knights of Columbus. Just what the function of the organization is to be is not yet very clear in the newspaper accounts; but whatever it is, if Catholics and Protestants can in this way work together (as, indeed, of course, they do in many forms of social service), it will help kill "bogeys."

The other new advocate of tolerance is Hendrik Van Loon, writer, illustrator, college professor, radical, just returning from Europe with the message that nothing but the learning of tolerance will ever cure that unhappy continent. What he describes, another would call simply the Christ spirit of understanding.

That one cannot usually hate a person one understands has become a truism, crystallized in the story of Mark Twain's refusal to meet a man he had a prejudice against for fear he would lose it. Within a few days, Charles W. Wood, writing to Heywood Broun, said: "I am amused at the piti-

ful little list of people you are trying so hard to hate. . . . You start out strong enough, all set to hate somebody, and first thing you know you find yourself understanding something about him. No natural-born hater is ever handicapped this way. . . . Hatred and a passion to understand simply don't go together."

A P.S. for our borrowed composite preachment might be that tolerance, rightly applied, is a good virtue to practice around election-time—tolerance of the other man or woman for holding an opinion you disesteem.



Law-breakers—Two Kinds

SCENE: a dinner table in a large city. Substantial citizen has been telling about a hold-up by the police. He had been moving liquor from one house to another with a legal permit and had been arrested and taken to the station house. When it was found that his papers were in regular order and that there was no charge against him, the police sergeant had demanded as tribute several cases of liquor. "We have to get ours," he said. Substantial citizen was shocked and aggrieved. "I never saw such open shamelessness and corruption," he said. A little later he gave the address of his bootlegger. "You can absolutely trust him," he told his host. "Where does he get it?" he was asked. "Oh, from the fleet. He has the police fixed and they give him protection when he delivers the goods. No risk at all."

He still does not see the connection.



Moving Day and Election

ONE of our readers raises the point that moving day has acquired political implications. October has become the standard moving month, and many a vote has been lost because of transfer from one election district to another, when the voter's fitness to cast an informed ballot has been in no wise affected. The all-year-round registration, recommended recently, would solve the situation, probably; or might be made to do so. Or residence requirements might be made more flexible. The right to vote certainly should not be canceled for anything but imperative reasons.



Campaign Pages

CAMPAIGN pages again—by three women speaking for each of the three principal parties. As in the three preceding issues, each of these pages is prepared by the National Committee of each group, the CITIZEN taking no part in selection of writer or theme, and exercising no censorship. The CITIZEN feels that its non-partisan policy is emphasized, rather than otherwise, by the fact that one of the pages happens to have been written by a CITIZEN Contributing Editor. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, chosen by the Progressives this time to write their page, speaks for them, of course, personally, not as an official CITIZEN voice, just as does Mrs. Sabin in the Republican page and Mrs. Blair in the Democratic. Each of these two, by the way, is associated with the CITIZEN—one on the staff of women who write for the department, "What the American Woman Thinks," and one as a member of the CITIZEN's National Council. And to make the all-party effect complete, there is one of the CITIZEN's board of directors, Mary Garrett Hay, speaking—again in her own personal capacity—from the third cover.

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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League Leaders and Party Politics

AT its inception it was unanimously agreed that the League of Women Voters should be a non-partisan organization. That policy has not been changed. It is unlikely that it ever will be changed. Very soon, however, we commenced to substitute *unpartisan* or *all-partisan* for the more commonly used, and more likely to be misunderstood, term. By whatever name it is called a sound policy of no party bias was established.

Then the question of the relation of our members to the political parties presented itself, and, after debating it, the first convention of the League adopted as a slogan "Get into the parties," by a vote of more than two and a half to one.

This was regarded as so important that every League speaker considered it her duty to call attention to it. To the members, it took the form of advice; to outsiders, it was quoted as evidence that the League is not the enemy of parties, but rather that it recognizes party responsibility for government and the obligation of women voters to render some party service.

That the National Board has pretty consistently maintained the *unpartisan* policy is now accepted by all informed persons, except those who are so blinded by their own partisanship that they cannot or will not distinguish fact from fancy. In some degree most of the members of the National Board have made some party affiliations. It is true that the president of the National League, from the beginning, has scrupulously refrained even from any indication of party inclination. This has been a decided advantage, and as we view it now, it seems to us this practice should be continued. Other officers, however, state and national, cannot well refuse some party alignment, some party service, when they advise their members to "Get into the parties," and when they stress Mrs. Park's suggested pledge "To vote in every election, primary and final," at which one is entitled to vote.

The flight of time, combined with our get-out-the-vote campaign, makes it reasonably certain that by this time most of us are politically attached somewhere. In some cases this attachment may antedate the existence of the League, and be by "hooks of steel"; in others, it may be recent and temporary. But for the conscientious woman voter who heeds League teachings there is no escape.

The crystallization of the progressive movement offers opportunity for affiliation this year to that part of our member-

ship, presumably a minority, which had not enrolled with any of the existing parties or was waiting for an opportunity to make a change. One or two members of the National Board have associated themselves with the Progressive organization, happily, it seems to us, because our all-partisan position is thereby further strengthened.

It has been accepted as a sort of unwritten law that presidents of Leagues shall not engage in organizing activities for political parties. If there have been deviations from this rule, evidently they have not been serious. The growth in membership and the increasing confidence of the public in the League's disinterestedness are proof that on the whole we have steered a safe course. In dealing with this question of League leadership and party service we urge the application of common sense and common honesty now commended to us from the seats of the mighty.

A year ago by request the National Board formulated a recommendation which has been helpful in many instances. Our state presidents are familiar with it, but we cite it now to the larger group reached by the *Woman Voter*. We do this partly because of inquiries, partly because we believe, as the presidential campaign advances, more and more of our officers may feel the need of guidance.

The recommendation was prefaced with the statement that the National Board appreciates that political conditions differ greatly in various sections of the country and realizes that no hard and fast rule can be laid down to regulate the extent to which officers of the League should participate in partisan activities. As a general principle it advises that League officers be as active in their political parties as it is possible to be without hampering their usefulness to the League. How far that activity may go must be decided by the boards to which they belong.

Where it is decided that the partisan activity of any officer does prejudice her usefulness to the League, the officer should decide for herself which is her field of greater usefulness, and resign either her activity in her political party or her office (not her membership) in the League.—E. J. H.

The Ratification Campaign

REPRESENTATIVES of more than twenty national organizations met in Washington late in September to consider plans for a concerted campaign of aid to states working for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. Every organization represented in the group pledged itself to work from now until the thirty-sixth state ratifies, in an intensive campaign rivaling the one which secured the adoption of the suffrage amendment.

A temporary headquarters for the associated organizations has been established in Washington, and reports from the participating organizations and from the states will be centered there so that effective methods possible can be worked out in relation to all the available information.

At the initial meeting reports were brought by representatives from various state organizations working for ratification. Mrs. LaRue Brown, of Boston, former Child Welfare chairman of the National League, is acting as chairman of the Joint Committee for Ratification which has been formed in Massachusetts. In that state a referendum will be taken on November 4, following action of the state legislature immediately preceding its adjournment, referring the question to the people for an expression of opinion. During the summer,

foes of the Amendment have organized their forces and have distributed quantities of material tending to obscure the real issue and to raise unjustifiable fears in the minds of voters, particularly in rural communities. In the short time before election it will be the effort of the Joint Committee to overcome the prejudices that have been aroused and to substitute a basis of real information on which people may cast their votes. Miss Julia Lathrop, who is in charge of the League's legislation and law enforcement, is touring the New England states this month speaking on the Amendment and the necessity for its early ratification.

From all over the country reports have been received at National League headquarters of work which state Leagues are doing in behalf of ratification. Questionnaires have been sent out generally and candidates for the state legislatures interrogated concerning their position in regard to immediate ratification. Delegations have waited upon candidates to express the purpose of the organized women of the states, and when the forty state legislatures convene in January it is safe to say that the concerted action of organizations interested in the welfare of children will have brought to the legislators knowledge of the great popular support which the Amendment has.

In addition to work in behalf of ratification before the state legislatures which have not already considered it, a determination was voiced at the Washington meeting to urge reconsideration by the three state legislatures which have refused favorable consideration of the Amendment so far.

Following is a list of organizations whose representatives were called to the recent conference in Washington: American Association of University Women, American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Teachers, American Home Economics Association, American Nurses' Association, Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Girls' Friendly Society in America, Medical Women's National Association, National Child Labor Committee, National Consumers' League, National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Women, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Education Association, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League of Women Voters, National Women's Trade Union League, Service Star Legion, Young Women's Christian Association.

Leagues and League Work

RECOGNIZED as an annual civic event of importance, the citizenship school conducted each fall by the Dayton (Ohio) League promises to establish a record in 1924. When the first session of the three-day school opens on October 22, it is expected the enrollment will be near the two hundred and fifty mark. At its first school in 1921 the League registered twenty-five persons, in 1922 there were forty-three enrollments, and last year 121 persons attended all sessions.

THE League of Women Voters stands to-day as one of the most valuable fruits of the enfranchisement of American women," says *Five O'clock*, a new Rochester (New York) publication, in editorial comment on the part the League is playing in the political education of women. Its comment was prompted, it is evident, by the work the Monroe County League is doing to make the woman-vote "an intelligent and effective tool for self-government."

OF all the inquiries which come to national headquarters from residents of the District of Columbia, there is none which compels so much attention as the subject of absentee voting. It is evident that thousands of men and women, denied the right of suffrage within the District, are prepar-

ing to take advantage of absentee voting laws in states of which they are legal residents.

NOW comes Florida to join the publication family! Volume I, No. 1 of the *Florida Voter* appeared as the Palm Beach County Edition, and from its cover page, containing a picture of the balmy South, to the last page, where Miss Sherwin is seen holding the silver loving cup, its sixteen pages look like the handiwork of a real live editor! Mrs. J. B. O'Hara, president of the Florida League, is filling that job to perfection.

THE all-important subject of finance has found its all-important place in the minds of Massachusetts League members. They are racking their brains these days for unique ways of raising money. Mrs. Arthur T. Rotch, president of the League, has offered a prize of \$5.00 to the person who will raise or earn \$5.00 (or more) for League purposes in the "most ingenious or novel way." Competitors must send the amount raised to the League treasurer, and it must be accompanied by a story telling how it was done.

IF San Francisco members of the League do not know something about the exhaustive subject of international relations it will not be the fault of Mrs. William Palmer Lucas, chairman of the San Francisco Civic Center's international relations committee. On October 6 she launched the first of a series of twelve lectures on "America's Foreign Policy." The course begins with the study of the origin of the policy of isolation, and follows the course of our foreign relations up to the World Court.

THE third region is all "keyed-up" for the National League convention in Richmond next April. This is the way they feel about it, as told in Miss Adèle Clark's news letter, just issued: "And now for the big news! We've been bursting to tell it for two issues, but on these dates it was still a glittering possibility and we did not dare to raise hopes which might be dashed to the ground. The National Board has accepted an invitation to hold the annual convention of 1925 in Richmond, Virginia. There is nothing more inspirational, more helpful in building up the work in any region, than a national convention. The whole region will profit."

PLAYGROUNDS—three of them—is one of the many things for which the Duluth (Minnesota) League is working hard.

IT was only a short time ago that the *Woman Voter* contained a reference to the way the Charlottesville (Virginia) League "believes in following things up." Now word is received that it "continues to follow things up." As a result of its activities, two more women have been appointed to serve on the school board, and now each ward in the city has one woman representative. The welfare board, it is said, has recognized the efforts of the League, and one board member is reported as saying that if it had not been for the League it is doubtful whether the necessity for establishing welfare work on a suitable financial basis would have been realized by either city or county officials.

CANDIDATES' meetings are becoming more popular every day. The Ventnor (New Jersey) League, of which Mrs. O. J. Hammell is president, held a very recent one in the City Hall. It was "crowded to the doors."

WHEN the Houston (Texas) League launched its year's work at a recent luncheon it chose that very popular subject, international relations, as the topic for the day. With Mrs. Belle Wisdom, the state chairman on international cooperation to prevent war, as the presiding officer, and Dr. J. W. Slaughter, of Rice Institute, as the speaker, the meeting was a rousing success.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign



Henry Miller News Picture Service, Inc.

Board of National League of Women Voters preparing to flood the country with millions of "Vote" posters for the League's get-out-the-vote campaign.

Left to right: Miss Ruth Morgan, New York City; Miss Julia Lathrop, of Chicago; Miss Belle Sherwin, of Cleveland; Mrs. Minnie F. Cunningham, of Texas; Miss Elizabeth Hauser, of Girard, Ohio, and Miss Katharine Ludington, of Lyme, Connecticut, preparing to flood the country with millions of "Vote" posters for the League's get-out-the-vote campaign.

Awaiting the Verdict

"IN two weeks we choose our public officials and decide issues. Will we have a verdict from the intelligent majority? At every election the party machines bring out a controlled vote, while the intelligent vote, uncontrolled except by itself, too often sits supinely by, not even trying to see what the vote of all the people would mean.

"Year in and year out intelligent citizens discuss government—what is right with it and what is wrong with it. Fault is chiefly found with the use and misuse of governmental machinery; a criticism that indicates an interest in government, but which cannot be constructive if it ends in talk. No matter how just the condemnation may be, it is only destructive unless backed by ballots.

"The ballot in the last analysis is the voter's only hold on government. Honest administration and efficient management may be promoted by public opinion, but, as every precinct leader knows, they are actually secured only by votes, cast one by one."—BELLE SHERWIN.

Hot-Foot to the Polls

LET'S have a torch-light parade, a real, old-fashioned torch-light parade to get out the vote. Why? Because a torch-light parade is the greatest thing in the world to wake them up and send them hot-foot to the polls. A torch-light parade always has waked them up; it always will wake them up; it has everything in it to wake all normal humans up to the end of time.

B'room! B'room! B'room-oom-oom! Like that. Self-expression, they call it now, rhythmic motion. Small boys, small girls, men, women—they all love to march to music. Miles and miles they'll all march if you once start them. Marching along, shoulder to shoulder, rhythmic instinct, gregarious instinct ("Guide right!") both satisfied. Marching to music, all together, swinging along—why, they'll go all day and never feel it.

Second, there's the light on the torch, kerosene, most likely, in a little tin can swung to a pole, pole over the shoulder. March! B'room! B'room-oom-oom! Aren't you old enough to remember a real torch-light parade? Didn't your father ever hitch up Old Ben after supper one night in the fall and take you all down to the Square in the surrey? Wasn't there a tang in the air and maybe a huge round lemon-pie moon coming up over the Court House when Old Ben ambled into the Square and lined up at the hitching rail?

Everybody downtown that night. All the neighbors down there standing around for the torch-light parade. Doesn't the very name sound to you exactly like the soft plop a sky-rocket gives when it stops high, high in the air and bursts into a shower of stars? Torch-light parade.

Couldn't you hear the Homeville band, faint, 'way off down by the depot, and weren't you proud as all get-out because Cousin George was down there whanging away at the bass drum?

B'room! B'room! B'room-oom-oom!

Nearer and nearer and louder and louder, and then without losing one bit of the beat, Smash! Crash! Whoo-oo! The whole band swung into the march, blaring and zipping and ripping and Cousin George pounding away—bang! March step and everybody in the surrey keeping time; everybody on the sidewalks keeping time; everybody leaning out of the windows keeping time.

The first of them rounding into the Square from East Main Street. Four abreast, four twinkling, winking, flaring flames abreast; rows and rows of little flares flaring, keeping time, dipping, swinging, coming on, and all swinging by in time to the music, hurrahing for—who was it they hurrahed for?

It doesn't matter. They swung along with their flames and they hurrahed for somebody, but the thing they really hurrahed for was home and country and a citizenry that cared enough to come out and defend them both with a vote.

Let's have a torch-light parade, a real old-fashioned torch-light parade. There's nothing else in the world that wakes 'em up like a real torch-light parade.—R. K. G.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

ASHLAND, VIRGINIA: One can see almost any sight at a county fair, but the loudest ballyhoo on the grounds at the Ashland Fair will invite the people to meet the county registrars. The registrars will have a section of their offices set up in a booth, and they will be prepared to register procrastinating Virginians who neglected to do it in the regular way. Mrs. John T. Lewis is making plans to have registration a regular feature of all county fairs in Virginia.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND: The State of Maryland designated September 23 and October 7 as registration days. The Maryland League of Women Voters improved upon the plan, announcing that those dates were also calling days, and Mrs. R. Morrison Henry's committee undertook to call upon all the women in Baltimore. The "cards" left were registration reminders, which gave information concerning registration and the League's telephone number, in the event last-minute aid was required.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA: Miss Chapman believes that he who reads may vote if he is properly reminded, and she is preparing tiny slips which the public libraries throughout the state will insert in the books circulated the week before election day. . . . Sixty organizations are helping the Alabama League to carry out its plan to tag citizens the day before election day. The tags will pledge the wearers to vote.

BOISE, IDAHO: Christopher Columbus' birthday was a big day in Idaho. Having been officially designated by the Governor as citizenship or registration day, Monday, October 13, was a rally around the registration booths. There was music on the streets and citizens were tagged with buttons, "I have registered." "Citizenship above politics" was the appealing slogan used by workers. All this was due to the leadership of Mrs. Rufus Steen, president of the Idaho League, and her formation of a central get-out-the-vote committee.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK: The city superintendent of schools accepted Mrs. E. W. Allen's suggestion to request teachers to instruct the children in registering and voting. After learning this important lesson the children in turn instruct their parents. . . . Brooklyn women are to parade as sandwich-men, bearing notices to get out the vote. But one does not have to travel to Brooklyn to see them for they are to be photographed in action and shown on the screen, according to plans proposed by Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany.

GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT: A canvas sign four feet wide and as broad as Main Street floats in the breeze as it stretches across that thoroughfare and announces that registration is going on at the Town Hall. Mrs. George Vander Hoef, Jr., is in charge of the campaign to get out the vote in Greenwich.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA: Hoosier school houses are being advocated as polling places by Mrs. Samuel Elliott Perkins, president of the Indianapolis League. Economically they are ideal because the taxpayers do not have to pay rent for their use, Mrs. Perkins holds, while no comparison can be made between a school house and the average polling place, which is usually a barber shop, or a garage, or a stable.

KANSAS piled up this score:
Vote cast for secretary of state, 1920—158,126.
Vote cast for secretary of state, 1924—262,516.
Percentage of increase, 66.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN: When Milwaukee voters pay their money at the League's get-out-the-vote luncheon they will take their choice, for Mrs. C. J. Otjen, president of the Milwaukee League, intends to present speakers from each of the three political parties. Each of the speakers will try to convince her auditors that hers are the only candidates to support.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA: The outline of a one-day "school for voters," to be conducted in many towns and in each of Minneapolis' thirteen wards in October, has been prepared by Mrs. F. W. Wittich. Divided into two sessions, the program for the one-day course provides information on parties, nominations and elections; on offices, party platforms, state and national issues, and closes with a lecture on the importance of voting.

MONROE, NEW YORK: Young women who come of age this year are clipping coupons from the daily papers, which is the first step in qualifying for an invitation to the League's First Voters' Party, to be held in October.

NEW YORK: "Begin every telephone call on election day with the question, 'Have you voted?'" is the sound advice Mary Garrett Hay gave to five hundred women at a recent Westchester League luncheon.

PARSONS, WEST VIRGINIA: The National League was delighted to greet Mrs. W. F. Lipscond, of Parsons, who called at headquarters for the latest information on the campaign.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND: A digest of election laws has been compiled and published by the Rhode Island League, and the booklet is being distributed widely in the get-out-the-vote campaign.

RENO, NEVADA: The Nevada League and the political science class of the university asked the most prominent women in the state for suggestions on getting out the vote. Mrs. Wayne T. Wilson, president of the Reno League, summarized the replies received, which have been published in the Nevada newspapers, over the signatures of the contributors.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI: Ninety organizations are working on the campaign to bring voters to the polls in St. Louis. Something of the technique of the organization may be understood from its accomplishments, when, at a recent meeting, block chairmen were appointed for every block in the city.

WEST VIRGINIA: When one visits department stores in West Virginia one may buy one's autumn bonnet or not, all depending upon the persuasive powers of the shop girls, but no shopper may escape registration for the November election unless she has already registered. The West Virginia League has set up booths in the leading department stores and installed its most convincing women to register the shoppers.
ANN WEBSTER.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

A Women's Peace Congress

A CONFERENCE on the cause and cure of war has been called by six of the biggest women's organizations in this country, to take place in Washington, January 18-24, with headquarters at the Washington Hotel. Its object will be education in the understanding of the fundamentals about peace and war, and as a hoped-for outcome a unifying of these organizations for peace work. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is Chairman of Organization for the Conference.

Active plans for the conference began six months ago when, during the course of the convention of the National League of Women Voters in Buffalo, a luncheon was given at which the great women's organizations were represented. As a result these women undertook to find out whether it would be possible for their organizations to get together for peace action. Conferences have been held from time to time during the months, and the movement developed and spread.

The organizations in no case are peace societies but groups which have made some pronouncement on the peace question. The six are: the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National League of Women Voters, the National Young Women's Christian Association, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the American Association of University Women, and the Council of Jewish Women.

Besides these, three others are considering joining the call. They are: the Women's Home Mission Boards, the Women's Foreign Mission Boards (Protestant), and the National Council of Catholic Women.

Each of the organizations is entitled to one hundred delegates, with the understanding that these shall be chosen from all the states, so that it is hoped that every state will be included among the representatives.

Half of the conference will be devoted to the causes of war. There will be round-tables conducted by speakers all of whom will be experts. The speeches will be quite clear of political significance.

The second half of the conference will be devoted to the cure of war, and a whole day will be given to analysis of the present world situation.

When the delegates return to their homes, they will report to the organizations which sent them, and it is hoped that the organizations will unite in a

statement of the causes and cures of war, each endorsing it and so bringing these organizations into a constructive unity for peace. The peace movement, as it exists, is broken up into a great number of groups. There are now more than seventy peace societies or organizations declaring for peace. If these nine women's organizations unite on a peace program, it is not too much to hope that the destiny of nations may be affected.

Named for Congress

TWO years ago this fall, the CITIZEN listed the names of twenty-four women candidates for Congress: five Republicans, nine Democrats, one Socialist, three Prohibitionists, four Socialist and Farmer-Labor candidates, and two Independents. Of these one was elected, to fill out a few weeks' unexpired term and on her father's record rather than her own. There have been just four women in the House of Representatives so far and none in the Senate, aside from Mrs. Felton's courtesy appointment.

This year we are able to present the names of sixteen women candidates for Congress: one Republican, five Democrats, four on the Prohibition ticket, six Socialists. There may be others. These are all our various information nets have caught. Let us know if any are omitted.

And think it over. A country containing millions of women voters—and sixteen women nominated for Congress!

How many will be elected? Prophecies from our desk would be futile; but we are told that two Democrats and one Republican have bright prospects.

Here is the list:

California—

Miss Isabelle King, of San Francisco. (S.)

Illinois—

Mrs. Mary Ward Hart, of Boston—for Congresswoman at large. (D.)

Mrs. Kunia Sissman, of Evanston. (S.)

Kansas—

Miss Nellie Cline, of Larned. (D.)

New Jersey—

Mrs. Mary T. Norton, of Jersey City. (D.)

New York—

Amy R. Juengling, of Eden. (S.)

Ohio—

Miss Phebe T. Sutliff, of Warren. (D.)

Oregon—

Mrs. Minnie McFarland, of Umatilla. (S.)

Pennsylvania—

Jessie L. Collett, of Philadelphia. (D.)

Jennie Dornblum, of Philadelphia. (S.)

Anna Van Skite, of Pottstown. (P.)

Mrs. Daisy Detterlein, of Lancaster. (P.)

Elizabeth R. Culbertson, of Meadville. (P.)

Mrs. L. Blankenburg, of Philadelphia. (P.)

Tennessee—

Mrs. Mary Giles Howard, of Chattanooga. (R.)

Washington—

Mrs. Ruby Herman, of Seattle. (S.)

Mrs. Ferguson Wins

SHORTLY after Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson was nominated for Governor of Texas, an injunction was brought to disqualify her, on the ground that a woman is not entitled to hold office in Texas. Opposition to Mrs. Ferguson was intense during the campaign, and the claim that if she were elected her husband, a former governor who is not eligible to office, would be the real power on the throne, has continued active. But the suit was lost in the District Court. The judge who tried the case declared that the old common law principles on which the plaintiff relied were obsolete and that there were no inhibitions in either the Texas constitution or the statutes which deny women the right to hold office.

More About Bank Women

IN the last CITIZEN appeared an article on bank women by Mrs. Key Cammack and a small note about the second convention of the National Association of Bank Women, held in Chicago, September 29 to October 2. According to reports, the convention was a success, with the number of women attending almost double that at the first meeting about a year ago. Conferences were held and the problems of the woman banker in different sections of the country discussed. The new officers elected are: Mrs. William Laimbeer, of New York, president (re-elected); Miss Jean Arnot Reid, vice-president; Miss Mina Bruère, corresponding secretary (re-elected); Miss Lillian Backus, recording secretary, and Miss Caroline Olney, treasurer.

Not So New

FROM the *Vote* we learn that women police have long been an institution in Siam, where a corps of policewomen is maintained to guard the Inner or Woman's Palace at Bangkok.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

C CLUBWOMEN interested in prison work, juvenile delinquency and its prevention will find the story of *Mildred, Sidney and Kenneth* as told in "Three Problem Children" (published by the Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 50 East 42nd Street, New York), a valuable book for reference. The purpose of the committee, as set forth in the book, is to demonstrate and promote the wider application of modern psychiatric science and the visiting-teacher service to the guidance of misfit children in school and society. Persons interested in health, heredity, prohibition and social service of all kinds will also find valuable material in this volume.

O R G A N I Z E D tree-planting campaigns are being carried on by clubwomen in Alaska, New Hampshire, Colorado, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Indiana and Wisconsin, according to the report of Miss Vida Newsome, Columbus, Indiana, chairman of the committee on tree-planting, roads and Lincoln Highway beautification. Eighteen states in all have done some tree-planting work.

W E are all acquainted with the American family who, having heard that a Better American Speech Week was to be celebrated, declared:

"We'll start now and cut out the slang. Any bloomin' soul who goes back on his pledge not to use any will get the skids put under him, good and plenty."

That is the way too many of us celebrate our various weeks. But Katherine K. Robbins, of Chicago, General Federation of Women's Clubs chairman of better speech, still has hopes. She has seen speech improved during two previous annual celebrations and is making extensive plans for the 1925 observance, February 22-28. Mrs. Robbins will be glad to give personal help to any club planning to observe the week. Her address is 5537 Ingleside, Chicago.

S O U T H C A R O L I N A clubwomen assisted in celebrating Citizens' Educational Week, beginning October 15. Mrs. Bessie Rogers Drake, president, in her report, urges: "We rejoice at the action of the recent legislature which provides for a seven months' compulsory school term. But let us not be satisfied until we have a nine months' term provided by South Carolina for every school in the state."

M I S S E D Y T H E H E R S H E Y, of Brooklyn, New York, and Austin, Texas, will probably enter Johns Hopkins next year as the winner of the

General Federation of Women's Clubs medical scholarship. This scholarship gives a young woman desiring a medical course at any first-class medical college \$1,000 per annum, for four years.

An Election Expert

By EDNA WARREN

M I S S O U R I ' S greatest election specialist is a woman. Miss Emma J. Bobb of the St. Louis Election Board has demonstrated to the "Show-Me-State" that efficiency in the highly technical business of carrying out the intent of the law in conducting elections and framing legislative acts to improve the election code has nothing whatever to do with sex. She is the first woman in the state to hold the position of Election Commissioner.

The office was not lightly won. Long



Emma J. Bobb

before universal suffrage was anything but a wistful dream, Miss Bobb had become absorbed in the study of the election code, and the following years of unremitting application to the subject resulted in Missourians learning to make a path to her desk whenever they wanted correct and quick information concerning any phase of the election laws. It was the days of the unregulated party primaries and elections, and St. Louis was not freer than other large municipalities from the domination of election crooks. Miss Bobb has seen the city grow from 375 precincts to 624, and owing to improvements in the election code by legislative acts, many of which she has helped to frame, she has had the satisfaction of seeing honesty develop more and more in local elections.

It was in August, 1909, that she took her first job as a stenographer with the St. Louis Election Board. She was just out of school, and as her stenographic duties became mechanical routine, the intricacies of the election laws fascinated her. She began to read law and follow the court decisions. In 1919 the legis-

lature created the present bi-partisan board with two members each from the major parties to be appointed by the Governor.

Miss Bobb held her stenographic position under the reorganization, and continued to stay on under four administrations, as each set of commissioners withdrew to make way for the new appointees. A legislative act in 1921 provided a place for a chief assistant on the board, and Miss Bobb, having been chief assistant for years without the title, was unanimously given the place. When a vacancy occurred last spring, Governor Hyde appointed Miss Bobb a member of the board she had served so long and efficiently.

"Every voter at the polls at every election, ought to be the endeavor of every citizen"—this is one of Miss Bobb's convictions. "No office, no question, is too insignificant to have the thoughtful attention of every voter. Women can render invaluable service at the polls as judges and clerks. I believe all election grafts could be eliminated if there were at least one woman official at every polling place. Matters concerning elections are puzzling to women, just as unfortunately they still are to many men, and it is going to take interest and conscientious work to master them."

And when Miss Bobb says work, she knows what she is talking about, because at election times she is frequently at her office from 5 A.M. to 11 P.M. She has one record of staying on the job fifty-two consecutive hours.

The secret of Miss Bobb's unique success is simply interest in her job. And that she believes will be the secret of women's future success in politics. Interest in local and national problems of government will translate itself into action, and an active electorate is bound to revolutionize politics.

England's Woman Economist

A N English committee of inquiry into British trade has already held its first meeting. It is made up of eighteen men and one woman—Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton—and is investigating industrial remuneration, the cause of unrest and disputes, and their avoidance. Mrs. Hamilton comes to this committee well equipped. She is a keen student of economics; has helped in bringing an economics book written in 1850 up to date, and is now working on an industrial history of the Nineteenth Century.

At Last, "One of Them"

J O H N W. D A V I S included a woman in his official party touring Nebraska, and thus broke a precedent. She is Dr. Jennie Callfas, Democratic National Committeewoman from Nebraska. Dr. Callfas was present in consultations with both state and national leaders.

At the University of Wisconsin

THE Y. W. C. A. has been experimenting this summer, with the University of Wisconsin as the laboratory. Student members of the university decided to promote the student-industrial movement of the national Y. W. C. A. by providing locally for eight industrial girls to attend summer school. The result was that two girls in domestic service, three factory girls, one cafeteria worker and two clerks were summer students. But the result that really counts is that four of these students have found college is not inaccessible and have enrolled for the regular college year.

A New Bulletin

ONE of our subscribers has very kindly told us of a new club bulletin and since it comes from a part of the world where women's clubs are scarce, it seems of particular interest. It is the Bulletin of the American Women's Club of Shanghai, established some twenty-five years ago, and now undertaking a printed bulletin of several pages. The letter says further: "You may be interested in knowing that there are in China upwards of 3,500 American women. In our Shanghai Club we have a membership of approximately 500."

A Correction

WE'VE made a mistake in reporting primary returns. In the September 6 CITIZEN we said that Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer was nominated for congressman-at-large from Illinois. We should have said, nominated for state senator from the twenty-sixth district.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

resignations from the Cabinet.

And there is Frank W. Stearns of Boston right here most of the time to assist the President in filling such an emergency. Mr. Stearns has been around the White House almost continually since President Coolidge moved in. He is more of a personal companion than any man who has frequented the White House in years. Even in the days of the close companionship of Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House the relationship was not as constant as that of President Coolidge and his Boston mentor. Mr. Stearns is known to concur in the President's determination to refrain from taking the stump. After all, the good executive is the one who gets the other fellow to do the work for him.

So far during this campaign there has been less hue and cry about the effect of the "woman vote" upon the election. The attitude in Washington toward women's organizations active in the campaign has been more cooperative and less a matter of segregating the female

vote as if it were undiscovered and undependable. The Republican and Democratic women here have worked extraordinarily hard and effectively. The women's John W. Davis club is meeting every day in one of the downtown hotels. Republican women are exceptionally well organized, and the La Follette women's group here is the center of the whole national works of the independent candidates. The La Follette group has made one notable contribution to the campaign through its women publicity workers. It has directly discussed actual issues confronting the new Congress and present government. Anyone who knows the problems which will face Congress in December will recognize the La Follette attack as in large part a discourse on present troubles.

One of the women politicians of the capital the other day made an interesting offhand summary of the campaign which ought to be refreshing to many who have followed the intricacies to the point of confusion. To wit:

Vote for Coolidge and
THINGS AS THEY ARE
Vote for John W. Davis and
CHANGE
Vote for La Follette and
RADICAL CHANGE

How radical the change, should the independent-progressive ticket succeed in throwing the election into Congress, is something the progressive and radical elements themselves are not able to foretell. In our political history of recent times, elevation to office and the assumption of responsibility have taken considerable edge from the radicalism of incumbents. It is not impossible, if Senator La Follette were to dictate the new Cabinet that it would contain such men as Senator Borah, Senator Capper and former Senator William S. Kenyon. On the other hand, there might be a flutter as Mr. Debs passed up the grand staircase of the White House as an official of the Government—that could not mean any more to American politics than the elevation of the laborites in England. We have not yet reached the peak of the movement for which La Follette stands, while the Britishers already seem to have weathered the radical change and to be returning to a middle ground.

One of the recent promises of Senator La Follette during his speeches has been to call a special session of Congress next March to attack farm relief and other remedial legislation with which Congress has unsuccessfully struggled for years past. The coming session has problems which it will be difficult to put off. President Coolidge did not have the Congress with him sufficiently to make much headway. The gulf between the White House and Capitol Hill seemed greater than ever. One would have

thought that Congress was of some other complexion from that of the White House, so meager was the cordiale and so stingily did Congress concede to the President or the President to Congress.

But that is likely to happen in the best of administrations. With the warmest of sympathy and approval on both sides, the administrative and legislative branches must always act as checks upon each, with different viewpoints. And in actual effect upon the country the make-up of Congress has more effect upon the smooth running of American life than has the personality of a President.

It is surprising, too, to know how little the Cabinet personnel may affect the course of government. We may have one Cabinet officer who sits in a plush office, upon a plush throne, annoyed even by a litter of pencils on his desk, and presented once in a great while with a nice clean paper upon a neat tray which he is to sign. The Department itself seldom sees the head. The under-secretaries do all the work. The big man makes political speeches and goes to Cabinet meetings to be photographed. There is another type of Cabinet officer who keeps an office going night and day with the intensity and hum of a steel works. Likewise, a President may be a picturesque "head" or he may, as Woodrow Wilson did, take the work so seriously as to prevent his physical presence on many occasions when he might have graced the platform. But the public officials who must work or leave in nearly all cases are congressmen and senators, and to their selection, women politicians are now pointing out, the country ought to give more attention. In a general election the tide often sweeps in congressmen, and now and then a senator, who have no business in responsible public life. After they get here, and the press of the country begins to be amazed at the way the gentlemen act, then voters wake up to just who it is who is actually making laws that so much affect daily life.

It Might Have Been

A ONE-TIME Austrian official is alleged to have revealed a secret. The Emperor of Austria was old, feeble and peaceful, and, knowing full well that his empire of many nationalities and religions would not hold together through an exhaustive war, he was loth to give such an ultimatum to Serbia as would bring on a war. They brought him a forged telegram announcing that the Serbs had invaded the country and had already killed four hundred men. "Ah, well, if war is already in progress, we must proceed," responded the Emperor. Whether or not this is another tale, it is a thing that might have happened.

c. c. c.

The Bookshelf



By
M. A.

IT is four years since the death of Olive Schreiner brought a keen sense of loss to the English-reading world, and particularly to that section of it which believes in the abilities and the due recognition of women. Born in South Africa in 1855 of German-English parents, her thought ranged up and down the world, providing stimulus and inspiration to women everywhere. She was a Free-thinker in the period when religious doubts brought personal torment and social ostracism. She urged the necessity for women's rights at a time when suffrage was a small and almost discouraged movement. Yet with all her work for women, she was by no means a "woman's woman." Her ablest friends, the ones who understood her best, and who stimulated her keen mind to its highest pace, were men, and from men have come some of the finest tributes to her ability.

Her biography, "*The Life of Olive Schreiner*", written by her husband, who added her name with a hyphen to his own, instead of insisting that she take his, is a story of a veritable genius. She was a woman of such powerful imagination that the real world paled in comparison with that of her mind. Struggling most of her life with a severe and depressing illness, she succeeded in leaving an impression of boundless vitality and enormous energy of body and mind with every one who knew her. The analyses by Havelock Ellis and Arthur Symons throw penetrating light into those phases of her character which most interested two such different men. Her husband's own accounts of incidents of her life, of the South African country which was so dear to her and is so strange to us, of her friendships, her visits to England, and her continued fight against disease, are the efforts of a simpler man to interpret a dazzlingly varied character. The book is fascinating reading both because of the material with which it deals, and the quiet directness of presentation. It is a study in genius, as well as the history of an eloquent feminist.

At the same time, the publishers have issued a new edition of her "*Story of an African Farm*." The novel needs no introduction to thousands of American readers, for in Mrs. Schreiner's own words, "it sold a thousand copies in America to one in England." But if

you have never read it, there is a curious and interesting experience in store for you. The novel is unique, reminiscent of no other that has occupied this Bookshelf. It consists of fragments of human life transplanted into South African terms. In that it is universal. The surroundings are of veld and karoo, but the woes, the struggles, and the aspirations are of mankind. Only in those matters wherein women have since won freedom does the book seem to have any date. The entire book is pervaded with the imagination, the mysticism, which, though they have freer rein in such volumes as "Dreams," fill all of Olive Schreiner's books. As a novel it is very loosely knit, without pretensions to structural excellencies. Its value lies in its portrayal of the struggles of the human soul.

Anne Douglas Sedgwick's "*Little French Girl*" is a particularly fine study of French and English life, character, habits of thought, values. It is the



Edna Ferber has had to do with ink since she was seventeen, when a newspaper editor in her home town of Appleton, Wisconsin, admired her graduation essay. She became a reporter, on his paper; later on a Milwaukee yellow journal which thrust her into contact with people with a veneer. Fiction writing happened to her when she was sent home, ill, for a rest, and just couldn't leave her typewriter alone. Her first story was sold to EVERYBODY'S MAGAZINE for \$62.50, and she was on her way. Emma McChesney, the petticoat drummer, came along soon, and is still a real person. Volumes of stories about her and other pioneer women in business appeared rapidly. "Fanny Herself" was a novel, containing much of Edna Ferber's own early life. Three years ago, "Girls" was published—a story of three generations, which gave Miss Ferber a real place as a novelist; and "So Big," within the year, marked a still longer step upward, and established her in the front rank of American writers.

story of Alix, straightforward and lovable daughter of an indiscreet mother, who is sent to England to live with the family of a dead English captain who was her mother's friend and admirer. It is her mother's hope that she may marry well there, where no whisper of maternal indiscretions shall confront her. The character of Alix, French to the core, changing in spite of herself in the English atmosphere, judging with two sets of values, is a very fine achievement. Miss Sedgwick, who is Madame de Selincourt, has been able to understand and portray both French and English. She sets up opposing standards of thought and conduct, explains French to English, and English to French, in a way that makes one hope the book may appear in both languages.

The CITIZEN carried a review of George Bernard Shaw's "*Saint Joan*" at the time it was first produced by the Theatre Guild in New York. Now it has been published, with a preface which is almost finer than the play. It should be read aloud, both because, intended for the stage, its prose has the quality of audibility, and because Shaw is so controversial that only by reading him to another mind can you get the full flavor of him. After seeing the play, reading it, discussing it, and thinking about it, the thing which stands out as most surprising is Shaw's fairness and understanding. We are so used to his brilliance, the provocative quality of his mind, his keen shafts of wit, his juggling with words, that we take them for granted. But in "*Saint Joan*", this pungent, perverse Irishman is fair, not only to Joan, whose race and religion are in direct contrast to his own, but to her judges behind whom the English have taken refuge for so many years, that court of the Church which first excommunicated her and delivered her to its secular arm to be burnt, then rehabilitated her, declared her Venerable, Blessed, and finally canonized her as a Saint. It is his answer to those who thought that "Back to Methuselah" was the product of a breaking mind. The Shaw of "*Saint Joan*" is as powerful, as wise, as brilliant as ever, with a strange new depth which is almost gentle.

INQUIRIES are coming in for the two pamphlets published by the Women's Committee for the Children's Amendment which were recently described in the WOMAN VOTER. The National League of Women Voters, 532 Seventeenth St., N.W., Washington, will be glad to fill orders. The six-page leaflet is two cents a copy, \$1.00 per hundred. The forty-page pamphlet is ten cents a copy, \$4.00 for fifty copies, \$6.50 for a hundred. Both are called "The Children's Amendment."

The Life of Olive Schreiner, Little Brown, 1924. \$5.00.

The Story of An African Farm, Little Brown, 1924. \$2.00.

The Little French Girl, Houghton Mifflin, 1924. \$2.00.

Saint Joan, Brentano, 1924. \$2.00.

Canadian Women

(Continued from page 12)

Ottawa. In the actual operation of the law women have gone even farther and in the province of Manitoba Mrs. A. W. Larson has for some time been the deputy provincial secretary.

In professions, trades and callings which prior to the war were held to be peculiarly man's women have not only attempted to cling to those positions which they secured during the war but have aggressively invaded others. In banks, where women were never seen in pre-war years, they are almost as numerous as men, and have proved themselves efficient. It is the same in secretarial work, in journalism, in advertising, telegraphy and the business and commercial life of the country. There is scarcely an occupation left in Canada which man can call peculiarly his own.

As a result of Canadian women's new share in affairs, starting in the western provinces, legislation has been placed on the statute books establishing a minimum wage for women workers, and province after province has followed suit until in practically every section of the Dominion girls are assured of what is considered in that sector at least a living wage.

Agriculture is the most important industry in Canada, the basic activity. The large scale on which farming operations are carried out in the Dominion, and the arduous toil involved, have, for the most part, shut women out save as "help-meets." Yet there are at the present time about twenty thousand women in Canada engaged in agriculture—farm owners or managers, fruit growers, nurserymen, ranchers or stock raisers.

The change of attitude of the women of Canada toward the land since the war has been very marked. It was clearly evidenced in the resumption of the agitation to give women complete equality with men in the right to file on homesteads. It was acutely stimulated by the movement from England of many girls who, having worked on the land or engaged in some other outdoor occupation during the war, were reluctant to resume their humdrum existences and sought a way to continue an out-of-door existence. They came to Canada because it offered them the opportunity circumstance and convention denied at home. They are essentially Canadian women now.

Though the right of filing on government homesteads has never been granted women, circumstance since the war has offered some the opportunity of farming under these rigorous conditions, and many have accepted. It was always open to a widow, as the head of a family, to occupy one of these raw, unimproved sections of government land and since the war many widows of Canadian soldiers

have exercised this right, have gone out to the remoter districts, and many are winning success.

Also nurses who had served overseas could not consistently be denied the right to a "soldier's homestead" for their services, and there is record of at least one party of these nurses braving the primitive conditions of the Peace River country of Northern Alberta to engage in agriculture in its most elementary stage.

Women medical and legal students are now to be found in the classes of many Canadian universities and last year McGill University registered its first woman dental student. Last year Miss Gretna Playter, western Canada's first practicing woman lawyer, hung out her shingle in an Alberta city. This year Miss Muriel Corkery, of St. John, New Brunswick, was admitted to the bar at the court of appeals, becoming the only woman barrister practicing in the Maritimes.

The 1921 graduating class at the Ontario Agricultural College included the first woman in Canada to take the degree of Bachelor of Scientific Agriculture. She was followed this year in Western Canada by Miss Sheila Marryat, sister of the Hon. Mrs. Parlyby, who won her agricultural degree at the University of Alberta.

Saskatchewan's probability of soon possessing an extensive and profitable ceramic industry is largely attributable to a woman, Miss Helen Paschal, who prospected alone among the hills, disclosed the presence of valuable clays, and after stimulating the province to the establishment of a ceramic department in its university, set about the commercial development.

Agriculture in the same province is almost entirely in the hands of a woman. Miss Brayford, after making an extraordinary success of bee keeping on her farm, traveled as demonstrator with the Better Farming Train operated by the government and Canadian Pacific Railway to promote more efficient farm methods, and has been taken up by the province to create a profitable honey industry in the province.

Western Canada has proved the pioneer in the appointment of women judges, as it is in legislation for women and children. Alberta has appointed two women judges, one, Mrs. Emily Murphy, better known by the pen name of "Janey Canuck," who presides over the women's court in Edmonton, while Mrs. Alice Jamieson sits in court at Calgary.

The CITIZEN is trying hard to collect information about women nominees for important office all over the country. Please help—at once!

In the next issue, immediately preceding election, we will publish the lists in full.

A Line on the Movies

By IRENE THIRER

BARBARA FRIETCHIE—Here's some good old Civil War movie stuff, with a couple of earlier wars thrown in for good measure. Then, too, there's a skit on "covered wagon" days. Florence Vidor and Edmund Lowe do nobly as the romance center of this film. Florence, pretty and marcelled, is a young title-rôleist, instead of the four-score and ten, gray-haired one we used to read about. The inconsistency of the film's conclusion is its only lame place. Children will enjoy it and perhaps appreciate its historical worth. A Thomas H. Ince production, from the play by Clyde Fitch.

IN HOLLYWOOD WITH POTASH AND PERLMUTTER—Everybody in the world should see this chapter in the life of the world's foremost fictionites, the partners, *Potash and Perlmutter*. It's full of fun and clever retorts from beginning to end. Alexander Carr and George Sidney are remarkable as *Mauruss* and *Abe* respectively. Vera Gordon is an excellently cast *Rosie Potash*, and Betty Blythe is a movie vamp than whom there is no vampier. A Samuel Goldwyn production from the play by Montague Glass and Jules Eckert Goodman.

THE RED LILY—Fred Niblo's original story of the sordid Paris underworld, is fortunate in having some excellent cinema artists for the screen version. Ramon Novarro does as well as we've ever seen him—and that's well enough—in a thug rôle. Enid Bennett shows she really can be good if she's given a chance to be bad. The story is a good deal stilted and stereotyped, and will hold no appeal whatsoever for children. A Fred Niblo production. Released through Metro-Mayer.

FEET OF CLAY—Clear up to heaven, and down to earth again this new film takes its audience. Cecil of the De Mille brothers has done a mediocre tale of domesticity in his own elaborate fashion, making the production one of splendid spectacle, and much nonsense. There isn't a chance for Vera Reynolds' and Rod La Rocque's fine performances to outshine the decorative brilliance of the film. A Cecil De Mille production. Released through Famous Players-Lasky.

THE IRON HORSE—The history of the growth of American railroad-hood is interestingly, humorously and extremely cleverly depicted in this film. School teachers might take their honor pupils to see "The Iron Horse", which is much on the style of the "Covered Wagon", but treating of an altogether different period in our country's history. There are some excellent performances by a cast of rare ability. Especially commendable is the work of George O'Brien, Madge Bellamy, and Cyril Chadwick. A John Ford production. Released by William Fox.

Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade, Main & Market
 Albany—Hewett's Silk Shop, 15 N. Pearl
 Allentown—H. Mayer, 907 Hamilton St.
 Altona—Bendheim's, 1302-11th Ave.
 Asheville—Pollock's
 Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
 Atlantic City—3019 Boardwalk
 Baltimore—325 No. Charles St. (2nd floor)
 Bangor—John Connors Shoe Co.
 Berkeley—The Booterie
 Binghamton—Parlor City Shoe Co.
 Birmingham—321 North 20th St.
 Boston—109 Newbury St., Cor. Clarendon
 Bridgeport—1025 Main St. (2nd floor)
 Brooklyn—516 Fulton St. (Primrose Bldg.)
 Buffalo—641 Main St., above Chippewa St.
 Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
 Charlotte—225 North Tryon St.
 Chicago—162 N. State (opp. Chicago Thea.)
 Chicago—1050 Leland (Near Broadway)
 Chicago—6410 Cottage Grove Ave., Woodlawn
 Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
 Cleveland—1705 Euclid Ave.
 Columbus, O.—104 E. Broad St. (at 3rd)
 Dallas—Volk Bros. Co.
 Dayton—The Hike-Kumler Co.
 Denver—224 Foster Bldg.
 Des Moines—W. L. White Shoe Co.
 Detroit—41 E. Adams Ave.
 Duluth—107 W. First St. (nr. 1st Ave. W.)
 Elizabeth—258 North Broad St.
 Elmira—C. W. O'Shea
 Erie—Wechsler Co., 910 State St.
 Evanson—North Shore Bootery
 Evansville—310 So. 3rd St. (near Main)
 Grand Rapids—Herpolsheimer Co.
 Greenville—Pollock's
 Hagerstown—Bike's Shoe Shop
 Harrisburg—26 No. 3rd St. (2nd floor)
 Hartford—Trumbull and Church Sts.
 Haverhill—McGregor's, 21 Washington Sq.
 Holyoke—Thos. S. Childs, 275 High St.
 Houston—205 Foster-Bank Commerce Bldg.
 Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Diehl
 Indianapolis—L. S. Ayres & Co.
 Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
 Jacksonville, Fla.—Opp. Seminole Hotel
 Jersey City—Bennett's, 411 Central Ave.
 Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
 Kansas City, Mo.—300 Altman Bldg.
 Kingston—E. T. Stelle & Son
 Knoxville—Spence Shoe Co.
 Lewiston—Laney-Wheeler, 110 Lisbon St.
 Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
 Lincoln—Mayer Bros. Co.
 Little Rock—417 Main St. (Pugh Bldg.)
 Long Beach, Cal.—The Bell Shoe House
 Los Angeles—505 New Pantages Bldg.
 Louisville—Boston Shoe Co.
 Lowell—The Bon Marche
 Madison—Family Shoe Store
 Memphis—28 N. Second St.
 Milwaukee—Brouwer Shoe Co.
 Minneapolis—25 Eighth St. South
 Montreal—Keefe Bldg. (St. Catherine, W.)
 Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—A. J. Rice & Co.
 Nashville—J. A. Meadows & Sons
 Newark—397 Broad St. (2nd floor)
 New Bedford—Olympia Shoe Shop
 Newburgh—G. A. C. Van Beuren
 New Haven—153 Court St. (2nd floor)
 New Orleans—109 Baronne St. (Room 200)
 New Rochelle—Ware
 New York—14 W. 40th St. (opp. Pub. Lib.)
 New York—2050 Third Ave. (152nd St.)
 New York—13 John St. (Bet. B'way & Nassau)
 Norfolk—Ames & Brownlee
 Oakland—516-15th St. (opp. City Hall)
 Oklahoma City—Fezler's Boot Shop
 Omaha—1708 Howard Bldg. St.
 Pasadena—278 E. Colorado Street
 Paterson—10 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
 Peoria—105 So. Jefferson (Lehmann Bldg.)
 Philadelphia—1022 Chestnut St.
 Pittsburgh—The Rosenbaum Co.
 Pittsfield—Wm. Fahey, 234 North St.
 Plainfield—M. C. Van Arsdale
 Portland, Me.—Palmer Shoe Co.
 Portland, Ore.—353 Alder St.
 Poughkeepsie—Louis Schonberger
 Providence—The Boston Store
 Reading—Sig. S. Schweitzer
 Richmond, Va.—Seymour Sytle
 Roanoke—J. Bachrach Shoe Co.
 Rochester—357 Main St. E. (3rd floor)
 Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
 St. Joseph, Mo.—216 N. 7th (Arcade Bldg.)
 St. Louis—516 Arcade Bldg. (opp. P. O.)
 St. Paul—43 E. 5th St. (Frederic Hotel)
 St. Petersburg—W. L. Tillinghast
 Sacramento—208 Ochser Bldg., K nr. 7th
 Saginaw—Goeschel-Kulper Co.
 Salt Lake City—Walker Bros. Co.
 San Diego—The Warston Co.
 San Francisco—127 Stockton St.
 Schenectady—443 State St.
 Shenandoah—Lewis & Reilly
 Seattle—Baxter & Buxton
 Shreveport—Phelps Shoe Co.
 Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
 Spokane—The Crescent
 Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
 Stamford—L. Spelke & Son
 Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
 Tacoma—235 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Bldg.)
 Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
 Toronto—7 Queen St. East (at Yonge)
 Trenton—H. M. Voorhees & Bro.
 Troy—35 Third St. (2d floor)
 Tulsa—Leon's Shoe Store
 Utica—28 & 30 Blandina St. (cor. Union)
 Vancouver—Hudson's Bay Co.
 Washington—1319 F Street (2nd floor)
 Wheeling—Geo. S. Taylor Co.
 Wilmington, Del.—Kennard-Pyle
 Winnipeg—Hudson's Bay Co.
 Worcester—J. C. MacInnes Co.
 Yorkers—22 Main St.
 Youngstown—B. McMannus Co.

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Cantilever Shoes Make Walking a Pleasure

OUT where the blue is spread above Autumn's red and gold, there's a glow of health for your cheeks and a glorious sense of well-being as you swing along on buoyant feet. It is fun to walk in Cantilever Shoes. Weary feet respond to the easy action of the flexible Cantilever arch. Your feet are *alive*.

The Cantilever Shoe follows Nature's plan. Not only is it naturally shaped—it is flexible, like your foot. The arch muscles can exercise with every step. You enjoy real foot freedom in the flexibility of this comfortable shoe.

Feet that have been weakened by muscle-restricting, rigid shoes will react quickly to the wonderful freedom of Cantilevers. The muscles, whose duty is to hold the twenty-six small bones of each foot in arched formation, gain new strength. Weak feet are corrected; flat feet prevented.

You gain the satisfaction of comfortable, springy feet that seem to carry you along of their own free will. Best of all, you are able to accomplish more, without fatigue, and you gain in health.

You will like also the pleasing grace with which the lines of the Cantilever Shoe fit the foot. The modishly rounded toe, the moderate, well placed heel, and the fine, easy leathers all contribute to the comfort and good looks of the Cantilever. And the flexible arch nestles up snugly to the under-curve of the foot, giving restful support and accentuating the beauty of the arch and instep.

Appropriate Cantilever models enable you to be comfortable on any occasion. There are trim oxfords for wear with tailored costumes, snug boots for stormy weather and an interesting variety of pumps in two-strap and three-strap designs for afternoon or evening; also a new "step-in" pump that is very good looking.

Cantilever Shoes are inexpensive. High quality leathers insure long wear and moderate prices make them easy on your pocketbook. If you do not find a dealer in the partial list at the left, write the manufacturers, Morse & Burt Co., 426 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., and they will send you the address of a conveniently located Cantilever Store.



Cantilever Shoe



Baby Rights

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

WHEN a great man dies and the newspapers call him "public spirited", we read and admire and think how lovely it would be if we, too, were so financially situated that a gift of a million dollars would make us public spirited. We know that if our opportunities had been equally great we, too, would have been equally magnanimous, forgetting that, in a democracy, great results come from many concerted small efforts. In a democracy it is the cooperation of individuals and societies that produces the great results.

An ancient Chinese proverb runs: "Every man has the father-mother heart." And so, though the more abstract and remote problems of public health may leave us somewhat cold, the problem of making babies well and happy usually finds a quick and very real response in our hearts. But in this question, as in others of public health, the pleasant wave of warm emotion that sweeps over us at the picture of a prize

baby must be crystallized into some definite action.

Such concerted action, in the city of New York, for instance, has made it the best city for a baby to be born in. The following list taken from the *Weekly Bulletin* of the Department of Health of New York City (April 5, 1924), shows how ten of the largest cities of the United States have cared for their babies' lives:

Infant Mortality Statistics of the Ten Largest Cities in the United States, 1923			
City	Births	Deaths	Rates per Thousand Reported
New York.....	129,160	8,578	66.44
Cleveland.....	20,815	1,396	67.1
Los Angeles....	16,786	1,178	70.17
Philadelphia...	40,873	3,214	78.63
Boston.....	18,830	1,568	83.27
Baltimore.....	17,880	1,499	83.8
Detroit.....	28,114	2,467	87.7
Pittsburgh.....	15,421	1,471	95.3
Not in Birth Registration Area.			
St. Louis.....	15,226	1,056	69.2
Chicago.....	55,935	4,883	87.3

Such statistics bid us take heart of hope. In spite of the over-crowding and poverty in our great American cities, the combined efforts of all the welfare societies are giving the babies a better chance to live. The infant is more acutely sensitive to his surroundings than a person at any other period. Over-crowding, especially in living rooms, decreases its chance of survival. Newman, of England, in a group of studies, gives the death rate as follows:

Infant Mortality—	Rate
Those living in one room.....	219
Those living in 2 rooms.....	157
Those living in 3 rooms.....	141
Those living in 4 or more rooms	99

It was also found that the infant death rate was twice as great with five people living in one room as with two.

A Johnstown (Pennsylvania) survey showed the death rate as follows:

Infant Deaths per 1,000 Living Births—	
Clean rooms.....	113.5
Dirty rooms.....	186

Further, the investigations showed that if the father's yearly wages were less than \$521 a year the infant death rate was 255.7, while if the father earned more than \$1,200 the death rate fell to 84.

If a living wage and health education were universal, infants' deaths would be reduced to a minimum. Poverty alone makes the greatest difference, forcing the expectant mother to work during the last month of pregnancy and to resume work too soon after delivery. It is the most direct cause of feeble vitality, in both mother and child. Thirty per cent of the infant deaths occurring under one year of life are due, it is claimed, to congenital causes, and the greatest of

these causes is undoubtedly feeble vitality.

In all campaigns for reducing this death rate, great emphasis is laid upon the care of the expectant mother. Pre-natal clinics have been established in all large cities. In these clinics two results are aimed at—an improved physical condition of the mother, and teaching her to care for herself and the child after birth. These maternity centers are really educational centers. Health teaching, the inculcation of health habits, health supervision are the important lines of work in the effort to protect infant life.

After the pre-natal clinic comes the work of the visiting nurse, who will visit, in the home, baby and mother up to one month after delivery. This home work is of enormous importance, as the visiting nurse gives a practical demonstration of how to keep the rooms clean, of good ventilation, of how to bathe and care for the baby. At the end of the first month when both mother and baby are ready for out-of-doors they are referred to a baby health station.

Such a chain of health activities will protect both mother and infant through the most dangerous years.

In a democracy where great masses are still unequally born into conditions favoring disease and death rather than health and life, such public measures will wait indefinitely upon the financial will of the community. "Unless a community is unusually progressive, it is probable that a large amount of public education will have to be carried on before even a modest baby-saving program can be put into effect," says Dr. S. Josephine Baker, of New York. "This is often best done through the medium of local clubs, church societies, and welfare organizations, though the ultimate responsibility should rest upon the Board of Health and as soon as possible the work should be placed under its direct control."

This educational propaganda usually depends upon the public mindedness of a few individuals. For the work to become well established all the members of a community must be interested in the campaign. Each individual must become public-minded as far as babies are concerned. No one ought to be content to let the baby-saving program go on without her individual help. Of course, the reduction of infant mortality cannot be the hobby of every individual woman, but it ought not to be left out of any progressive woman's health plan. Each woman ought somehow to help along the babies, either with money, or time, or actual work.

Many boards of health run a definite department of child hygiene. Anyone wishing to find out more about the work done in her community should write to the department for literature. In some way child hygiene should touch the life of every woman in the community.

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Three Super States

(Continued from page 11)

out every Catholic and make an end of him. Under the calm surface of things, here is a miniature reign of terror, many Protestants believing that Catholics are storing away guns with the intention of exterminating them, and many Catholics believing that the Protestant Klan is supplied with guns to exterminate them. Is some rifle factory thus creating a demand for its output?

This is a pretty kettle of fish in the land whose boldest boast is freedom to worship God, each in his own way.

The scrutiny of several Klan papers indicates that they are not all in entire accord, and just what the members are pledged to support as a minimum is not clear. One paper, the *American Standard*, gives its own creed as including:

1. The return of all Negroes to Africa.
2. The expulsion of Romanism [whatever that may mean] and the disfranchisement of Catholics. [The two seem in contradiction.]
3. The printing of all newspapers in English.
4. The expulsion of certain Jews from the country [apparently not including all Jews].
5. The support of prohibition and the Klan.

Had the Klan come into existence solely to scare criminal bootleggers and cowardly politicians, it might have been classed as another vigilance society, and its motives if not its methods approved, but when its aims include definite religious intolerance, it must be recognized as a propagandist of bigotry that should be outlawed.

The hysterical state of mind of some of these American bigot zealots is indicated by the *American Standard*, which, in its August 15th number, demands the resignation of Secretary Hughes. Why? Because he accepted an honorary degree from the famed University of Louvain and at the hands of that man whose unselfish saintliness was extolled during and after the war—Cardinal Mercier. The degree was conferred, as well as another by the University of Brussels, as a mark of honor upon the occasion of the recent visit to Belgium of this high, distinguished official of this land of religious liberty. He is charged with a surrender to "Popery"! The minds that can conceive such an idea are those of bigots, and those who scatter it are mischief-makers. Neither class is composed of patriots.

It appears that the main emphasis is placed upon the supposition that the Pope aims to secure secular control of the world. Not one bit of evidence is brought forward to prove that contention which was not used in connection with the same charge in Know Nothing days, all of which was scrapped seventy-

five years ago after a feverish campaign designed to scare the nation. The present outbreak is a mere relapse into that same bigotry, which, like erysipelas, comes and comes again.

On the other hand, several developments, all significant, are quite overlooked. Probably the Catholic Hierarchy may once have dreamed of world control, but that was in the Middle Ages. Many years ago, the Catholic monarchy of Italy threw off the secular control of the church as in more recent times did Mexico, France, Venezuela and Uruguay, and this was not done by any form of the Ku Klux Klan, but by Catholics themselves. If there has been any modern ambition at Rome to control the world, Catholics themselves have been the first to check it, and may be safely depended upon to protect the rest of the world from any threatened aggression.

Protestants, too, once hoped to convert the world, but they know now that that will never be. Catholic and Protestant missionaries among the "heathen" have aroused other religions to defend their own, and Mohammedan and Buddhist missionaries are now active in all possible fields, especially among primitive people, making converts with a rapidity that has alarmed Christian workers in foreign lands. No one religion will ever capture the mind of the entire world. There will never, never be a Catholic, a Protestant, nor any other kind of a religious super state. The business for American citizens is to discover the way in which we may all live peaceably together in order that these periodical paroxysms of intolerance shall cease. The Klan way leads to perpetual trouble. Meanwhile, Senator La

Follette, John W. Davis, Charles G. Dawes, in the order named, have condemned the Klan by name as an agency sure to bring harm to the best interests of our country.

The mischief arising from a secret society, spreading underground gossip, chiefly lies in the inevitable seed-sowing for another outbreak. This talk is making little Protestant and Catholic boys and girls afraid and distrustful of each other and terribly afraid of the dark. When they grow up they will believe of each other the kind of ridiculous things that many are now peddling. This talk is planting suspicion in the souls of men and women, where only trust and good will should be, and by setting up a bogey as a real menace, it is making the rest of us ashamed of our America, which, at its best, is so frank, so tolerant, so hospitable, so consecrated to the belief that here there is room and liberty for all. High-minded, patriotic Americans should take this problem fearlessly in hand and mediate between the affrighted of both churches and lead them to a compromise of trust and understanding with a united devotion to the nation's ideals. The situation does not call for guns and poison gas, but talk, conference and hard common sense.

Meanwhile, here is one miasmatic spot from which the fog is rising and enveloping the peace vs. war question.

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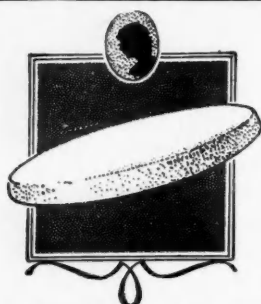
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With Our Readers

This letter was written in response to suggestions that readers comment on Margaret Sanger's article on Birth Control, published in the CITIZEN some time ago.

A PROPOSITION known as the Cummins-Vail bill was introduced in the last session of Congress, which proposes to legalize the practice of contraceptive birth control, by striking from our Criminal Code the clauses which condemn and penalize the practice of circulating such knowledge and means.

It is now fifty years since these prohibitions were written into our Federal laws, and they have been supported by similar enactments in most of the states of the Union.

For many years the French people have practiced birth control by contraceptive methods, and have taught it to all comers. Today France is in the death-grip with venereal diseases and a rapidly falling birth-rate which threatens national extinction. The American people have become infected with the same death-dealing practice of contraceptives. A great American President some years ago raised his warning voice against this "race-suicide." Statistics show that he was right, for the American family of the sturdy pioneer stock is disappearing, and the French nation today is trying by legislative enactments and coaxing rewards to call back the receding tide of her national life.

The arguments of the birth control proponents are simply plausible sophistries, in the face of this notable example of the national results of their particular traffic, and when they use—as they do—the same arguments that the "wets" use against the prohibition of the liquor traffic, namely: the "infringement of personal liberty," their logic reaches the limit of absurdity.

The Cummins-Vail bill to legalize birth control by contraceptive means would give legal sanction to an immoral practice which has grown out of woman's obedience to the supposed necessities of man known in common law as "marital rights." This is the root "complex" in the subconscious mind of woman from which, through her reproductive function, all the evils which afflict the race are generated. Until this immoral sex complex is uprooted, and children are conceived

and born according to God's law, we will continue to have born into the race moral imbeciles.

Prevention of conception by contraceptive means is a practice which is wrong in principle and violates the moral law of life itself; if legalized it fixes a standard of sex ethics for man below that of all the nobler species of the animal kingdom.

In the periodic functioning of woman's reproductive system is written God's law of control over that function, which control would give to woman her self-respect as a free moral agent in the reproduction of the race, the curse of "multiplied conceptions" would be removed, parentage would become "voluntary," and motherhood become the supreme service and joy of woman's life.

Will the women of these United States of America allow the Cummins-Vail bill to become a law in this nation?

MARGARITA A. STEWART, M.D.

Part of a letter (we haven't room for even the half, since this has come in as the pages are closing) received from Montana:

I SOMETIMES wonder if it is possible to write in favor of the protective tariff without being unfair. One would think that a writer for a journal like yours would, at least, try to be fair.

In the article entitled "Politics and the Home," by J. Calvin Brown, the condition of the people of England is compared with that of the people of the United States, and it is assumed that the difference is wholly due to the tariffs of the countries. To make the comparison at this time when England is suffering from the results of the World War is manifestly unfair. Even in normal times, such a comparison is unfair because England is over-populated as compared with the United States. Labor is necessarily cheaper there than here, because it is so much more plentiful. Attributing the difference to protection is not honest. Why doesn't he compare England and Germany, or the England of 1913 with the England of 1846?

He also attributes the growth in the wealth and population of this country to the same cause, when he ought to know that the percentage of increase in population that occurred between 1850 and 1860 under the lowest tariff of our history has never been equalled since.

HENRY HEATON.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of *The Woman Citizen*, published fortnightly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1924.

County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Mrs. Raymond Brown, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of *The Woman Citizen* Corporation, publishers of *The Woman Citizen*, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and business manager are:

Name and Post Office Address:
Publisher: The Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Editor: Virginia Roderick, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Mrs. Raymond Brown, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: The Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Mrs. H. B. Wells, 46 West Ninth Street, N. Y.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Dorchester, Mass.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, 55 East 76th Street, N. Y.

Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y., members of which are:
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y., President.

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y., First Vice-President.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Austin, Tex.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, O.

Mrs. Harriet B. Wells, 46 West 9th Street, N. Y., Treasurer.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1924.

CHARLES J. SCHULZE, Notary Public.
(My commission expires March 30, 1926.)

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

NOVEMBER 1, 1924

Number 10

News Notes of the Fortnight

With the Nominees

THE final campaign struggle is concentrated in the East. John W. Davis is back with optimistic estimates from his second mid-Western trip covering six thousand miles, and the rest of his itinerary laid close at home. General Dawes is finishing a New York state campaign; the President has made his final radio talk; Senator La Follette has abandoned the West Coast in favor of New York.

Republican strategy continues the attack on La Follette, almost ignoring the Democrats, and urges votes for Coolidge to prevent the ultimate choice of Bryan. The President, in his speech, as usual stressed figures to support the claims of Republican economy and of prosperity. These two lines of argument Mr. Davis calls two Republican bogey men—the idea that the Republican party is the guardian of the prosperity of the United States, and second that the contest is only between the President and La Follette.

Mr. Davis also devoted considerable time to denouncing the "conspiracy" to discredit Senator Wheeler, vice-presidential candidate on the Progressive ticket, by bringing about his indictment while he was investigating the Department of Justice. It will be remembered that the "conspiracy" was traced months ago to representatives of Attorney General Daugherty and George B. Lockwood, formerly of the Republican National Committee. Mr. Lockwood demanded retraction of Mr. Davis's charge, but Mr. Davis's only answer was excerpts from the testimony given last May.

Secretary Hughes is in strong political limelight now. He came to New York to promote not only the national but the state ticket, and in a recent speech defended his foreign policy in detail.

Senator La Follette has been answering the campaign charges that his program is socialistic, claiming that it is as old as Thomas Jefferson, as old as Abraham Lincoln. He based his appeal to the farmers in the Middle Western trip on an attack upon the packing and the mill-

ing monopolies, charging that the credits of the country have become concentrated into powerful groups—J. P. Morgan and Company and the Standard Oil Company. Generally speaking, the Progressives have been attacked for their Supreme Court and their railroad ownership planks, but Senator La Follette has kept most emphasis on the issue which he said in the first place was dominant—the breaking of monopoly control and of the power of money over the government.

Eight Tickets

TO keep the record straight, it may be as well to note that there are eight tickets in the field this year. Not only the two old parties and the third party ticket, but also, as listed by the *World Tomorrow*, the—

American Party—anti-Catholic. Candidate for President, Gilbert O. Nations.

Commonwealth Land Party—formerly Single Tax. Candidate, William J. Wallace.

Prohibition Party—for thorough dryness. Candidates, Herman P. Faris and Marie C. Brehm.

Socialist Labor Party—for ownership of means of production by workers. Candidates, Frank P. Johns and Verne L. Reynolds.

Workers Party—American Communists. Candidates, William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow. Endorsed also by Farmer-Labor Party.

Income Tax Publicity

THE publication of income tax returns in the newspapers set the whole country buzzing. This is the result of putting into operation the Norris amendment to the tax law passed by Congress a few months ago. It provided that tax figures should be made available to inquirers, in the interest of eliminating tax dodgers. Whether or not the publicity was supposed to include newspaper broadcasting or meant only accessibility of the records, is a matter yet to be thrashed out. Meantime many

interesting facts are out in the open.

There was nothing in the law to say at what time of the year this provision should be put into operation, and the cry was promptly raised that Secretary Mellon had chosen this time for political reasons, depending on its unpopularity to count against its sponsors, including Senator La Follette. This was promptly denied, Secretary Mellon claiming that this is the logical time, when records are just completed. Discussion of the good and bad effects to be looked for is widespread. Some say it will check tax dodging, will be of service in showing the tremendous inequalities of wealth, will show up the evils of permitting any securities to be tax exempt. Others indignantly point out the increased embarrassment to persons of wealth from charity seekers, the business disadvantages, and the infringement on personal privacy.

A Labor Right

THE Supreme Court has made a decision of great importance, and of particular interest at this time. It was in the case of railway employees who joined the shopmen's strike in 1922 and were charged with contempt of court for violation of the famous Daugherty injunction. The decision is that under the provisions of the Clayton Act these strikers are entitled to trial by jury.

The provision in the act was designed to prevent the judge in such cases from being prosecutor, judge and jury combined.

Everything has a campaign connotation these days. The decision has been seized on as of service to Mr. Davis, who wrote that part of the Clayton Act, and as taking thunder from Mr. La Follette, whose platform stresses the demand for trial by jury in injunction cases—and of course goes on to demand the abolition of injunctions altogether. On the other hand, Mr. Gompers, who is supporting La Follette, says, "Is it possible that the Supreme Court has heard of the political campaign to reform the courts' usurpation of power?"

The "Slush" Fund

THE senatorial committee inquiry occasioned by Senator La Follette's charges of a huge Republican slush fund began in Chicago October 16, and was continued in Washington. Testimony at the first session showed that the Republican national organization had collected and spent \$1,714,317 by October 10; and the La Follette forces had received \$190,525 and spent \$155,062. For the period from October 10 to 15 the Republicans reported \$487,027 more. William M. Butler, Chairman of the Committee, said the budget was \$3,000,000 for the national campaign—presidential, senatorial and congressional—but denied La Follette's charges that a large mass of funds would be mobilized in certain states during the last period. Mr. Butler called the total "prudent."

Frank P. Walsh, attorney for Senator La Follette, charged that the Republicans were after \$10,000,000 for campaign purposes, to carry doubtful states. He claimed that besides the National Committee's \$3,000,000 budget the bankers are raising one fund, and manufacturers and business another—the last two outside the National Committee's control.

He accuses the Republicans in particular of underground collections through persons in tariff-benefited Pennsylvania, and these and others have been summoned. A telegram from Senator Walsh of Montana reported a rumor that \$100,000 was to be used to prevent his reelection.

The Democrats reported a budget of \$750,000, of which they had collected only \$548,000, so that they were facing a probable deficit.

Great Britain—October 29

THE short, hot election campaign in Great Britain will be over as these words are read. The method, as here, includes the radio. Arrangements have been made between Tories and Liberals by which in many constituencies only a Conservative or a Liberal stands, to avoid a three-cornered fight and so combine against Labor. October 18 was Nomination Day—and the Tories put up 543 candidates, Labor 508, and the Liberals 350. In 220 constituencies there will be fights between a Tory and a Laborite, and in fifty between Liberals and Labor. All the rest are three-cornered fights, except for the thirty-two where there is only one candidate. Among these are Stanley Baldwin, fifteen other Tories, nine Laborites, six Liberals, and Tay Pay O'Connor, Nationalist.

The women now in the House of Parliament are standing again, and besides these at least twenty-one others have been nominated. Among them is Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Liberal, who is

the president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Germany—December 7

ELECTIONS are all the rage these days. Germany is at it, too. Chancellor Marx gave up his impossible task and obtained President Ebert's permission to dissolve the Reichstag. A new election is set for December 7th. The situation is technical and complicated, but boils down to this—that the line-up of parties in the Reichstag made impossible the formation of a workable majority government; the Reichstag and the Cabinet were made of political elements in different proportions.

The issue in the election will again be the Dawes report. On one side will be those represented by black, red and gold—the new Republican colors; these will demand continuance of the present foreign policies, based on acceptance of the Dawes plan; on the other the black, white and red—the old imperial colors. It will be the republic against the old monarchistic ideas, including protest against concessions to foreign powers.

The Prussian and Bavarian legislatures have also dissolved and ordered new elections for December 7, and probably the other German states will follow.



© Juley, N. Y.

A portrait painter who has turned to etching as a pastime because "it is an added inspiration to express oneself through the medium of line when one is working most of the time with masses of light and dark"—that is Emily Burling Waite's own phrase for herself. A background of success marks this artist—study in New York and Boston, with a record of winning every prize for which she competed at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts School; a scholarship and two years of study and travel abroad, and an exhibition of her work in the Renaissance Gallery of the Boston Museum upon her return. At the Panama-Pacific Exposition she was awarded a silver medal.

Prominent people in Washington, D. C., and New York have sat to Miss Waite, while the doorways and nooks of Newport have been themes for her etchings.

As a choice bit of news, she tells us of her recent marriage to Arthur Williams Manchester, of Newport, but we note that she is modern, for she signs herself Emily Burling Waite.

Ontario Stays Dry

THE province of Ontario has just held a referendum on the liquor question and by a narrow margin has voted to remain dry. According to the usual tendency in such votes, the cities were wet, the rural districts dry. The questions asked on the ballot were: "Are you in favor of the continuance of the Ontario Temperance Act?" and "Are you in favor of the sale as a beverage of beer and spirituous liquor in sealed packages and under Government control?" The law referred to was passed in 1916 as a war measure, confirmed in a plebiscite—in 1919, and two years later amended to forbid prohibition of liquor from wet states.

This fight was watched with special interest in Canada because several of the western provinces recently modified their dry laws.

Mr. Ford Attacks

IN response to Henry Ford's withdrawal of his bid for Muscle Shoals, the President says he understands but hopes that if Congress should act to restore this property to private ownership an offer would again be made.

Mr. Ford makes the charge that Senator La Follette, too, was the tool of Wall Street!—that in opposing the Ford bid Senator La Follette aided Wall Street by keeping the public from learning how little such power need cost. Mr. Ford says the Street "doesn't care to have the power trust's stranglehold broken."

The ZR-3

THE most dramatic event of the fortnight—or many fortnights—was the arrival of the ZR-3, the giant Zeppelin, which, in eighty-one hours, sailed from Friedrichshafen, Germany, to the United States—covering 5060 miles. Three American naval officers and an American army officer were on board as observers, and the great craft, commanded by Dr. Eckener, president of the Zeppelin Company, was immediately turned over—a reparations payment. The spirit of both the Germans and the Americans was fine throughout. President Coolidge and Navy heads received Dr. Eckener in Washington. A luncheon was given for him and his staff with Secretary of the Navy Wilbur.

The Treaty of Versailles provided that the Zeppelin works should be dismantled at this stage. It seems that the permission to build the ZR-3 was an exception, granted by the Council of Ambassadors, on American insistence. France is eager to have the works dismantled.

The Goodyear-Zeppelin Company holds the rights to build Zeppelin airships in America, and a holding company for all the airship interests here is being organized.

October 27, 1924.



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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

October 22, 1924.



HERE is so much change and migration at the capital it is hard for the natives to become reconciled to the removal of landmarks such as Ambassador Jusserand, who has been recalled by the French Government on account of age (only seventy). The dean of the Diplomatic Corps is as much a part of the life here as is Lafayette Park, the White House, and all the rest of the immovable memorabilia of American tradition. Washington without the French Ambassador—driving around in an open carriage with Madame Jusserand; dedicating monuments to Franco-American cordiale; presiding at celebrations of the foreign colony; leading the long line of diplomats in official receptions at the White House; living the life of the capital with American friends from all over the country; writing and commenting upon American life *con amore*; and withal impersonating and representing to Americans the France of Lafayette and Rochambeau, the France they have been brought up to regard as an affectionate second in the hearts of their countrymen—Washington will be strange without him.

Age, the Ogre

So "age" seems to have become the ogre. Parker Gilbert goes to Paris with his personality and mental capacity tagged with what is supposed to be the handicap of youth. General Pershing and Jules Jusserand must leave their desks, hampered by what is supposed to be age, when all three, youth, middle age and age, could play together without thought of the ogre.

These are the first fall days at the capital. Hitherto the air has been but a little more dusty than summer. Even the bustle of the campaign has not enlivened things very much. Certain personal affairs have dampened the spirit.

The death of Senator Brandegee a

few days ago, when he was found in his bathroom with the gas turned on, left somber reflection. Hardened politicians in both parties still deride the League of Nations and the foreign policy of those Republicans and Democrats who went along with Woodrow Wilson in his original conception of the League. Still the course of the old thirteen irreconcilables in the Senate when they did to death the Treaty of Versailles and the ideal of an international association to check war, is regarded as a *tour de force* and a clever bit of legislative strategy.

The Thirteen

But what has become of the irreconcilables? Where are they now?

1. Philander C. Knox. Able lawyer, trusted Secretary of State of a former administration, experienced legislator, and bitter enemy of the League. DEAD.

2. Miles Poindexter. A former Judge of the Superior Court of the Pacific Coast. Known as a Progressive Republican in the Roosevelt days. Bitter enemy of the League. FAILED TO BE RE-ELECTED. ACCEPTED A "LAME DUCK" APPOINTMENT AS AMBASSADOR TO PERU.

3. Lawrence Y. Sherman. A vituperative orator who centered his official interest upon attacks on the League of Nations. Bitter denunciator of President Wilson. UNSUPPORTED IN HIS HOME STATE. DISGUSTED WITH POLITICS. RETIRED TO PRIVATE LIFE.

4. Joseph I. France. A radical in the Republican party, formerly a physician, who was awarded the Elihu Root Foreign Fellowship in Physical Science. Challenged all League of Nations supporters. Railed against an association of nations. FAILED TO BE RE-ELECTED BY MARYLAND VOTERS. RETIRED TO PRIVATE LIFE.

5. Thomas P. Gore. Blind Senator, who had always retained the affections of Oklahoma. Bitter in his opposition to a liberal foreign policy. DEFEATED IN 1920 BY HIS OWN STATE. TRIED

AGAIN IN AUGUST, 1924, AND POLLED A POOR THIRD.

6. Medill McCormick. Interested in a powerful Illinois newspaper, legislator of power. Not only bitter opponent of League of Nations, but actively campaigned in this country and in Europe against it. DEFEATED FOR RENOMINATION IN HIS OWN STATE BY GOVERNOR DENEEN.

7. Hiram Johnson. Powerful party Republican, who has been trying for the Presidential nomination for years upon a platform of isolation for the United States. FAILED TO CARRY HIS OWN STATE FOR PRESIDENT AND FAILED OF THE NOMINATION AT TWO SUCCESSIVE ELECTIONS.

8. George Higgins Moses. Former member of the Diplomatic Service, having been American Minister to Greece and Montenegro under President Taft. Able and effective bitter-ender. DEFEATED FOR DELEGATE TO THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN HIS STATE.

9. James A. Reed. Democrat. An extraordinarily able and sharp-tongued opponent of a liberal foreign policy. HAS NOT BEEN SUPPORTED BY HIS OWN STATE AND WAS DEFEATED FOR DELEGATE TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

10. John Knight Shields. Another Democrat, bitterly opposing a League of Nations policy, causing severe embarrassment to the Democratic forces in the fight to ratify the Versailles Treaty. DEFEATED BY GENERAL TYSON BY ABOUT 14,000 VOTES IN AUGUST OF THIS YEAR.

11. Henry Cabot Lodge. Head of the Foreign Relations Committee, who alone was responsible for the final rallying of the irreconcilable forces, although he pretended to listen to all factions. BEGGED FOR MERCY AT THE CLEVELAND REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTION. UNPOPULAR IN HIS OWN STATE.

12. Frank D. Brandegee. Supposed to have been the one with whom the irreconcilable idea first took root, and to

have drawn into it his great friend, Senator Lodge. MET WITH SERIOUS FINANCIAL REVERSES AND KILLED HIMSELF AT HIS HOME IN WASHINGTON.

13. William Edgar Borah. Still independent and untouched. WHAT HAPPENS REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

This is the story of the famous thirteen. It is idle to ascribe the hand of fate to it. We have long since learned that even virtue does not get its due reward on earth, that contrary-mindedness can flourish to its heart's content and apparently receive all the gifts. Nevertheless, the list speaks for itself. It is not a happy one.

The other end of the picture is in the crags and spires of the pro-Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, which overlooks the city, with its great stream of visitors from all parts of the world, who file in at the rate of four thousand a week—about six hundred a day, or seventy an hour; that is, more than one every minute for eight hours a day. The number of visitors since the burial of Woodrow Wilson has leaped into the thousands. There is nothing to see. The Chapel is unfinished and not yet imposing; a simple wreath marks the burial place in a niche near the choir.

The Democratic Campaign

This is not considered here purely as added popularity for the Democratic party. In campaign details the party is deemed more or less unlucky. In the first place, the Democratic nominating convention could hardly be described as having gone with a swing. Second, the combination of personalities, Davis and Bryan, did not seem a psychological union. Third, Mr. Davis has been so good on the stump that he is said to have convinced thinking Americans and frightened disbelievers and unthinking persons away. He has been so free from lallygag that he has given a wonderful picture of the kind of President he eventually would be, but has been a poor routine politician.

Moreover, they say here that not in long years has a political party had such a run of luck. William G. McAdoo, whose hold in the West was known to be strong, congratulated the Democratic nominee and then went to Europe. He came home at the height of the campaign when he might have turned to and helped, but he became ill and has been laid up in Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore. He was discharged the other day, but unfortunately upon the eve of his freedom, he issued a campaign statement couched in terms which at least need interpretation before they get very far with the average voter. His principal bouquet applied to the La Follette movement as if he were at this last gasp trying to assist an arrangement in California whereby Democrats and La Follettes could combine to carry the state against the Coolidge forces.

Senator Carter Glass, one of the strongest assets of the Democratic party, has been laid up ill at his home in Lynchburg, Virginia. His physician allowed him today to go to Baltimore to begin speech-making, which he hopes to be able to continue. But the party needed men like Carter Glass long ago.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, there is a general belief here that the Davis vote will exceed some of the prophecies.

The McAdoo Letter

In the letter written by Mr. McAdoo when he left the hospital, in which he advised the Democratic National Committee that his health would not permit him to undertake an extensive speech-making campaign, he said: "It is a great pity that the Progressives, led by La Follette and Wheeler, and the Democrats, led by Davis and Bryan, cannot present a united front against the common enemy." But he added that while he was not in accord with "much that Senator La Follette is advocating, as, for instance, his proposed Supreme Court amendment to the Constitution, nevertheless he deserves admiration and respect for the courageous fight he has made against entrenched privilege and the invisible forces of Government and for the fight he is now making to drive the corrupt and incompetent Republican Administration out of power." His letter was addressed to Senator Swanson, head of the Democratic speaking bureau.

All this sort of thing has led William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, to declare himself convinced of an "open alliance" between Democratic and Third Party leaders in certain states. "The open alliance," he said, "of the Democratic and Third Party leaders in certain states to throw the election into Congress and thus deprive the voters of the right to elect a President at the polls, has stiffened the determination to block this plan by voting for Calvin Coolidge."

But the Republican organization indeed has deep concern lest the Third Party movement will get enough votes to prevent either Democratic or Republican candidates from receiving a majority, thus throwing the election, under the Constitution, in the House, and finally into the Senate, where a coalition of Democrats and Progressives might choose Mr. Bryan to be Vice-President. From that post, if the House had been unable to elect a President, he would step into the Presidency.

In the minds of the American people today, Governor Charles W. Bryan is a more important person, with sounder views and a more constructive history, than he was when nominated in the mêlée of the Democratic Convention. About the only real sarcasm hurled at him in the present campaign is the taunt about the open door to the Bryan family

and the entrée provided for William Jennings, whom the liquor men used to call "The Old Lady." Governor Bryan, at this writing, is in Illinois, pleading for support for "the only party that is organized today from coast to coast capable of restoring people's rule in every state in the Union." He is appealing particularly to the agricultural sections with his argument that the Republican Party can name no piece of legislation passed during the last four years purely in the interest of the common people, or of agriculture.

It is no secret here that every piece of oratorical artillery that can be mustered against the Democrats is now being brought into line. Even the Most High of the Order of Indiscreet Speech-Makers, Secretary Wilbur, has been sent out again. Batteries are being trained on California and there is no rest for a Republican official in Cabinet or departmental work who has the power to spellbind. The Democratic forces are not working at this top speed. The defense is apparently heavier than the offense, and the Republican campaign is far more noisy than the quiet simple statements even of Mr. Davis himself. For Democrats generally have not been as picturesque in their attacks upon the Republican Administration as they can be when at their height in legislative debate.

Mr. Davis on the League

John W. Davis has not called half the names that Pat Harrison can conjure against a Republican brother in the Senate. He has been logical and consistent, even reverting to promises made early in the Democratic campaign, as if promises were to be kept and meant anything. For instance, he said, "In my speech of acceptance opening the Democratic campaign, I expressed my attitude upon the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations with complete frankness. I said, speaking in the sheerest terms of national interest, it was not wise, or prudent, or safe, that fifty-four nations of the world should sit together in conference on world affairs and America be absent. I said while this nation could not join the League of Nations helpfully unless and until the common judgment of the American people supported such a step, the day will come, in my judgment, when we should see that both interest and duty dictated the step."

"I do not believe that the League of Nations is perfect. I do not believe that it has assumed its final form. I believe in life, and growth, and custom, and habit. I am not concerned even about the terms on which we shall appear at the council table of the world. Out of that appearance and out of such conference in God's good time will grow a friendly habit among men, the custom of calm and reasonable discussion, and a

(Continued on page 26)

Dr. Jones,
West VirginiaHarris & Ewing
Mrs. Loughead, O.Mary E. Robinson
Mrs. Quan, Conn.Maryland Studio
Miss Miller, Calif.Melvin H. Sykes
Mrs. O'Neill, Ill.Townsend Studio
Mrs. McGerr, Nebr.

Facing Toward November 4th

A Roll-Call of Women Nominees

EVERY once in a while someone protests that the CITIZEN blows women's horn too loudly, puts too much stress on women's doings in business, profession and politics. This tends, they say, to set women and men over against each other, while now that women have become citizens and equals they should work with men, be part of the general body without special stress on women as women. It is easy to agree that sex antagonism gets us nowhere worth getting. The rub is on the equality, and the point in urging women to seek and to accept public office is that they are still so far from equality in influence, in real political power. They need the emphasis in order to make good on the ideal of citizenship that these very critics proclaim.

For there's a long, long way to go yet along the line of women's full acceptance in political parties. Men are not pushing women into office, to any noticeable extent, and women are not yet making strong, concerted effort themselves to urge women for and into office. As one of the nominees writes, "Women are not yet awake to the need for women in office. . . . The education of women themselves must go on for some time before they appreciate their own power."

Two years ago we listed in these pages about three hundred candidates for office of more than local importance. (Not that we underrate local office holding—far from it: it may be that in the long run no work is more effective. But, obviously, listing is out of the question.) This time our list is probably no longer. Besides, we can record no women nominees for the United States Senate, though there were six two years ago; and there are fewer names for the lower House. What does this mean? Less interest rather than the expected more? Chance? Or will the result of the election show that the women are running in districts where their candidacy means

more? Is there less gesture, more backing?

November 4 will answer.

We do not claim that the roll-call which follows is complete. It is made of reports received from national political headquarters, national committee-women of the parties, state vice-chairmen of the parties, presidents of state Leagues of Women Voters, and individual readers. We shall welcome any individual names of nominees for our files, even though they are too late for profitable publication. Also let every woman reader who is elected report to us on the election result, immediately; but let other women report, too, in order to make sure. To publish anything like a complete list, we must hear within four days after election.

We begin with a candidate for Vice-President—alas, on a minor party ticket. But it is a good habit to start. Miss Marie C. Brehm, of Long Beach, California, is probably the first woman ever nominated for Vice-President of the United States. She has been a "first" woman in many relations, both political and church. Among other things, she was the first woman to preside as permanent chairman of a national convention—the Prohibition convention of 1920. She has been called an "ice-breaker" for her pioneering achievements. You will find her picture on page 4, with other nominees.

Women nominees for Congress were listed in the CITIZEN on page 22 of the October 18 issue. The names are repeated here with a few more details. The Republican name is that of Mrs. Mary Giles Howard, of Chattanooga, Tennessee, concerning whose prospects the reports conflict. A big drive is being made to carry Tennessee for the Republicans. Mrs. Howard is the Republican national committeewoman for Tennessee.

The Democrats are:

Mrs. Mary Ward Hart, of Benton, Illinois (change Boston to Benton in

your October 18 issue), for congresswoman-at-large.

Miss Nellie Cline, Larned, Kansas.

Mrs. Mary T. Norton, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Miss Phebe T. Sutliff, Warren, Ohio.

Mrs. Jessie L. Collet, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Of Mrs. Hart the *Bulletin* of the Illinois League of Women Voters says: "Everywhere over the state Mrs. Hart, well known because of her activity in many women's organizations, found men and women eager to rally to her support." Mrs. Hart is said to be "representative not only of the women of the state, but of the finest ideals of the Democratic Party."

Mrs. Norton and Miss Cline, we are told, both have good prospects. The district that nominated Mrs. Norton is so overwhelmingly Democratic that her election is considered certain, and so far as our reports go, she is the only woman on the list of whom that can be said. Mrs. Norton entered politics through welfare work, and her political work continued that interest. She is the first woman freeholder in the state and has a number of institutions under her care. She has been vice-chairman of the Democratic State Committee since 1921, and is a strong party worker. If elected, it is expected that she would support the Child Labor Amendment and other legislation favorable to women and children.

Nellie Cline is not new to the CITIZEN's pages. She has served two terms in the Kansas state legislature, and on the judiciary committee, too—which is pioneering. She will go into the House, if she goes, with training both in law practice and in the legislature. She is her father's law partner, still in her thirties, and, by all accounts, a woman of sound ability.

The lady from Ohio is unfortunately a Democrat in a Republican district. Miss Sutliff (see her picture in the October 4 CITIZEN) is of pioneer stock,

highly educated—with post-graduate work at Cornell, Zurich, the University of Chicago, and was for five years president of Rockford College, in Illinois. She belongs to distinguished academic societies, and is an active political worker in her county.

The other Democrat, Mrs. Jessie L. Collet, is making an active campaign in the second district of Pennsylvania, supported also by the La Follette-Wheeler state committee. (The national organization has endorsed no congressional candidates.) She has long been prominent in Democratic circles of Philadelphia. Born in Scotland, she was brought to this country as a small child and made her own way, until her marriage, in telegraphy and stenography. Her opponent is a conservative and anti-feminist of marked type.

The *Prohibitionists* whose names we have received as congressional nominees are: Luella Barton, of Nebraska, who was not reported October 18; Mrs. L. Blankenburg, of Pennsylvania; Anna Van Skite and Mrs. Elizabeth R. Culbertson, both from Pennsylvania, and both endorsed by state Progressives.

These last two, together with Mrs. Collet, Miss Jennie Dornblum and Miss Daisy Deterline, Progressives, form a group of five Pennsylvania women for whom the National Woman's Party is making a non-partisan drive, concentrating in one state. These five all support the Equal Rights Amendment.

The remaining nominees are *Socialist*: Isabelie King, San Francisco; Mrs. Kunia Sissman, Evanston, Illinois; Amy R. Juengling, Eden, New York; Jessie W. Hughan and Lucille E. Randolph, New York City; Mrs. Minnie McFarland, Umatilla, Oregon; Mrs. Ruby Herman, Seattle, Washington.

There are two women candidates for governor. Both on account of husbands. The story of Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson, of Texas, has been told in these pages—and in hundreds of newspaper pages, with varying emphasis. Mrs. Ferguson campaigned for the nomination because her husband, debarred from office as a result of impeachment proceedings, couldn't. She ran to vindicate him. The fight was strongly marked by Klan opposition to "Ma" Ferguson, but the lines were crossed and recrossed by other issues. Since her nomination, there has been almost unheard-of Republican activity—unheard of in Democratic Texas, that is; and it seems there is to be a contest. Also, effort was made to disqualify Mrs. Ferguson by proving that women cannot legally hold office in the state. But the State Supreme Court has made the final ruling against the objectors. Mrs. Ferguson can run, and is running.

The other gubernatorial candidate came to her nomination by way of her husband's death. She is Nellie T. Ross, widow of the late Democratic governor



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Nominees for Secretary of State: Mrs. Morrow, Mo., and Mrs. Knapp, N. Y.

of Wyoming, William B. Ross, who died October 2. Mrs. Ross has been nominated to finish the unexpired term, but as this is written the Supreme Court of the state is sitting to decide whether such an election would be constitutional, or whether the Secretary of State shall hold the office for the remaining two years. Mrs. Ross, we are told, is a woman who has had no political ambition or career, but has been "a co-partner with Governor Ross" in every way.

An office for which there are several nominees this year is Secretary of State, with several prominent women competing. The list is:

Republican

Mrs. Florence E. H. Knapp—New York.

Democrat

Mrs. Susan Sharp Adams—Rhode Island.

Mrs. Kate S. Morrow—Missouri.

Mrs. Donald Clark, West Virginia.

Socialist

Ida Fenske—Wisconsin.

Emma Henry—Indiana.

Edith Williams—Massachusetts.

Farmer-Labor

Susan W. Stageberg—Minnesota.

Mrs. Knapp is running on the ticket with Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, nominee for governor of New York State—the first woman to be put up for a major political office in the state through organized political demand. Mrs. Knapp is head of the School of Home Economics in Syracuse University, a trained executive, who has been active in political work.

The candidacy of Mrs. Morrow is looked on with much favor in Missouri. It is clear enough, even at this distance, that Mrs. Morrow is an outstanding woman of sound attainment. She has spent a number of years in the office which she will administer if she wins.



Mrs. Adams, R. I., and Mrs. Clark, W. V.

Her campaign title is "Missouri's Morrow."

West Virginia's candidate has a title too—the "Caroling Candidate." That is because she has used as part of her campaign persuasion the mountain ballads which she learned largely during the years after her marriage when she lived in a log cabin in the Kentucky Mountains, among the miners. Probably these quaint old songs never appeared on a political platform before. Mrs. Clark—Mary Vinson Clark—is of pioneering stock, active in political, religious and child welfare work.

Mrs. Adams is vice-chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee of Rhode Island—a worker along both political and charitable lines.

Now for the nominees for State Senate and House of Representatives and some other state offices:

ARKANSAS

Democrat

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Mrs. Frank Thompson

CALIFORNIA

MEMBER STATE ASSEMBLY

Mrs. Cora M. Woodbridge, Grace S. Dorris, Mrs. Anna Saylor, Esto B. Broughton, Eleanor Miller. All of these are incumbents, with fine records. Miss Miller is opposed by Mrs. Mattie I. Horrell. The first three have no opponents, so were virtually elected at the August primary. Miss Broughton is opposed by a man.

CONNECTICUT

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Alice Pattison Merritt

Democrat

Mrs. Ward Duffy

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Marjory Cheney (endorsed by both parties), Clarissa Nevius, Mary B. Weaver, Annie Q. Vinton, Mrs. Corinne R. Alsop, Mrs. Maud Woodward, Mrs. Daniel D. Bidwell, Helen A. Green, Mrs. Edith L. Raymond, Mrs. C. E. Ferriman, Mary C. Welles, Mary M. Hooker

Democrat

Mrs. Helen Quan, Mrs. Henry Hayden, Anna B. Norton, J. Frances Browne, Mrs. James Fox, Mrs. E. Roberta Burgess, Mrs. Adelaide L. Barber, Dorothy Jones Bartlett, Mrs. Bert D. Cooley.

DELAWARE

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Mrs. Florence M. Hanby

IDAHO

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Socialist

Mrs. Alice Higby

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The "Red Menace"

By Carrie Chapman Catt



Is there a "Red menace"? That is, is there a situation demanding national preparedness in the interest of defense and are the various peace agitations inimical to the safety of this country? Is there a danger of a Red super-state? There are organized groups that are saying so. You will read the publicity they send out in your newspaper. Apparently, any one who speaks for any phase of the peace question is liable to find himself called a "Red" in the publicity supplied by these groups. You will get stories, also, in the gossip from the talk centers, not with the authority of page, chapter and verse to be sure, but in tones of finality. The anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish propaganda is chiefly furthered by papers published for the purpose, but the "scare of the Reds" is spread in the daily press. Let us drag this "Red menace" from its lair and look it over. It is the second of the threatened super-states which are calling some Americans to extra preparedness, and others to nights of worry.

At the psychological moment, when the Russian army was tired of a terrible warfare for which it was poorly equipped and which it did not understand, Lenin, a Russian, and Trotsky, a Russian Jew, arrived in that unhappy country. General Ludendorff, in his memoirs, admits that Germany sent Lenin, who was in Switzerland, and it has further been alleged that the United States secured the liberation of Trotsky from prison in Havana in order that he also might go to Russia. These two were Communists who had spent some time on the East Side of New York.

Seven Years' Record

They whipped the sullen discontent of Russia into a revolution in short order because they were able to enlist a considerable portion of the army and it is alleged that they had also continual German encouragement. They took over the country, assassinated the Czar, his family, and many others. They captured the banks and confiscated the money in them. They took over the factories, they looted palaces and the homes of the rich. They frightened away, exiled or imprisoned most of the nobility and the so-called upper classes, seizing their domiciles and possessions. The estimated number of persons shot down or otherwise disposed of varies from 1,500,000

to 3,000,000. They established government ownership in all things—lands, railroads, factories and trade. They have held the country for seven years.

Conflicting reports have continually come from Russia, but the one thing certain is that no one who has visited that country has ever seen anything or heard much that the staff in charge of the government did not design him to see and hear. The main facts that are undisputed are that Communism is established in Russia, maintained and carried on by the tyrannical dictatorship of a comparatively small group and that Moscow has become the acknowledged head of the world communistic movement.

Lenin and Trotsky, elated by the fairly easy conquest of Russia, certainly

This is the second of the "rumors" that Mrs. Catt has run down in her series of studies of causes for propaganda against peace workers and peace movements. These articles will be continued in the next two issues of the CITIZEN. The next one deals with the "rumor" of a Jewish super-state.

planned a world revolution. They called upon workmen to precipitate one in every land; and that they used Russian government funds and private money seized in banks and treasuries to bring on this revolution, there is little doubt. No propagandists were ever so bountifully supplied with funds, and for a time they were on the verge of success in Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria and Germany itself. The big reserve of ready funds, however, seized at the beginning of the Bolshevik reign, appears to be exhausted, for foreign loans are being solicited to rebuild railroads, and rich contents of churches, palaces and museums are being distributed over the world in return for gold. Yet funds from Russia still send their emissaries abroad and expenses of persons of friendly attitude from various countries are paid to visit Russia. This fact has given rise to the wild rumors that Russia is financing any and every move toward peace.

Americans either scared, or bent on mischief, or profiteers through war preparedness, or possibly a combination of all three groups, reason that societies with peace departments are fanatics of

small mentality and no patriotism who want peace "at any price," and that revolutionists would find unprepared nations easier of conquest. Hence, through the press upon several occasions, carefully prepared propaganda designed to discredit all forms of the peace movement and all peace workers has been distributed. In this manner it has been publicly declared that the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, the League of Women Voters, the Council for the Prevention of War, and many other organizations are supported by Soviet Russia! They have called several honorable workers for peace "Reds," and have implied that many others, mentioned by name, are allies of the Reds.

Reliable facts are these: the Fifth Congress of the Third International, the organization which directs revolutionary communistic propaganda, met in Moscow last June with the help of the Russian government. Zinoviev, president of the International, gave an opening speech in which he declared that with the sole exception of Russia Communism is everywhere losing ground. He declared "that Communists have dropped in the United States of America from 20,000 to 5,000—in England from 10,000 to 3,000—in France from 130,000 to 100,000 and in Germany from 300,000 to 250,000. In Russia, on the other hand, the number has increased from 430,000 to 600,000."

Is Communism Failing?

Prof. Petrunkevitch of Yale, in *Current History* for August, from whose article the above quotation is made, points out that if this is the best they can do, then "all the Communists of the vast Russian Empire, now forming the Union of Federated Soviet Republics, if taken together and placed in Moscow with its population of 1,511,045, would represent only a minority." Walter Duranty, in the *New York Times* on July 5, 1924, placed the unemployed in Russia at 1,750,000—an increase of 350,000 since April. These figures would indicate that Communism in Russia is held through intimidation by the minority and is neither so popular with the people nor so successful with their problems as its advocates elsewhere profess to believe.

Communists, as understood today, are those who propose to establish Socialism by revolution as was done in Russia. Behind the Communists stand the

Socialists. They propose to eliminate private property through evolutionary political action, not revolution. Yet the belief in the theory of the new order may be the same as that held by the so-called Communists. Communists do not agree as to details and neither do Socialists. The mildest Socialist may advocate only the government ownership of the chief sources of production; the most radical, the abolition of all forms of private ownership and every vestige of the present organized social system. Between the extreme "Left and Right" of the movement every possible variety of view is held. Naturally, there is a wide divergence of opinion as to the procedure between the present "capitalistic state" and the "perfect social state" and much controversy among Socialists over these mooted points. It is also natural that Socialists place little emphasis on the unsettled points when presenting their subject to others and much on the

theoretical beauty of Socialism in imagined operation.

The controversy over Socialism is of peculiar interest to women because the status of their sex was early discovered to be an obstacle in working out the paper theory of the Social State. Under that plan all men were to be workers for wages in state cooperative enterprises and all men were to be equal in earning capacity. This clearly could not be if one man were single and another encumbered with a large non-earning family; therefore, the theory was amended so that women, too, were to be made wage workers in the all-inclusive government. The questions revolving around the care of children were the next most perplexing. The theory was therefore further amended so that motherhood is to be recognized as a service to the state and, consequently, a period of respite at state expense for child-bearing is to be allowed. To

equalize the financial status of all men and women, it is further planned that the children are to be cared for and educated by the state. Not all Socialists go to this extreme, but the more radical go much further and declare that in the Social State, the home, as we have known it, must go, since the woman, being economically as much occupied as the man, will have little time to care for it and children to be economically cared for by the state, must be taken away from the home. Indeed, the most radical boldly advocate the entire abolition of marriage and a return to the free love of the jungle.

While the milder type of Socialist does not endorse these extremes, a little reflection shows that each one is a logical outcome of the preceding step and that the whole scheme quite naturally unfolds from the primary basis, the cooperative ownership and control of na-

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"She's the One"

By Jane Newell

Professor of Economics and Sociology, Wellesley College

ONE evening, late in July, I was sitting by a kitchen hearth in South Wales talking politics with a young workingman friend of mine. We had driven hard that day—out of the heart of the Welsh mountains, land of magic beauty, down along the West Coast with blue sea to our right and radiant sunlight everywhere, and then past green hedges and rich pastures, southeast to Dowlais, an industrial center at the head of the Taff Vale coal fields. But it was a long journey, and we did not arrive until after nine. When, after midnight, I showed some disposition to retire my hostess and her son protested that we had hardly begun the real talk; and they didn't see why I had to go next day anyway.

"Because," I said, "I have an appointment with Margaret Bondfield in London on Saturday. You would not wish me to miss that, would you?"

"Margaret Bondfield!" he said. "Ah! she's the one!"

Then he went on to tell me what he thought of her; and when I caught the gladness in his eyes and the affection in his voice I understood then why some people call Margaret Bondfield the Queen Elizabeth of the Labor Party.

At first glance the title is absurdly incongruous. Margaret is short of stature, would be plump perhaps if she were not so eternally active, has a roundish, plebeian face; whereas Elizabeth had a long queenly face, a tall and stately

bearing. Elizabeth had a big manly voice; and she could, and sometimes did, swear some big manly oaths. Margaret wouldn't take such liberties with the Queen's English—or with men's Eng-



Elliott & Fry

Margaret Bondfield

Before this magazine is read, the British elections will be over and we shall know whether or not Margaret Bondfield has been re-elected M. P. In any case, she is notable for the place she has held in the Labor Ministry, and great things lie ahead for her.

lish, for she is scrupulously regardful of the rights of men. She has the voice of a lady, although it penetrates easily and pleasantly to the farthest corners of a big hall and has earned for her something of the reputation of an orator. Elizabeth loved clothes and jewels. Margaret, whether she loves them or not, makes little display. Every time I have seen her she has been most simply dressed, without a ring on her finger or a chain on her neck, her calm face with its clear skin and regular features framed in copious dark hair parted in the middle, falling simply over the ears and drawn into a loose knot at the back. "Pretty" she must have been called fifteen or twenty years ago, though now it is too strong and serious a face for that epithet to be quite appropriate.

Yet although Margaret Bondfield has not the commanding looks or bearing of England's ablest queen, she does somehow command—she does command a very large following, both among the wage earners and the intelligentsia of England; and, like Queen Elizabeth, she inspires a great deal of confidence and affection in her followers. She is shrewd and efficient and practical, sympathetic and understanding in her dealings with people, and always true to the best interests of her constituents.

She is not a person of expansive charm, of instant popularity; she is too cool and self-contained for that, too economical withal—economical of words and time and strength. She had to be thrifty all

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"Coolidge or Chaos"

By Mrs. Barclay Warburton

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

This page is supplied by the Republican National Committee



HE women of this country will, I believe, overwhelmingly support President Coolidge. Back of the issues dominating this campaign are certain plain facts, which it is important to remember when we go to the polls on election day. The votes of women who think before they vote will be a tremendous factor in this election.

It is conceded by unbiased observers of this campaign that neither John W. Davis or Robert M. La Follette has a chance to win this election. It is held in practically all quarters that the victory will go to President Coolidge, or in the event of the Third Party polling a sufficient number of electoral votes there will be a deadlock and the election must be decided by Congress.

A study of the election machinery of our Government in case a deadlock develops in the electoral college reveals the fact that should the decision go to Congress, Charles W. Bryan, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, has the best chance of becoming our next President.

This narrows the actual decision that must be made by the women voters down to two men, Coolidge or Bryan. For, as it has been pointed out, a vote for Davis is a vote for Bryan, a vote for La Follette is a vote for Bryan, but a vote for Coolidge is a vote for Coolidge.

In order to prevent the presidency being thrown into the House, Coolidge must receive 266 of the 531 votes in the electoral college. All political observers concede him practically this number now, but should his supporters fail to go to the polls in some of the doubtful states and Davis or La Follette receive the electoral votes of those states, a deadlock easily might result.

If no candidate for President receives a majority vote of all the electors appointed, our law provides that the "House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President."

But there may easily be a deadlock as well in the House of Representatives, especially when the political complexion of the present House is considered. There are 435 Representatives, 255 of whom are Republican; 206 Democratic; one Independent; one Farmer-Labor; one Socialist; one a vacancy. Here another factor enters in, that the representatives vote by states. Thus the political complexions of the state

delegations is the real controlling factor.

Here is the numerical strength:

Democratic, 20; Republican, 19; nominal Republican with La Follette in control of balance of power, 4; delegations evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans, 5. The La Follette group in the House of Representatives, it can be seen, might easily cause a deadlock in the House, forcing the decision for the naming of a President into the United States Senate.

How the Vote is Cast

The Twelfth Amendment provides: "If the House of Representatives shall not choose a President before the 4th of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President."

Then comes the question of who would be the Vice-President and here enters the possibility of the Vice-President being Charles W. Bryan. If the vote of the electors does not result in the election of a Vice-President by a majority of all the electors, the Senate then elects. The Senators must confine their votes to the candidates for Vice-President who shall have received the two highest number of votes of the electors.

Each Senator has a vote. Two-thirds of them must be present and the votes of a majority of all the Senators (49) is necessary to elect. In the present Senate are 51 Republicans, 43 Democrats and 2 Farmer-Laborites. But of the 51 Republicans, six usually follow La Follette. The votes of five of these would be sufficient to make Bryan the next President of the United States. As these have joined the Democrats on nearly all important measures, the chances are they might readily join the Democrats in the selection of a Vice-President.

The Senate has the power to elect a Vice-President, and if La Follette's friends joined the Democrats, Mr. Bryan might thus become the next President of the United States.

Look at the situation impersonally and see how vitally it affects our choice for President of the United States.

The line-up of the candidates brings out some startling facts. Take the case of Mr. Davis. He has failed to impress his program on the voters. He is daily fading from the picture.

Then there is Mr. La Follette. Today his position is the most dubious of that of any one of the candidates. The reason is plain. His campaign has

brought forward ideas which are a menace to the rights of our citizens. Among other things his proposal regarding the courts and Congress is one of the most dangerous doctrines ever presented to the people of this country.

A well-known woman lawyer in New York City recently said: "A Congress that may do anything, with no legal limitations, no Constitutional safeguards is what this man proposes. His proposition is that whenever a statute is declared to be in opposition to the Constitution, it shall nevertheless become a law if passed again by Congress."

"If Congress had the power proposed, no man would be safe as to life or liberty. The average man, in fact, the poor man without friends, has more to fear from this change than anyone else."

"What are the Constitutional guarantees that we value so highly? Among them are the right of habeas corpus, the provision for free exercise of religious life, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right to assemble, the provision that no soldier in time of peace shall be quartered in any house without consent of the owner, and many other rights, the removal of which would lead to chaos."

The Nation's Choice

President Coolidge represents the only safe choice. He advocates reduction of taxation, he favors a permanent International Court and further limitation of armaments. He advocates restriction of immigration, a national amendment safeguarding child workers and law enforcement. He has said he will put agriculture and industry on a sound basis of prosperity and equality and that he will continue to strive for the economic, moral and spiritual welfare of the country. In the cities and on the farms men and women watching this campaign today are convinced of one outstanding fact, and that is the honest, undeviating integrity of Calvin Coolidge. He is a man the people trust.

There is one other alternative we will have to face, if the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, and that is Charles W. Bryan. Mr. Bryan is an enigma. Nobody knows what he will do.

When you cast your vote on November 4th, consider these facts. Remember that the whole situation may be summed up quite simply: "Coolidge or Chaos." The women of the nation can make the decision.

The Progressives and Peace

By Margaret Keating

This page is supplied by the La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Committee



LONG time ago the psalmist wrote: "I am for peace, but when I speak they are for war." If you could look into the hearts of the mothers of men, you would find that this old text is just as apt today as when it was first written.

To the women of the country the outlawry of war is the supreme issue in the Presidential campaign.

The butchery of human beings by human beings must cease. We must destroy war or be destroyed by war.

That is the challenge which Christian civilization makes to the statesmen of the world.

Six years have passed since the armistice was signed in the Great War which was to bring peace to the nations of the earth.

Conference after conference has been held. "They have cried: Peace, peace, and there is no peace."

Always three evil influences have blocked the way.

These three influences are first, the old-time diplomat, who behind closed doors begets war; second, the international banker who profits from war, and third, the militarist who carves his way to fame by his sword.

Until a few weeks ago, the plain people who do the fighting and paying and dying in war have had no chance to be heard in these supposed peace conferences.

The first ray of hope for the advocates of peace came from the conference in Geneva where MacDonald, Prime Minister of England, Herriot, Premier of France, and Benes, Secretary of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia, presented a workable plan with international peace as its object.

MacDonald and Herriot are the La Follettes of their respective countries. They were placed in power by the workers—the farmers, the trade unionists, the teachers, the small business men, and the professional men—the classes which bear the crushing burdens of war.

The masses of England and France longed for peace, but they could not make their voices heard until by a mighty effort they drove out the politicians of the old school and, to use the words of La Follette, "took possession of their own government."

Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Balfour, all had failed.

Why? Because they adhered to the old order.

Peace Planks in the Progressive Platform:

"We denounce the mercenary system of foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession-seekers engaged in the exploitations of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war.

"We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and

"To promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to
Outlaw wars;
Abolish conscription;
Drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and
Guarantee public referendums on peace and war."

They consorted with the diplomat, mouthing his ancient formulas. They catered to the international banker, seeking concessions. They applauded the militarist, thinking in terms of armies and navies, poison gases and machine guns—the Juggernauts of force.

MacDonald and Herriot achieved a measure of success because, to a certain extent, they swept aside these evil influences and demonstrated "a will for peace."

With La Follette as President of the United States, what a triumvirate they would make!

Hands Across the Sea

It would be "Hands across the sea" again, but this time hands across the sea for peace—not war.

President Coolidge has had his chance, but he has done nothing to advance the cause of peace because, like the old-party politicians of Europe, he has permitted the diplomat, the international banker and the militarist to dictate his foreign policy.

With all the world crying out for peace, he authorized Secretary Weeks to stage the futile mobilization day demonstration with its vain boastings concerning our supply of death-dealing weapons and the resistless power of our Army and Navy.

A few weeks ago his Secretary of State visited Europe.

To advance the cause of peace? No, to assist certain international bankers to put across deals which were hanging in the balance.

In his dealings with the small nations of this hemisphere he has allowed our State Department to assume the rôle of bully, the hard-fisted collector for international bankers.

Those of us who have our hearts set on international peace can hope for nothing from President Coolidge.

Fine things might be expected from John W. Davis, but he has been the attorney of the House of Morgan, the international banking firm which was founded upon profits wrung from our own country during the Civil War and which has grown rich beyond the dreams of Croesus as the result of the World War.

We are asked to exercise common sense in this campaign.

The Common Sense Of It

Very well. In the name of common sense then how can we expect the agent of the Morgans to lead the way to a people's peace?

La Follette is the only candidate who presents a practical program for international understanding.

He declares boldly for the abolition of conscription, the international limitation of armaments, a referendum on war, the wiping out of "dollar diplomacy," a square deal for the little nations and conciliation and arbitration in our dealings with the big nations.

More important than all these, however, is the fact that the Progressive candidate has demonstrated his willingness to make any personal sacrifice in defense of principle.

With him, platform pledges are not "as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." He has been tested and never found wanting.

The people who suffer most from war have never before, in the history of this country, been given an opportunity to register their approval or disapproval of war. "Theirs but to do and die," has been the edict of the militarist.

In the political campaign being waged in the United States today, men and women may use the loud speaker to tell the world they are for peace.

By their ballots ye shall know them. The Battle of the Ballots will be fought on November 4. Arm yourself! A bit of white paper with crosses indicating your choice of the La Follette-Wheeler electors will prevail against the sword.

Vote for the men who have the WILL for peace.

A Democratic Campaign Summary

This page is supplied by the Democratic National Committee



REPUBLICANS and Progressives are kind enough to help the Democrats in their campaigning this year," says Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. "They agree with us in naming the chief progressive measures of the past two decades that are of great interest to women. They differ with us only in the matter of giving credit, each of the other two parties claiming achievements that really belong to the Democratic party.

"Fortunately for the Democrats, credit is a matter of cold figures and the impartiality of the *Congressional Record* cannot be disputed.

"For instance, Mrs. Hert, Vice-Chairman of the Republican party, in a recent issue of the *WOMAN CITIZEN* listed the Women's Bureau, the Children's Bureau and the Federal Child Labor laws as Republican achievements. As a matter of cold fact, the Women's Bureau was created by Woodrow Wilson in 1918, under the name of the Women in Industry Service. Its name was changed by the Republican administration and its value has been seriously crippled by greatly decreased appropriations.

"The Children's Bureau was established at the instance of the Democratic House in the Sixty-second Congress. Its scope was greatly increased under later Democratic Congresses.

The Only Child Labor Laws Were Passed by Democrats

"The Federal child labor laws were passed under the Woodrow Wilson administrations—the only Federal child labor laws ever enacted in this country. The Federal amendment concerning the regulation of child labor, made necessary by the ruling of the Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the two laws already passed by Democratic Congresses, was put through by the present Congress—and President Coolidge himself seems to be reluctant to claim this Congress as typically Republican! A Democratic state, Arkansas, was the first to ratify this amendment, and it is well known that there is a fierce fight on against ratification in the Republican state of Massachusetts.

"Mrs. Hert makes a fourth claim for her party—that the present policy of conservation was inaugurated under a Republican president, Theodore Roosevelt.

"My personal opinion is that the Republican party would be far wiser just at this time to omit all mention of the 'present policy' of conservation.

Some Republican Statements Contradicted

"Ten reasons why she intends to vote for Coolidge and Dawes are given by Mrs. Hert:

"First, because as a woman she wants the country run according to plain common sense.

"To me, plain common sense means *honesty and efficiency* in government above all other considerations.

"Second, because she wants to increase her savings. I wonder how many of us have been able to do that in the last four expensive years.

"Third, because she believes in the Republican tariff on the theory that when the Republican party is protecting home industries it is protecting us. I differ with her—I contend that when the Republicans are protecting big interests they are forgetting all about us.

"Fourth, because running this country is the biggest job in the world. I agree with her there, but I demand of those who would run this big business the fundamental qualities of *leadership and vision* as well as basic honesty.

"Fifth, because she hopes the world may never see another war. I hope so myself, devoutly. Under the Republican administration America has done nothing practical to promote world peace. The Disarmament Conference was only a gesture. The Dawes Plan for lifting Europe out of its mire was formulated by Americans, to be sure; but the Republican administration made it perfectly clear that the plan did not have governmental endorsement and responsibility.

"Sixth, because, being human, she hates to pay high taxes. I do, too. That is why I was glad when the Democrats insisted on the substitution of the Simmons plan for the proposed Mellon plan.

"Seventh, because she wants to see our natural resources safeguarded and conserved—I suppose she means what *remains* of them after the spoliation of them by the Republican cabinet members.

"Eighth, because she wants honesty in government. Therefore she ought to appreciate the Democratic candidates, Davis and Bryan, whose honesty has never even been questioned in all the years of their legislative service.

"Ninth, because as a woman she believes in keeping a good public servant if she is lucky enough to find one. I am a practical woman, and I do not hesitate, when my contract with an *inefficient servant* has expired, to replace him with a better one if the opportunity is at hand.

"Tenth, because she says the Republican party has been a good housekeeper. I deny this absolutely, and as a woman I resent poor housekeeping. Not only have there been careless, inefficient and dishonest servants in its employ, but there have also been too many of the family quarrels that are the final testimony to inefficient housekeeping.

The Third Party Has No Machinery

"On the other hand, the Third Party leaders make their own claims for their candidate, and they also deal with terms that are very familiar to Democrats. They show a list of progressive measures that have been enacted under Democratic administrations, and they claim for Senator La Follette that he was a prophet in the wilderness in the old days of Republican rule, introducing progressive measures that at that time failed of passage.

"These claims of the La Follette group are the real reason why they and those who believe as they do should join and work with the Democratic party. Democracy has had her prophets, too, in the long years when the interests and not the individual voters controlled both House and Senate—before Senator La Follette began his national career, in fact. He has never seen his own dreams realized through his own party. Democrats who were pioneers among the prophets have seen their party come into power and have known the great satisfaction that comes when our dreams come true.

John W. Davis a Progressive Leader

"It is the especial pride of Democratic women that our new leader, John W. Davis, had a big share in the fine progressive record of the Democratic party. His first national service was in the Democratic House of the Sixty-second Congress, and he served in succeeding Congresses until President Wilson promoted him to places of greater individual responsibility.

"John W. Davis will be our next President, and he will enter the White House as the undisputed leader of a Democratic majority in Congress."

Editorially Speaking

Every Woman Vote!

TUESDAY, November 4, is Election Day. On that day will be decided which party is to rule over the destinies of the United States during the next four years. It is a day when every American citizen is a sovereign, the equal of every other citizen. For women especially the day testifies to their coming of age. In every country in the world the fact of sex has debarred a woman from sharing with the meanest man the privileges and responsibilities of a part in government. She has been classed with the unfit, the insane and the criminal. Gradually, in country after country, the handicap of sex is being removed. For a woman to fail to take advantage of her majority by voting on Election Day is for her voluntarily to put herself in the class of those unfit to vote.

Moreover, it is the future happiness and prosperity of her family that are concerned in the election. The tariff, the railroads, the agricultural problem, international cooperation, all have a direct bearing on the life of her family. Nothing could be more intimate and personal than politics.

Let no woman fail to vote or to remind her neighbor to vote.



What Women Want

NO matter what the result of Election Day, the WOMAN CITIZEN believes that this first presidential campaign in which the women of all states are allowed to vote has settled the question, Is woman suffrage a failure? It is too early to make any sort of survey of the part women have played in the campaign just closing, but no one can question that they have brought a new enthusiasm, brilliant cleverness and high ideals. The WOMAN CITIZEN calls attention with pride to the kind of appeal that has been made through the pages which the CITIZEN has been giving to the three leading candidates. As far as we know, the WOMAN CITIZEN was the first periodical to offer its pages free to the leading political parties in order that its readers might get the straight official appeal from their headquarters. These pages have contained no mud-slinging and no vicious personal attacks; they have been singularly free from demagoguery and familiar political bunk. Women have been given straight arguments, and the appeal has been to their reason and logic.

Running through all the pages is a recognition of the fact that woman's interest in government lies in the humanities which she demands of her government—better living conditions, protection for the child, law enforcement, honesty, greater attention to measures of education, health and conservation.

There is an honest difference of opinion among women as to which party will do the most for these things, but the women of all parties are asking the same things of their government. The WOMAN CITIZEN congratulates the women's divisions of the three leading campaign committees for the high standards they have maintained and the cleverness with which they have presented their appeal.



DON'T think the calendar has slipped. This number of the CITIZEN is coming to you a day or two early in order to give you a better chance to read the political arguments offered, with as much time as possible for consideration.

Vote-Preventives

IT seems more and more evident that a comprehensive revision of election laws would be a great help in getting people to vote in larger numbers at all elections. In a desire to safeguard the accuracy of the voting lists, there have been many restrictions built up that act as discouragers of voting and, with all the distractions and allurements of modern life, voters need all the encouragement possible. The campaign has brought out some new reasons why people fail to register and to vote.

It is a perfectly good idea that a new voter must be checked up before being allowed to vote, but in Connecticut the checking up is done before registration. One well-qualified voter who is a new property owner and taxpayer waited in line for some time to register, only to find that she was not permitted to register because she had not filed an application. That is not necessary in Illinois, where she voted before, and no one had taken the trouble to tell her about it.

Laws about property and inheritance taxes differ widely, some states having heavy inheritance taxes while others have none. A resident of many years in New York has never voted, for if she registered she might be held as having established a legal residence here, and might subject her estate, which consists largely of property in another state, to the large inheritance taxes imposed by New York State. Heavy registration of students at Columbia University brought out the question, Shall students in a four-year college or university course be allowed to claim legal residence in the college town, or shall they be deprived of their vote during their first voting years, when life habits are formed? It is apparent that the complexity of modern life affects even voting.



A Business Code

"SOUND business is service which benefits all the parties concerned. To take profit without contributing to essential welfare; to take excessive profit; to cater to ignorance, credulity or human frailty, to debase taste or standards for profit; to use methods not inspired by good will and fair dealing—this is dishonor. Whenever I make or sell a product or render a business service, it must be my best possible contribution to human well-being."

That is not a code lived up to in Utopia. Maybe it isn't lived up to very extensively anywhere. But it is an ideal of business which is being set before the students in a school that combines academic training with practical experience in business houses—Antioch College, Ohio. We don't know how well the code keeps its shine; but the code itself is worth noting. And if a school can fix such standards and habits for application through life it is doing an invaluable service.



Peace Day

BEFORE the next issue of this magazine appears we shall have passed another anniversary of Armistice Day. Looking back over the six years to the time when we thought a new world was coming, is a painful business. Effort toward peace there has been—through repeated conferences, through the League of Nations; but peace that means really the end of war is not yet won. No international agreements have been made to limit manufacture of the weapons that would fight the next war. No control of traffic in arms has

been established. And our own country is not yet even in the World Court.

Yet though it would be false to show a bright picture, there are grounds for comparative encouragement. The League of Nations is gaining strength in Europe. The Dawes plan is at work toward financial reconstruction. The arbitration protocol, if it is ratified, will be a long step in the outlawry of war. In America the action of several church bodies during the past few months is one of the heartening signs. However far short they may have fallen of the ideal, the church resolutions passed for peace-making show a realization of the failure of the churches in the Great War and their sense of terrific responsibility. The fact that the Great War was a war of Christian nations has sunk home.

To focus minds and hearts on peace the Federal Council of Churches has asked for cooperation in a great Peace Demonstration on November 11—a day of Mobilization for Peace—with mass meetings, parades and church services. It should be the concern of every one who cares, to take some special thought for peace on that day. The war department, it is reported, said that only one in eight of the incorporated towns of the United States participated in the recent defense test. How many will rally to show a Will for Peace?

French Suffragists Lose Their Leader

WE have just learned with deep regret of the death of Madame Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger at Val Richer, France. Madame Schlumberger was first vice-president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and the president and honored leader of the French suffrage movement. It is rather remarkable that this is the first death of any member of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance board, while in service, in the whole twenty-two years of its history.

Granddaughter of the famous geographer, Guizot, Madame Schlumberger gave to the French suffrage movement a distinguished leadership that was unique and specially helpful to the suffrage movement in a conservative country. She was, in the highest sense of the word, a lady—gentle, high-bred, cultivated. Aside from her devotion to suffrage, she was intensely interested in other reforms of social life in France. An unusually large circle of friends mourn her death. Those who knew her feel that the world is poorer because she has left it, and great numbers of others less closely acquainted realize that a great movement has lost a great leader.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Massachusetts and Child Labor

MISINTERPRETATION of the eighteen-year-age limit in the Child Labor Amendment is being hard worked in Massachusetts, according to a long and valuable communication received from Alice Stone Blackwell too late to appear in this early-closing issue. In Massachusetts there is a law that any amendment submitted by Congress must be voted on in a state election for an advisory vote before the legislature acts. The Child Labor Amendment will be so voted on, November 4th. Fighting against it is a formidable array of manufacturers (with honorable exceptions), former anti-suffragists, and Cardinal O'Connell. The amendment is called "red," bolshevistic, socialistic, and it is interpreted as designed to keep all young people idle up to eighteen.

"Thirty-eight of our states," says Miss Blackwell, "now restrict the labor of boys and girls under eighteen by debarring them from certain dangerous occupations or by limiting the hours they may work in factories, mines, etc. This is the reason why eighteen is proposed as the age limit up to which Congress may legislate on child labor.

"No one advocates or wants a law forbidding minors under eighteen to work for wages, much less a law forbidding them to help their parents on the farm or in the home. Such a law has not been passed by any state, and could not possibly pass Congress. 'Trust the "farm bloc" for that,' said Miss Lathrop. But the eighteen-year limit is necessary to enable Congress to protect boys and girls under eighteen against dangerous trades and excessive hours, in the states that now give them no such protection."

Massachusetts women are working hard for the amendment, and women everywhere will watch with intense interest.

We Have No Buttons To-day



WHEN you see a woman on the street on a cold day this winter, nervously clutching her garments together in the front, holding them wrapped tightly around herself, don't be alarmed. She is only stylish. As the fashion papers say, "Paris has decreed" that coats shall be made without buttons or fastenings, and that they shall be worn tightly wrapped around the figure, like a girl emerging from her bath draped in her peignoir.

Likewise, you will see on winter days long legs clad in transparent flesh-colored hose, and very short and scant skirts, looking as if their owners were inviting pneumonia. But again don't be alarmed. Underneath the thin hose many will be wearing warm underhose, and to match the very short skirts one may buy fascinating Russian boots for inclement weather. Fortunately also, many American manufacturers translate fashion's decrees with some common sense, and it is possible to buy coats which button.

In spite of the absurdities, women never dressed with such comfort and healthfulness as at present, and the world has gained one great advantage from the fact that legs are no longer a mystery, but can be spoken of in polite society.

"Just Ams"

EVERY injunction to vote ought to have as corollary, "But be sure you know what you're voting about."

More than one voter has been heard to tell what ticket he or she means to vote, and add a pious regret, if any discussion followed, that he—or she—didn't know more about the subject. A radio speaker said the other day she asked a workman in her house what his politics were. "I'm a Republican," he answered. "Why?" "Well," he said, "I just—am."

Don't be a "just am" voter—of any political faith.

Home Work for Boys

THE Busy Women's Clock" questionnaire, which the National Women's Christian Temperance Union sent out to several thousand women, has developed the startling fact that these employed women average only six hours of sleep a night. That is, of course, because the woman's workday away from home is likely to have from two to three hours of housework added on. Men of the same financial grade, free from cooking and darning, usually call it a day when it is one. But the problem of the double task for women who work remains at almost all levels, pressing hardest on the woman who works with her hands. It is too late to tell her to stay at home. Economic considerations have settled that. Some more fundamental adjustment must be made. Meanwhile what about the idea recommended by a husband through the CITIZEN—the same domestic training for boys as for girls?

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled, as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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After Election—What?

WHEN four years ago suffrage came to a generation of women ignorant of politics and entering an electorate that itself fell far short of an adequate intelligent interest, the League of Women Voters met the situation by undertaking what was nothing more or less than a permanent campaign to get out the vote and make that vote intelligent. As the 1924 presidential elections approached, the League redoubled its efforts and set a definite goal of a twenty-five per cent increase in ballots. Other organizations caught the spirit. An unpartisan effort to get out the vote became the order of the day. "Vote, vote as you please, but vote," has been the popular cry.

As the drive has gathered speed, wearied and disillusioned workers have begun to doubt, "*Cui bono?*"—"what's the use?"—they have queried. The doubt has come from newspapers, from clergymen, from discouraged registration clerks, from perplexed men and women everywhere. It takes various forms:

"The electorate needs to be better equipped. You drive them to register today; next year they will have forgotten. People won't vote without an issue; there are no issues. The candidates in our state are equally bad; people won't go to the polls to choose among them. Responsibility isn't fixed; my vote will mean nothing. The ballot is too long; busy people can't be informed about so many candidates. The political machine will defeat the will of the people no matter how they vote. What's the use of making people vote who aren't intelligent?"

So the objections run. To answer them is to answer the question of the title. It is to tell "what next." It is to say what the League of Women Voters should be "up and at," early in the morning of November 5. It is, in a word, to tell what the purpose and program of the League of Women Voters really is. A shorter ballot? Yes! Better election and nomination methods? Yes! Recruiting more people into the parties to swamp the professional politicians, formulating issues, setting standards, mobilizing public opinion, bringing home to the busy man and woman that affairs of government make an everyday difference to them, to their home and children—in other words, political education.

These are not matters for a frantic drive just before election. They are matters for sustained effort year in and year out. They are a matter of research and survey and

study by the Department of Efficiency in Government, the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, and standing committees on public welfare. They are a matter of schools and round tables, primers and pamphlets. Above all they are a matter of organization. After election—what? After election, November 5, and forward march!

M. M. W.

Welcome to Our First Indian League

IT is with a great deal of pride that announcement is made of the formation of the first Indian League of Women Voters in the United States. Having been granted the right of franchise during the last year, it did not take forty-eight Indian women—housewives and mothers—who reside on the reservation at Odanah, Wisconsin, a long time to realize that there was much to know about the duties of citizenship and what could be done with ballot power. They immediately saw the need of political education and called upon an old friend—Mrs. O. J. Little of Stone Lake, Wisconsin, for help.

It was not a bit surprising that these new voters turned to Mrs. Little for guidance. Her work on the Indian reservation, especially in relation to the establishment of better health conditions through clinics, had endeared her to the Odanah tribe and they felt she was their real friend. When the Wisconsin League learned of the demand for Mrs. Little in this citizenship work, she was sent to Odanah post haste.

Already the Odanah League has been subjected to the joy—or is it penalty?—of being in the public eye. Hardly had the League been formed and the officers elected before a Milwaukee newspaper photographer found them, and in a picturesque forest near the shore of "Gitche Gumee," as Longfellow immortalized Lake Superior, they faced the camera.

They are taking their new duties as voters and as members of the League very seriously, and are now engrossed in the study of Wisconsin Citizen's Handbook, prescribed as a course of study by the state League. Mrs. Little is directing the study work. Officers of the new league are: Mrs. Veronica Raiche, president; Mrs. Anna Holmes, Mrs. Sam F. Denomie, Mrs. Maggie Green Webster, vice-presidents; Mrs. Cordelia P. Shalifoe, secretary; Mrs. Kate Armstrong, treasurer.

Training for Citizenship

NEVER before in the history of the League has there been such a manifest interest in schools as the training ground for citizenship. The schools vary in scope and duration, a majority having been arranged for one day, especially in connection with the League's drive to bring more voters to the polls on November 4.

Miss Helen M. Rocca, of the Department of Efficiency in Government of the National League, was one of the principal speakers at eight one-day citizenship schools conducted in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. At Westerly, Little Compton and Lonsdale in Rhode Island, Miss Rocca, Mrs. James E. Cheesman, director of the first region, and Miss Mary I. Gallahan, executive secretary of the Rhode Island League, addressed the audiences. In addition to Miss

Rocca, schools in Worcester and Deerfield, Massachusetts, had Mrs. True Worthy White and Miss Ethel Johnson, Assistant Commissioner of Labor and Industries, as speakers. Connecticut arranged schools in West Hartford, Bridgeport and Wallingford, at which Miss Rocca was the principal speaker. Miss M. Louise Griffith, assistant treasurer, was another representative of the National League, at the Bridgeport meeting. All of Miss Rocca's audiences heard her discuss a subject on which she has specialized—legislative bodies, their organization and procedure, and the general subject of law making.

Women voters of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, rallied in good numbers to the three-day school of civics recently conducted by the Sioux Falls League. After hearing qualified speakers talk of living costs and wages in Sioux Falls, the necessity of Federal and state regulation of child labor, the workings of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act, education in South Dakota rural schools, foreign policies with special consideration of the World Court, League members participated in a straw vote on such important issues as the proposed entrance into the World Court, the continued appropriations for maternity and infancy relief, a Federal department of education, minimum wage legislation, women as jurors.

Mrs. Max Mayer was the instructor and lecturer of the fourth citizenship school conducted by the Sioux City and Woodbury County (Iowa) League early in October. Nine other women's organizations co-operated. The voter's relation to the government, political parties, elections, and the law was presented by Mrs. Mayer.

The Dayton (Ohio) League is already preparing for its fifth annual citizenship school in 1925. Its fourth one, just concluded, proved so successful that there is no doubt about the fifth one. Fred C. Croxton, chairman of the Columbus Council of Social Agencies, was the first speaker at the three-day school. With "Women's Interest in the 1925 Legislature" as the topic, special consideration was given to the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and the plans for reorganization of the State Welfare Department. Two days were devoted entirely to a discussion of nominating methods and the direct primary. James K. Pollock, Jr., of the Department of Political Science of the Ohio State University, and Harry W. Marsh, executive secretary of the National Civic Service Reform League, were the speakers. The school concluded with a public meeting in the evening, with Bruce Bliven, former chief editorial writer and managing editor of the *New York Globe*, as the speaker. His subject was "American Politics as Seen by a Journalist." Those attending the National League convention at Buffalo will recall with pleasure Mr. Bliven's address at the closing session.

With a number of civic organizations co-operating, the Etowah County (Alabama) League had its first citizenship school recently at Gadsden, Alabama. Mrs. Neil R. Wallace, of Birmingham, who is responsible for the formation of the school, was one of the speakers. In addition, W. T. Murphree, mayor of Gadsden; Mrs. Florence Adams, probation officer of the Etowah County juvenile court; Alto V. Lee, state senator, and Miss Jeffries Heinrich, secretary of the third region, addressed the "students" on various phases of the political campaign, child labor as a national problem, the get-out-the-vote campaign and "The Constitution and Amendments."

Leagues and League Work

RIGHT in the midst of its big get-out-the-vote campaign, the St. Louis (Missouri) League undertook a membership drive. Captains of well-organized teams directed the work in each ward. Every worker who secured ten members before October 16 was one of the guests of honor at a special League luncheon on that day.

MISS GLADYS HARRISON, executive secretary of the National League, presented the unpartisan viewpoint of a national campaign at the first of a series of forum luncheons given October 14 by the District of Columbia League. Miss Harrison described the League's campaign to get-out-the-vote, and cited the various methods used to interest citizens in voting. Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, former living costs chairman of the National League, spoke in behalf of the La Follette campaign; Mrs. Halsey Wilson, chairman of the educational bureau of the Democratic National Committee, for the Democratic ticket, and Mrs. May D. Lightfoot, in behalf of the Republican national ticket.

THE president of the Manasquan River League, New Jersey's latest addition to the list of local Leagues, is Mrs. Mary J. W. Strong, of Brielle, whose record proves she is a very busy woman. She called her first meeting for organization late in September and the first week in October the new League had a candidates' meeting in the high school. An idea of Mrs. Strong's busy day may be gained from her various activities. She is president of the Parent-Teacher Association, the attendance and health officer of the Brielle school (a voluntary service), librarian of the village library, which, by the way, is in her own home, and leader of the adult Bible class in the Union Sunday-school. At the recent primaries, she was nominated for the Village Council by both parties and she accepted. There are five daughters—one through college and teaching, two in college and two in high school—who will have much to do to "keep up with Mother."

IT is not one bit surprising to League members who are familiar with the instructive teachings of Professor Raymond Moley to hear that many women are taking the course in the newly created department of government at Barnard College, New York City. Professor Moley is lecturing on such interesting topics as: "Are Human Beings Capable of Self-Government?" "Strength and Weakness of Political Parties," "Governmental Reorganization and the Budget," "Special Justice and the Constitution," "Have Our Legislative Bodies Failed?" "Foreign Policies of the United States."

WOMEN of the First Congregational Church, of Washington, D. C., heard an inspiring address by Miss Adèle Clark, of Richmond, Virginia, director of the first region. Miss Clark traced the development of civic life up to the time of enfranchisement of women, and then pointed out most effectively the successful part women had played in taking up the new job of politics. She concluded with a fervent appeal for a greater interest in voting.

"THE school will be repeated next year with the co-operation again of Dr. John E. Cathey, president of the Asheville Normal School," writes Mrs. Mary O. Cowper, executive secretary of the North Carolina League, in reference to the recent citizenship school conducted by the League in co-operation with the Normal summer school. "The value of having the school was shown by the fact that women registered from ten states and twenty-five towns in North Carolina."

WEST VIRGINIA has eighteen flourishing Leagues, according to a recent issue of the *West Virginia Woman Voter*, the monthly publication of the state League.

THE little red school house as a museum! This is what may happen in Connecticut, where the League is always doing something worth while. A little red school in North Branford, built well over a century ago, was being used as a tenement, with risk of fire. The Northford-North Branford League became interested in preserving the school and now the school authorities have turned the building over to the League, which is going to put it in order and perhaps use it as a museum.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

Greatest of all the items in
Every League program
This year (or second

Only to peace work) is the
United effort of all
To Get Out The Vote.

Thousands of women are
Heartily working in
Every state, county, and town,

Vigorously, tirelessly, in
Order that everywhere
There may be the largest poll
Ever cast in any election.

—R. K. G.

"A B C OF VOTING." The National League was asked to prepare a manual for voters for distribution by *The Haskin Newspaper Information Bureau*. The booklet contains twenty pages and it is called "The A B C of Voting." After a brief foreword by Julia C. Lathrop there is an introduction which explains the purpose of the booklet, the mechanics of voting and the importance of being enfranchised. The digest of election laws for the forty-eight states follows, alphabetically arranged, and the last page contains a bibliography of "books for voters" arranged by Raymond C. Moley and Belle Sherwin. A first edition of 50,000 was printed.

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO: We vote in New Mexico, at least sixty-five per cent of us did in 1920, but Mrs. Robert Dietz is after the elusive thirty-five. Get-out-the-vote material was tucked away in the lunch boxes which she sold the motor tourists during the Indian festivities, for the benefit of the New Mexico League's treasury.

BAY CITY, MICHIGAN, is not very large, but oh, my! Every woman in Bay City who registered and secured the registration of five other persons was entitled to a place on the Honor Roll of the city. The Honor Roll was published in the *Times-Tribune* for six days and it contained names of seventy-five women, some of whom had secured as many as fifty registrations. When the League staged a candidates' meeting, seventeen candidates spoke and nine others sent letters and messages, regretting that they had to be in other parts of the state.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA: Many Leagues have worked closely with the churches and they have reported co-operation and support. The Alabama League is the first to announce a get-out-the-vote Sunday, naming November 2 as that day, when in the churches and the Sunday-schools there will be special prayers, sermons and announcements.

BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA: The auditorium of the high school was the scene of the Bismarck League's get-out-the-vote meeting when Mrs. S. F. Dullam presided and Mrs. J. R. Parkes, regional secretary, presented the League's plans to increase registration and voting.

BOISE, IDAHO: Imposing stationery bearing the names of twenty-one organizations is used to set forth Boise's get-out-the-vote plans. Four-minute speakers appeared at the moving picture theaters before registration, and slides with

pert announcements were thrown on the screen. On registration day the Fife and Drum Corps led the voters to the city hall, which was decorated with flags and streaming banners. Business houses displayed window cards; boy scouts acted as guides; the never-failing newspapers published notices and precinct maps; and Mrs. R. L. Steen and her lieutenants were kept busy supplying information and helping everyone to be registered.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: Fifteen hundred street cars bore the Boston League's registration notices. Special effort was made to reach the foreign born and information was posted in Boston's fifty settlement houses and in the clubs of foreign groups. Through the rest rooms and house organs of industrial plants many workers were reached.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK: The annual parade of Brooklyn babies is a recognized national institution, but it remained for League women to play up the infants in a different way. They attached get-out-the-vote balloons to their perambulators during registration week.

CATSKILL, NEW YORK: The post-office is the "town hall" of this generation, holds the Catskill League, and that is why the League has selected the space above the postmaster's desk to display its bulletin board. Information on the get-out-the-vote campaign, on the League's publications and program appears on the bulletin board.

CHARLES CITY, IOWA: The Governor of Idaho spoke at the League's get-out-the-vote luncheon at the Congregational Church, early in October. Candidates on the Iowa state tickets presented the platforms of their parties and urged all voters to register and vote.

CHERRYDALE, VIRGINIA: Even politics cannot cause Virginia women to overlook a chance to dispense hospitality. After spending the autumn getting the voters registered and driving them to the polls, the Cherrydale League intends to serve dinner on the court house green on election day.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: The pioneers of suffrage were content with any kind of hall, or none, to stage their meetings. Not so the young upstart descendants in the middle west, where announcement is made that a pre-election school on the workings of government will be held at the Chicago City Hall. The list of speakers includes professors from three Illinois universities, Julia C. Lathrop and Mary McDowell.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: The Cleveland voter will be confronted with four ballots when she goes to the polls on election day. There will be the presidential ballot, the state and county ballot, the judicial ballot and the county bond issue ballot. In addition to Ohio's twenty-four presidential electors the voter will have to vote to fill fifty-two offices and decide the relative merits of bond issues. This Herculean task has been rendered comparatively simple by the publication of a little leaflet which, in Mrs. Lucia McBride's best manner, sets forth in a nutshell very definite instructions for the voter. The leaflet contains a brief digest of the election laws, the dates and hours of registering and voting, the list of offices to be filled and information on absent voting.

Get Out the Vote

Until Election This Page Will Be Devoted to the Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign

GALESBURG, ILLINOIS: Every member of the Knox County League is pledged to bring one voter to the polls on election day when she casts her own vote.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN: The Firemen's band led the parade when Grand Rapids League women and all their friends suspended traffic and paraded through the main streets to remind voters of the primary election. Mrs. Julius H. Amberg was marshal and Mary and David Amberg were eager lieutenants. Thirty-one candidates spoke at a meeting arranged by Miss Grace Van Hoeson several days before the parade.

GREAT FALLS, MONTANA: Mrs. H. B. Mitchell, the chairman of the Great Falls League, presided at the get-out-the-vote meeting held on September 27.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA: The president of Indiana University is quoted as saying: "Children are in the plastic age. Now is the time to present the duties of citizenship in such a form that, when they are grown, voting to them will be a matter of course." Acting on this advice the state board of education accepted the Indiana League's suggestion that October 24 be set aside as get-out-the-vote day, and appropriate exercises were held in the schools throughout the state.

LAKEWOOD, OHIO: After arranging for the display of posters in every public place in Lakewood, Mrs. C. B. Johnson, president, and her lieutenants will arise at 5:00 A. M., and drive tall wooden standards into the ground at the head of each street from which will float "Vote Today" banners.

MISSOURI: If the Missouri League does not get it out it isn't there.

KIRKWOOD—A town crier in pilgrim costume of hunter's green and buckles rode through the town ringing a bell and calling the citizens out to register. His steed was placarded with the dates and hours of registering.

NORMANDY—Day after day during registration, school children whose parents had registered were asked to rise and be counted. A prize was given to the room reporting the highest percentage of registered parents.

ST. LOUIS—Bent on smoothing out difficulties, the committee on polls of the Missouri League asked citizens to report any favorable or unfavorable criticisms of the conduct of the registration. During the four registration days the members of the committee toured from polling place to polling place inspecting conditions, the guests of the chairman of the Board of Election Commissioners.

WEBSTER GROVE—Tagged each child whose parents registered.

MITCHELL, NORTH DAKOTA: Other states have just "fairs." Mitchell has the Corn Palace. Beginning thirty-two years ago with a small exhibition of corn, the exhibit to-day is housed in an auditorium which seats 5,000. The Davidson County League has had a booth for two years at the Corn Palace, dispensing political information and literature. This autumn a "straw" vote for President was conducted at the League's booth, but our correspondent does not tell us which candidate will win South Dakota's five in November.

MOORESTOWN, NEW JERSEY: Ten candidates spoke at the October meeting of the Moorestown League. Mrs. W. D. Kerlin introduced the speakers and one hundred and twenty-five women sat and listened, making up their minds for November 4.

ODANAH, WISCONSIN: The first tangible result of the Federal law granting suffrage to American Indians is seen in the formation of the Odanah League of Indian Women Voters, organized in September. Mrs. Veronica Raiche is president and there are forty-eight charter members. Speaking at the first meeting of the League, Mrs. O. J. Little, of Stone Lake, Wisconsin, said: "Today you have the vote, and if you realize its value and study to use it intelligently you no longer will have to beg for your rights."

OMAHA, NEBRASKA: Having gotten Missourians safely headed toward the polls, Mrs. George Gellhorn turned her attention to Nebraska. A get-out-the-vote luncheon was arranged by Mrs. W. F. Baxter and an able committee selected from eighteen organizations early in October. Mrs. Gellhorn was the principal speaker and special attention was paid to young citizens about to exercise their franchise for the first time.

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA: When the travelers in the get-out-the-vote caravan, which toured the state in October, reached their farthest-west point they found Mrs. R. Templeton Smith with twenty organizations waiting to welcome them to a get-out-the-vote luncheon at the Pittsburgh caravansary.

RENSSELAER, INDIANA: The Jasper County League combined politics and pleasure (if the two are not yet synonymous to the young) and arranged to have music and dancing at their first-voters party, after a lecture on "Citizenship." The newspapers published the invitations.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA: Said the chairman of the Democratic State Committee: "Virginia is a 'safe' state, but it is never safe not to vote," in endorsing the Virginia League's campaign to get out the vote.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA: The first autumn meeting of League women was a get-out-the-vote meeting when plans for bringing about a heavy vote in St. Petersburg were discussed.

TOLEDO, OHIO: Olive Colton and her get-out-the-voters are taking no chances on Mohammed and the Mountain. Meetings are all very well in their way, argue they, but classes in the home reach the people! A corps of workers started on October first to hold ballot-marking classes in the homes of Polish, Syrian and Bulgarian women and they have found that no work undertaken by the Toledo League has been more interesting or more worth while.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE: The Delaware League and the Young Women's Christian Association are working together to get out the Delaware vote. A class in citizenship, conducted by Ellen Samworth, was held every Monday night in October at the "Y" headquarters.

ANN WEBSTER.

World News About Women



MRS. HERT

© Moffett

MRS. SABIN

© Edward Thayer Monroe

MRS. ORVIS

MRS. WARBURTON

MRS. VAILE

Mrs. Barclay Warburton, of Philadelphia. Mrs. Anna Vaile, of Colorado, represents several committeewomen, any one of whom might be chosen as a great power in the organization. We chose her to represent the far West.

The Democratic column at the right shows a little different organization. Emily Newell Blair, national committeewoman from Missouri, is First Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee—a post she has already held for several years. But the Democratic organization this year is making a point of not separating women's work from men's in a division by itself. Each depart-

ment of the National Committee has a chairman, who is a man, and a vice-chairman who is a woman. Next below Mrs. Blair come the assistant managers of the Eastern and Western headquarters for the campaign, respectively: Mrs. Dorothy Branch Jackson, committeewoman from New Hampshire, and Miss Jessie Scott. Mrs. Bessie Pyke, committeewoman from Ohio, is vice-chairman of organization, and below her is Mrs. Marion Banister, vice-chairman of Publicity—who, by the way, is the sister of Senator Carter Glass. Mrs. J. C. Cantrill is another of the vice-chairmen—the Speakers' Bureau is her part; Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson is Director of Education; and Izetta Jewell Brown must be included in any list of Democratic leaders, as one of the principal women speakers of this campaign.

At the top of the left-hand column is Mrs. Alvin T. Hert. "Vice-Chairman, in Charge of Women's Work", her letterhead reads—meaning vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee. Mrs. Hert succeeded Mrs. Upton, with a title adjusted to new conditions, at the time of the Republican Convention. She is from Kentucky, a national committeewoman who acquired her first training in association with her husband when he was committeeman. Next below — Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, committeewoman for New York, member of the executive committee, and director of the Women's Division for Eastern headquarters. Associated with her on the Eastern committee are Mrs. George Orvis, of Manchester, Vermont, and



MRS. COSTIGAN

© Underwood & Underwood

MRS. LA FOLLETTE

© Underwood & Underwood

MRS. PLUMB

MRS. NORRIE

MRS. AXTELL

The Progressives, again, have explicitly a Women's Division, headed by Mrs. Mabel Cory Costigan. Next to her in this up-and-down row is Mrs. Robert M. La Follette, who is taking an active part in the campaign—the only candidate's wife who is doing so. Mrs. Glenn Plumb is vice-chairman in charge of the Western Division; Mrs. Gordon Norrie, who is a vice-chairman of the Women's National Committee for Law Enforcement, is chairman of the Women's Division of New York City, and

Mrs. Frances Axtell is acting chairman of the Washington State La Follette-Wheeler campaign.

All of the women's headquarters seem to be well organized, and buzzing with intelligent activity. And there is color in the campaign, too. Just at this moment of writing the New York newspapers are telling of Mrs. Sabin's reception of a delegation of stage people who have just formed the Coolidge-Dawes stage club, and hold daily meetings at Republican headquarters; of the Fighting Bobs' Liberty Bell caravan rolling the length of Long Island, and of the Democratic women's "Singing Teapot"—a huge teapot on wheels, which



MRS. BLAIR

MRS. JACKSON

© E. F. Foley

MISS SCOTT

MRS. PYKE

© Bachrach

MRS. BANISTER

boils over with Democratic literature denouncing the oil scandals. This belongs to the state activity, but the Teapot carries a speaker for the national ticket, too.

Dr. Eliot

DR. MARTHA M. ELIOT, a member of the faculty of pediatrics at Yale University School of Medicine, has been appointed director of the division of child hygiene of the Children's Bureau. Dr. Eliot is a graduate of Johns Hopkins and during the past year has been in charge of a demonstration of methods for the control of rickets in young children.

India's Indian Magistrate

AN Indian woman—Shrimathi Jayalaxmi Kumari—has been appointed a magistrate at Madanapalle, South India. She is the first Indian woman to receive such an appointment. Our information comes from the *Vote*.

A Knight of St. Olav

THE third woman to become a Knight of St. Olav—the highest sign of honor given in Norway—is Johanne Dybwad. The honor was conferred at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Theater, at Bergen. Fru Dybwad is a child of the stage, and for twenty-five years her name has been identified with the National Theater as the lead in a wide variety of plays. She is also the first person to receive the Royal Medal of Merit in gold.

An Important P. S.

AS a P. S. to the organizations with a get-out-the-vote campaign, given on page four of our last issue, must be added the National Women's Christian Temperance Union. The W. C. T. U. is represented in 20,000 communities, and in each of these communities local leaders, in co-operation with other women's organizations, will hold "first voters" meetings, social meetings for foreign-born citizens naturalized since the last election, mass meetings, and a "March of Allegiance."

To Guard Denver's Health

DR. ETHEL B. HUMPHREYS is the new acting manager of the department of health and charity for the city and county of Denver, Colorado, according to the *News-Bulletin* of the Bureau of Vocational Information. Dr. Humphreys is the first woman to hold such a position in the city of Denver. Her chief duty is the supervision of the Denver General Hospital.

A French "Professoress"

THROUGH "La Française" we learn that for the first time a woman has been given a professor's chair in the literary college of a French University. Her name is Mlle. Villa and she is Professor of English Literature in the University of Lyons.

Hurrah for China!

CHINA also has its woman's bank. From the columns of the *Vote* we learn that there is a bank completely staffed and financed by women in Shanghai.

And we hear that Peking has plans for a woman's bank, to be opened next spring. It will be known as the Peking Women's Commercial and Savings Bank. Thirty women are now training in the school of banking in Peking to fill the posts.

Spain's Mayor

IN spite of the fact that Spain has no law giving suffrage to women, the papers say that it now has a woman mayor—Señora Maria Perez y Moya. Señora Moya took office October 16, at Cuatre Tondeta, district of Cencentayna.

Cleveland Pioneers Again

CLEVELAND has a new mortgage company, organized and managed by women—the Ohio Mutual Mortgage Company. Satisfied with the success of the Women's Savings and Loan Company, the first women's saving company in the country, Miss Lillian Westropp, president, and Miss Clara Westropp, secretary, decided to open a mortgage company. They hold the same positions in the new company. Other women interested are Mrs. Marion E. Gaul, Miss Mary Murphy, Mrs. Olive Joy Wright, Mrs. Antoinette Callaghan, directors, and Miss Susan M. Rebhan, sales manager. It is another pioneer venture, and of interest in bankers' eyes—men's as well as women's.

For National Recreation

THE Eleventh National Recreation Congress, held in Atlantic City, October 16-21, was really a huge experience exchange. Six hundred delegates from many states were there to tell of the community recreation problems and achievements in their particular localities. The subjects were varied—recruiting and training recreation leaders, home recreation, handcraft activities, the use of school buildings as recreation centers, parks and leisure time, physical education, the vacation problem in America, recreation and industry, rural recreation, recreation and city planning, municipal golf courses, recreation in the church and recreation publicity.

The W. C. T. U. Jubilee

THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION will hold a Golden Jubilee Convention in Chicago, November 14-19. A special feature will be pageantry pictures of fifty years, giving the history of the W. C. T. U. from the early crusade days to the present large and efficient organization.

General Federation Notes

BY LESLIE STRINGFELLOW READ

THE Bayview (Michigan) Woman's Club has mapped out an ambitious program to make Bayview a summer club center, similar to Chautauqua, where one may learn and take a vacation at the same time. Next summer members plan to have women speakers from all parts of the country talk on club work, hold club institutes on department work, organization, administration, etc. The program will be in the charge of a recently formed Bayview Council composed entirely of clubwomen.

MONTANA clubwomen have recently had a state meeting at which they adopted a resolution heartily endorsing the General Federation program, as mapped out at Los Angeles. Other resolutions dedicated Armistice Day to the idea expressed in the slogan: "It Must Not Be Again"; asked the Montana Legislature to memorialize Congress for a declaration for the outlawry of war and the entrance of the United States into the World Court, and favored the repeal of the medical prescription law as a violation of the bone-dry law, for which Montana has voted by a majority of 30,000.

MAY 4 to 14 are dates fixed for the quinquennial convention of the International Council of Women, to be held in Washington, D. C., in 1925, according to Mrs. Philip North Moore, president of the American Council, which organization is to be official hostess.

CAN you name the two hundred best books for a home library? If not, and if you are just starting your library or your child's library, let Mrs. L. A. Miller, literature chairman, 1528 North Nevada Avenue, Colorado Springs, help you. Send a stamp for reply and write to her for her leaflet: "The Home Library." Second in her American Home Series, Mrs. Miller also offers, for club and home help, "The Book and the Child."

NOVEMBER 9-15 are dates during which clubs in almost every community will observe Children's Book Week. The literature chairman in the General Federation suggests in this connection that there be launched a "Buy a Book—Earn a Book" week campaign. In Los Angeles last year, through the cooperation of teachers, four thousand school children each earned money with which to purchase at least one book. "One book that a child owns, loves and reads many times, is worth many borrowed and hastily devoured," says the chairman.

The Bookshelf



By M. A.

POLITICAL campaigns are a strange mixture of the practical and the ideal, the cynical and the sentimental, of hard details and wide-flung generalizations, of twenty hard-fought votes and twenty million supposititious ballots which can be claimed by any airy orator. In its very title "*The High Road to Honor*" suggests idealistic relief for the hard ways and means and the grubby details of unpleasant compromises. It is a novel of state and national politics, in which David Brandon, champion of the people, the short ballot, preferential primary, initiative and referendum, rises from the Ohio legislature through the governor's chair to the Senate of the United States. There he makes his great fight to solve the problem of railroads, and to save his honor. Several senators have been suggested as the prototype of Brandon, but only the book's author knows whom she had in mind, and she won't tell. She is Julia Scott Vrooman, and has not been known previously as an author. The wife of Carl Vrooman, assistant Secretary of Agriculture under Wilson, her life in Washington gave her intimate acquaintance with the ways of national politics. She is an ardent advocate of the League of Nations and of a certain "constructive conservatism" in affairs of government. She has always been prominent in club life and in the League of Women Voters, and her book bears witness to the ideals for which she strives.

During the last spring and summer, the Theatre Guild produced, in New York, Ernst Toller's drama "*Man and the Masses*." It is the play of a poet, and reading it is only satisfactory for people whose vivid imaginations can illumine its depths. One realizes more than in seeing it how much the Theatre Guild's fine production brought out of the simple lines. Called a "drama of the social revolution," it is as truly a play of the tragedy of mankind. The individual acting for himself conflicts with the individual as one of a mob; the Woman, believing human life so sacred that "no leader has a right to sacrifice any life but his own," is crushed between the organized state and the forces of revolution. Both demand power and misuse it, disregarding individual human life in struggling for victory. Only the Woman upholds peace, and for her steadfastness she loses her husband, who personifies the state, her friends, who are the workers in revolt, and finally her own life. It is a play for people who do not shrink from contemplating the human forces that have made for social



Willa Cather

Willa Sibert Cather has a secure place in the front row of American novelists. She knows, and has presented, an American West unlike that of any other writer—the West she first came to know when her family moved from Winchester, Virginia, to a ranch in Nebraska—a West filled with wide spaces and foreign neighbors, Scandinavian, Austrian, Russian, Bohemian. All this new life the young girl watched, making it live again later in "*O Pioneers*," "*The Song of the Lark*," "*My Antonia*," "*One of Ours*," "*The Lost Lady*." In between were her years at the State University of Nebraska, newspaper work in Pittsburgh, teaching, writing poetry, and several years on *McClure's Magazine*, to which Mr. McClure summoned her after he had seen her book of short stories, "*The Troll Garden*."

revolution in the past, and are capable of doing so again; who believe that life is more than demure comedy and decorous sorrow; who are willing to see abysses as well as mountain tops.

Michael Arlen is a young Englishman with impeccable manners and an incalculable pen. He has recently been quoted as saying that he has not yet begun to write, but is merely "playing scales in public." His new novel, like "*These Charming People*" of recent popularity, still does daily dozens in wit, gymnastics in conventions, and finger exercises in sophistication. But something deeper is beginning to shoulder its way up out of the whipped cream of his style. "*The Green Hat*," underneath all its amusing charm, contains excellent character drawing, and concerns fundamental human tragedy. One can scarcely predict the course of Mr. Arlen's artistic development. He may go bad on our hands, may write stories

that cannot pass our moral fences. But he is an artist, and his possibilities are infinite. Meanwhile he is gay, charming, and clever.

A new book by Stella Benson is such an event that one wants to engage a circus ballyhoo and a torchlight procession to tell about it. "*Pipers and a Dancer*" is the story of Ipsie Wilson, christened Mary Hippolyta, of how she went to China to marry Jacob Heming, and why she didn't. She was a pixie person without a soul, whose only innate means of expression was an "hysterical ingenuity in reproducing lines." She was absorbed in the things of her imagination, always acting to herself and the world, possessed by her Showman.

Against a background of a China of raw hills and mighty rivers she is something out of another world that has stopped for a moment to handle the queer playthings of human life. The quality of Miss Benson's prose is peculiar to herself. She has an uncanny way of making sharply defined pictures with words, of making a phrase serve the purpose of an etcher's line. Her insight into human motives is as unexpected as it is uncomfortable. Her sense of humor and of malice is captivating. It is as difficult to analyze and to communicate her charm as it would be to make a butterfly's wing out of the colors of it.

The Red Menace

(Continued from page 12)

tional and state politics and property. Numerous press reports have told of the separation of children from parents in Russia, not only to carry out the theory, but in order to bring up the next generation to be thoroughly imbued with the communistic idea. It has been reported that girls are made, in these children's institutions, to exchange their dresses in order to eliminate from their minds all idea of private ownership.

Much has been reported about the "nationalization" of women in Russia. This surely never has been a part of the proposed social scheme, since women are theoretically to be "free and independent" under it. It clearly was never proposed by the national Bolshevik group in Russia. There has been evi-

The High Road to Honor, Minton Balch, 1924. \$2.00.

Man and the Masses, Doubleday Page, 1924. \$2.00.

The Green Hat, Doran, 1924. \$2.50.

Pipers and a Dancer, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.00.

dence that it was attempted in one or more towns, but as it is wholly inconsistent with the main theory it was probably a brutal attempt to force free love as a substitute for marriage on one hand and prostitution on the other. It will be recognized that prostitution can have no place in the "perfect social state." While the decency of self-control will occur to those who are under self-discipline as the solution of that vexed question, untrained animal men and women will hardly accept that remedy.

The effects of the Communist triumph in Russia have been twofold. The terrible suffering of the people, the unjust imprisonments and outrageous murders, the starvation, sickness and deaths have convinced conservative Socialists that "the people are not yet sufficiently trained to the socialistic idea to adopt it by revolution." Indeed, many of them have been quite as shocked at the lengths to which the upholders of their fundamental theories have gone in Russia as any non-Socialist. On the other hand, the Russian success has encouraged other groups to believe that revolution is the only way and that the time is ripe for a complete overturn of governments all the world around and the substitution of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" for the so-called "Capitalistic State."

Both Communists and Socialists find their most fertile field among the wage earners. Here both are continually laboring in the effort to make converts. The majority of workers are neither; but Communists, Socialists and other workers unite in support of a common program during strikes. Communists boast that they often foment strikes in order to create situations favorable to their plans. When a strike is on, the anti-Socialist, Mr. Gompers, President of the Federation of Labor, works with Socialists and Communists to a common end and they all talk alike. When strikes are over, Socialists and Communists say they have added converts to their ranks. That is, Communists work to convert Socialists to revolution, Socialists work to convert wage workers to Socialism, and organized wage workers work to create what all three call a class consciousness, and these three propagandas find the strike the most fruitful season.

The Real Question

The crucial questions, therefore, the ones to worry over, are 1: At what rate will organized labor and its press create class consciousness which, reduced to practical terms, means that there are in the world two classes of people who are enemies, one the employer, the other the employed? 2. At what rate will those achieving class consciousness develop into Socialists? And at what rate will evolutionary Socialists, grow-

ing impatient, emerge into revolutionary Communists?

Meanwhile, "the people be damned" variety of capitalist, big-headed and small-souled, contributes more to the conversion of workers to Socialism and Communism than does the regular propaganda.

During the past fifty years each of these three steps, leading from the old order toward the proposed new order, has made gigantic strides. We might as well face the probability that if the gain in the next fifty years is at the

A Hymn for Non-Voters

By ANNA SUMMERS LARKIN

Politicians, ye
Who take such liberties,
To you we sing!
Long may you do our work,
That we, the people, shirk;
Protect us! Dangers lurk
In primaries!

We are too pure to mix
In "dirty politics";
We yield the floor.
Go put in office trash
Who'll steal our hard-earned cash
Though we our teeth may gnash,
We'll do no more.

O Politicians Great,
We place our country's fate
In your kind care.
Long may you wield the vote!
Long may we be the goat!
And if you "rock the boat,"
That's your affair.

same rate, Socialism will, in some form, be an established fact even in our own country. When the English Premier not long ago joined the hand of the French Premier to that of the Chancellor of the German government, a dramatic touch that pleased world sentimentalists, all three were Socialists. The wildest dreamer in 1914 would hardly have predicted so startling a transformation in the departments of foreign relations of those three great nations. To be sure, the Socialist parties in these countries are too much in minority as yet to justify any of these Premiers in attempting to establish actual Socialism in their respective lands, but the fact nevertheless stands forth clearly that Socialists have driven their cause to a point where honest investigators must recognize it as an issue to be met. The present so-called capitalistic system with all its known faults, *vs.* the Socialistic system with all its unknown faults, will be the question.

The writer knows by investigation that in the region of New York, where the big majority of workers are foreign born, the ideas are very prevalent that

all the rich (employers) have gained their wealth by exploiting and oppressing the poor, that the money of the rich should be divided among the poor, that the employer is *fair game* for his employees, who should in their own interest take a "rake off" on marketing, supplies, and repairs for cars and machinery, sales of produce, etc. These views have been imbibed, not from socialistic propaganda, which has reached few of them, but from a well-known chain of newspapers which preach "class hatred" with success, whether intentional or otherwise. Most of these minds are too subnormal to comprehend the honor of contract, but are of the type to furnish a troublesome reserve were revolution attempted.

At present, unconverted organized labor and conservative Socialists serve as a bulwark against the revolutionary Communist. If those groups should ever be goaded through injustice to foment a rebellion or lose their heads through the impulse of hate, no army or any other form of force would stay the revolution long, but revolution would not close the issue. It is a question to be settled by talk—understanding, informed talk.

The Cure

Free, frank, honest speech and plenty of it is the only method that will carry this nation through the next fifty years without tragedy. The vast majority of us are assuredly set against any cause being won by force.

A menace, therefore, there is. The danger, however, lies far less in the theory of the proposed new order or the program for bringing it about as advocated by intelligent Socialists, than in the "lunatic fringe" which hangs around the edges of both sides of the controversy. The half-baked intellectual and the moral subnormal man or woman, adopting Communism, is capable of any crime while believing himself a martyr to a great cause. On the other hand, the half-baked groups, affrighted by the rapid progress made by Socialism, who hide behind a fusillade of hard names only fan the flame.

In 1920, which was after women had gained the vote, and before Communists and Socialists separated, the total socialistic vote for President in the United States of America was 919,799. The revolutionary activities of the Communists aroused the more conservative Socialists to put them out of their party and for the first time there will be a Communist or Workers' Party in 1924 with a candidate for President. The Socialist Party is supporting Senator La Follette, who is not a Socialist; the Communists are supporting W. Z. Foster.

The menace to public safety, it will be seen, does not lie in any possibility of revolution in the near future, but in probable riots, sabotage and crime committed in the expectation of bringing

Communism nearer. It is not a situation that calls for war preparation, but police organization. The contest between the present system and the proposed substitute does not demand the preparation of force, but of mind and understanding. Sensible opposition to Socialism will not resort to subterranean torpedo attacks upon persons who have no sympathy with Socialism, but will come out in an open and above-board discussion of the merits of the question. The underground method has created more fog and less understanding of the peace *vs.* war situation than any other one factor, and is still being used daily and hourly by organized persons to create more and denser fog.

"She's the One"

(Continued from page 12)

along the line to make the most of her resources. Unusually able, she is nevertheless not an extraordinarily gifted woman. Strong in physique, she is by no means an Amazon. Finally, she has always had to contend with limited financial resources and a very limited formal education.

She went to work when she was thirteen years old, for a year or two as a teacher of boys in a board school; and then for ten years she stood behind a counter in London and other cities as a saleswoman—or, as they say over there, as a shop assistant. Her first large service in labor forces was in organizing the shop assistants' union. She represented that union at the National Trades Union Congress in 1899, the only woman delegate at that time in the Congress. Last year at the age of forty-nine or fifty, after holding other high offices and

efficiently serving the cause of labor in each of them, she was elected by a unanimous vote to the chairmanship of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the first woman to hold that office, the highest elective office in the trade union world. She ought to be, and perhaps she some day will be, the first woman member of the British Cabinet. Sent to Parliament last December, she *ought* to have been made Minister of Health, which in England is a sort of general social welfare department; but instead she was chosen as parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Labor.

There are other more gifted women in the Labor Party. But Margaret Bondfield is unquestionably the woman with the largest following. As my young Welsh friend said, "*She's the one!*"

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

proper yielding, not to force, not to a super state, not to command, but, in the language of the Declaration of Independence itself: 'to a decent respect for the opinion of mankind.'"

So this is the Democratic candidate. Too fine to be a buffoon—and there is a good deal in popular politics that is buffoonery. President Coolidge knows this and knows that he is poor at playing the clown, which is one reason, undoubtedly, why he keeps silent. La Follette is an actor, born and bred, able to adjust himself to any audience. It is his forte. There we have the three men.

But whatever happens on November 4, which will be soon after this magazine comes out, Mrs. Hughes still expects to be able to feed her family well and to make jam and succotash and have pumpkin pies and waterground cornmeal. At the outdoor market the other day she looked as composed and charming as April, and not November.

Helps for Voters

SINCE speaking in the latest CITIZEN of the obligation on voters to find out what they are voting about, we have been noticing the helpful literature that has come to our desk.

Among the most interesting is an envelopeful sent out by Anna Steese Richardson, through the Good Citizenship Bureau of the *Woman's Home Companion*. It contains, besides the official Republican, Democratic, Progressive and Prohibition official campaign pamphlets, a clear, topical analysis of the three leading platforms, prepared by Mrs. Richardson.

Many League of Women Voters' bulletins are of extra size, crammed with non-partisan information on both state and national platforms and candidates. Notable among these is the Illinois Bulletin, September-October.

The *World Tomorrow* has issued a supplement to its October issues giving a percentage analysis of all eight platforms, with a brief record of the candidates.

Then there is the National League's pamphlet giving the full text of four platforms. (And then, if we do say it, there is the WOMAN CITIZEN!)

The Electoral College

By G. F. B.

WHEN you vote on Election Day for President of the United States, you don't vote for the presidential candidates at all. You vote for a list of presidential electors—the same number as the number of representatives your state has in both houses of Congress.

The electors chosen in your state will meet the second Monday in January and ballot for President and Vice-President. These ballots will be sent to the president of the Senate, who, on the second Wednesday in February, in the presence of both the Senate and the House, will open and count them. The candidates having the greatest number of votes will become President and Vice-President. This is what the Constitution provides.

In reality, the electors are figureheads. They express no judgment but merely register the popular vote.

The plan adopted by the framers of the Constitution was entirely different from this. They meant that the people should choose the wisest men in the state for electors, and that these electors should use their own judgment, and disinterestedly, and with superior knowledge, pick out the man best qualified to act as chief executive of the nation. The Fathers decided against direct election of the President by all the people because they thought that the country was so huge that the mass of people could not be familiar with the qualifications of different men. They decided against the election of the President by Congress because it was not consistent with the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. They discarded the idea of his election by governors of the states, and finally adopted the electoral college as offering the best method of choosing the right man.

The original plan did not take political parties into consideration, and was only followed a few years. As soon as the parties began to be well established, they demanded electors whom they could control, so that instead of the electoral college being an independent body of men acting as trustees for the people, the electors are now chosen by the parties either through primaries or elections, and cut no figure whatever in the election.

Note that the entire electoral vote of your state will be cast for one candidate. This means that a President may be elected who is not the choice of the people of the United States, and this has happened several times. Mr. Wilson, in his first term, like Abraham Lincoln, was what is called a minority President. In 1912 Wilson had only six million votes, but they were so distributed that he had 435 electoral votes. Roosevelt had four million popular votes,



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NOMINEE**

For Governor



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**Re-elect
ALFRED E. SMITH**

- 1: His support of a measure is genuine and sincere.
- 2: He has unswervingly stood for the protection of women and children, including the forty-eight hour and minimum wage bills.
- 3: He has protected the public schools and signed the largest appropriation bills in the history of the State—\$32,000,000—for teachers' salaries.
- 4: He has advocated an enlightened policy for rural schools and equality of opportunity for the country child with the city child.
- 5: He has maintained the standards and integrity of the Labor Department.
- 6: His prompt action and far-sighted policy saved the inmates of State institutions and provided through a \$50,000,000 bond issue for new construction, fire prevention and additional beds.
- 7: He has extended and co-ordinated the State park system by liberal appropriations and inaugurated a \$15,000,000 bond issue for its support.
- 8: He established subsidies in rural counties for public health work and signed the bill accepting federal aid for maternity and infancy care.
- 9: He stands irrevocably for consolidation of State departments and a real executive budget.
- 10: He protected freedom of speech when he vetoed and later secured the repeal of the Lusk laws.
- 11: He has a genuine and permanent policy on housing.
-and-
- 12: He saved taxpayers this year 25% of the income tax and 25% of the direct tax—\$17,000,000.

THESE THINGS ARE TRUE ABOUT GOVERNOR SMITH. WHAT WILL FOLLOW HIS RE-ELECTION CAN FAIRLY BE DEDUCED FROM THEM. HE IS THE MAN WHO WILL UNDERSTAND YOU AND HELP YOU IN YOUR DOUBLE DUTY OF WORKING FOR WOMEN AND FOR HUMANITY. HE KEEPS HIS PROMISES.

**Mrs. John Blair
Mrs. Norman H. Davis
Miss Frances Perkins
Miss Lillian D. Wald**

**Mrs. Frank Polk
Miss Virginia Gildersleeve
Miss Amey Aldrich
Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson**

WOMEN'S DIVISION
DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE
Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Chairman
and
Citizen's Committee
for the
Re-election of Gov. Alfred E. Smith

but he had only 88 electoral votes, and Taft's three and one-half million votes won only two states—Vermont and Utah—and gave him only eight electoral votes. Naturally, states where the result is in doubt become very important, especially if their electoral vote is large. In 1884 six hundred votes in New York gave the 36 electoral votes of that state to Grover Cleveland.

If no man receives a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives will proceed to elect the President from the three highest names on the list, each state having only one vote, which is determined by a majority of its representatives in the House, and a majority of the forty-eight states being necessary for election. If no man receives a majority of the electoral votes for Vice-President, then the Senate must elect a Vice-President from the two highest names on the list. If the House does not select a President by March 4th, the date of the inauguration, the Vice-President would become the President, as in the case of the death of a President.

Many changes in the manner of electing the President have been proposed: He might be elected (1) simply by the majority vote of the entire people. (2) As now, by electoral votes, doing away with electors. (3) By electoral votes, using the congressional district as a unit for the count, instead of giving the entire electoral vote of the state for a bare majority. This last seems fairer than the present method, but it will probably be some time before the present method is changed.

(Information given in this article was taken from "Introduction to American Government," by Frederick A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, Century Company.)

A Line on the Movies

By IRENE THIRER

"THREE WOMEN."—Ernst Lubitsch's trifling subtle touches do much to make this production more than the ordinary in the realm of films. The story of a mother who refuses to grow old, and a daughter who emulates her mother in a love affair, only to be outrivalled in the affections of the male concerned by still another charmer, is splendidly depicted, with Pauline Frederick, May McAvoy, Marie Prevost and Lew Cody in the important rôles. No, this isn't a picture for children, but it's well worth seeing for their parents.

TARNISH.—A really good movie, this, adapted from the stage play by Gilbert Emery. The story tells of a flighty, unscrupulous father, and of a daughter, the family's bread-winner, who learns a lesson in love from a happy-go-lucky, gold-digging little manicurist. May McAvoy, Albert Gran, Marie Prevost and Ronald Colman are excellent in their respective rôles. Children may enjoy the humorous situations in the film. It certainly cannot harm them. A Samuel Goldwyn production, directed by George Fitzmaurice.

THE NAVIGATOR.—Every kid's a Keaton fan. Therefore, every kid will roll out of his seat over Buster Keaton's newest screen offering. Buster has chosen the sea and a cannibal island as the film's background. But the "navigator" isn't the star himself. It's the name of his ship. Kathryn MacGuire is a clever assistant to Mr. Keaton in some screamingly funny episodes. A Metro-Goldwyn production, directed by Donald Crisp and Buster Keaton.

HER LOVE STORY.—Gloria Swanson's

newest film is gentle and tragic for a while, with excellent photography and capable performances. The plot concerns the unhappy queen of the usual debauched king. But this queen had been secretly married to a commoner, and has a child by him. Gloria is far from effervescent in this production, but she is glorious, nevertheless, and so are her gowns. The film's conclusion turns it from one of sweet tragedy to a commonplace "happily ever after" type. Ian Keith is well cast in support of Miss Swanson. A Famous Players production, from the story by Mary Roberts Rinehart. Directed by Allan Dwan.

HIS HOUR.—Some more stuff and nonsense! John Gilbert as the "him" in "His Hour" is "sheikier" than Rudolph Valentino ever was. He's the reason for the palpitation of the English lady's heart. You know, Elinor Glyn always must have a superb English lady in her stories. Aileen Pringle is admirably suited to play the rôle opposite Mr. Gilbert—just to dress up and look beautiful. This is decidedly not a film to take the youngsters to see. It's not even very worth-while for adults. A Goldwyn-Mayer production, directed by King Vidor.

ROARING RAILS.—Here's one that children will certainly appreciate, but it's made of the stuff that's not so good for their imaginations. A railroad film, with accident, murder, and the newest child wonder—Frankie Darro—in it. Harry Carey is an obscure title rôleist, whom Edith Roberts helps out on little occasion. Released by Producers Distributing Corporation. Directed by Hunt Stromberg.

Facing November 4th

(Continued from page 10)

STATE TREASURER

Socialist

Mrs. Stella K. Garrison

ILLINOIS

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer

MEMBER GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Republican

Mrs. Katherine Hancock Goode, Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill (incumbent),

Mrs. Rena Elrod

TRUSTEE, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Republican

Mrs. Anna Wilmarth Ickes—now serving, filling unexpired term

KANSAS

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Mrs. Annie May Riner

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Lavonia M. Donica, Mrs. Ben Mickel, Mrs. Robert Dixon, Mrs. R. H. Trueblood

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Democrat

Mrs. Gertrude A. Patterson
PROBATE JUDGE
Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead (a former
member of the legislature, and one of
the seconders of President Coolidge's
nomination at Cleveland)

MAINE
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
Mrs. Katherine C. Allen (elected)

MASSACHUSETTS
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
Republican
Harriet Russell Hart, M. Sylvia Don-
aldson, Susan M. Fox, Harriet C. Hall
Democrat

Constance R. O'Connell
Independent
Margaret A. Gallagher
Citizen's Progressive
Susan E. Stevens
Non-Partisan
Alice H. Damon
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
(An important office in Massachusetts)
Republican
Esther Kingman

MICHIGAN
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
Republican
Mrs. Cora Reynolds Anderson

MINNESOTA
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
Without party designation
Essie W. Williams, Mrs. Michael J.
Dowling, Myrtle A. Cain, Mabeth
Hurd Paige, Mrs. Myra Griswold, Sue
M. Dickey Hough, Mrs. G. A. Petrie,
Hannah J. Kempfer, Mrs. Etta Miller

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STATE SENATOR
Democrat
Belle Kearney
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
Mrs. Nellie Nugent Somerville
COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT
Josephine Fitts

MISSOURI
MEMBER GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Republican
Mrs. Nellie Warmoth
Mayme H. Ousley
Democrat
Mrs. E. T. Smith (incumbent)
Sarah Lucille Turner

MONTANA
STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION
Republican
May Trumper
(Most of the county superintendents are
women)

NEBRASKA
STATE SENATOR
Democrat
Clara S. Paine
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
Republican
Mrs. Clara C. Humphrey
Democrat
Mrs. Lue R. Spencer, Mabel A. Gil-
lespie, Mrs. Catherine F. McGerr,
Sarah T. Muir (no party given)
UNIVERSITY REGENT
Alice Towne Dewese

NEW HAMPSHIRE
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
Republican
Mrs. Effie Yantis

NEW JERSEY
MEMBER STATE ASSEMBLY

Democrat
Miss May Carty (incumbent)
Mrs. Neil Finn (incumbent)

NEW YORK
MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY
Republican
Rhoda Fox Graves
Democrat
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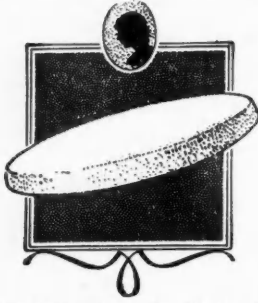
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I am glad to recommend this work to all who desire a better understanding of the "whys and wherefores" of the Laws governing executive bodies.

Eva C. Wheeler, Pres., and Ada B. Cunningham, Cor. Sec., W. C. T. U. of Southern California.

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Minnie J. Nielson (incumbent), Bertha Palmer

OHIO

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Mrs. Nettie B. Loughhead, Mrs. Maude C. Waitt (incumbents)

Democrat

Bettie Wilson, Mrs. Mary M. Tilden

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Nettie M. Clapp, Grace E. Makepeace, Mrs. Clara Wood Derr, Mrs. Viola D. Romans, Mrs. May M. Van Wye, Mrs. Clarence H. Wells, Mrs. C. J. Ott, Osa Penny, Mrs. E. S. Reider

Democrat

Mrs. Olive Joy Wright, Mrs. Jennie P. Rubrecht, Myrtle H. Clark, Mrs. Lottie Cornell, Mrs. Margaret M. Allman

PENNSYLVANIA

JUDGE OF SUPERIOR COURT
Margaret Center Klingelsmith

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Flora M. Vare

Socialist

Bertha Finney

MEMBER GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Republican

Helen Grimes, Martha G. Thomas, Lillie H. Pitts, (also Progressive), Alice M. Bentley (all four incumbents), Marta M. Pennock, Maud B. Trescher (also Prohibition)

Democrat

Lula Mosby, Beatrice Parmalee, Elizabeth G. Galbraith, Kathrine F. McDade, Hanna M. Ruesskamp, Mary S. Loucks

Socialist

May Lehner, Anna Van Essen, Rose Coleman, Rose St. Claire, Caroline Baldwin, Mary Cornelius, Zoe Meek, Charlotte N. Jones, Martha C. Croushore, Alice Crawford, Helen Murphy, Lena Jaffee, Marie Wanamaker, Nellie E. Chew

Prohibition

Margaret Mohn, Martha Thomas, Mary C. Stewart, Margaret C. B. Bancroft, Alice B. McAllister, Helen G. Hartley, Elmira Land, Ella Sporgenberg, Elizabeth Martin, Carrie D. Johnston, Frances Linning

RHODE ISLAND

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Republican

Grace Howarth

MEMBER GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Republican

Mrs. Olive D. Hammill, Grace B. Ross, Mrs. Nellie C. Wood

Democrat

Isabel Ahearn O'Neill (incumbent)

TENNESSEE

STATE SENATOR

Democrat

Marion Griffin (incumbent)

UTAH

STATE SENATOR

Democrat

Mrs. Sarah E. Stewart

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Democrat

Mrs. J. J. Galligan, Luella C. Haymond, Mrs. Anna Brady, Mrs. Maude Beesley Jacobs

WASHINGTON

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Ella M. Russell

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Harry John Miller, Maude Sweetman (incumbents)

Democrat

Mary Pearce Bullock, Mrs. Frank Reeves (incumbent)

Farmer-Labor

Mrs. Fannie H. Perry

Jessie Bullock Kastner (incumbent)
STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC

INSTRUCTION

Republican

Josephine Corliss Preston

Democrat

D. O. Dean

Farmer-Labor

Lura Snow Bouck

WEST VIRGINIA

MEMBER OF HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Republican

Dr. Harriette B. Jones

Mrs. Edith Rosser Staats

Democrat

Mrs. Tom Gates.

Louise Wood (no party given)

WISCONSIN

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Helen M. Brooks, Mildred Barber (La Follette Progressive Republican),

Helen M. Thompson

Democrat

Mrs. Margaret Fragstein

WYOMING

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Mrs. Emma Howell Knight (no party given)

In the above list are many whose records have already been published in the CITIZEN; of others we know no details, and we haven't room now to tell you what we have learned about the rest. Outstanding among new names are Dr. Harriette Jones, of West Virginia, who has been a leader in most of the good movements in her state; Mrs. Helen Quan, of Connecticut, interested in working hours and school conditions; Mrs. Katherine Hancock Goode, of Illinois; Mrs. Catherine F. McGerr, a prominent worker in Nebraska for suffrage and prohibition, credited with brains and courage.

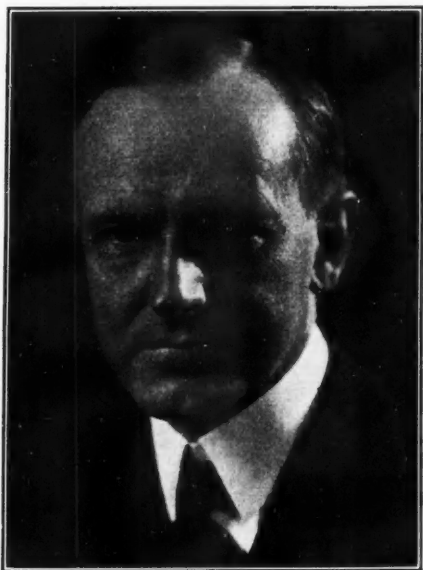
Doubtless many others possess the same qualities. The record will be "continued in our next."

THE 1924 CHOICE

A vote for La Follette is a vote for Bryan

A vote for Davis is a vote for Bryan

A vote for Coolidge is a vote for Coolidge



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ELECT

Calvin Coolidge

Charles Gates Dawes

"I PREFER A MAN TO A MYTH"

SAYS THE PRESIDENT OF VASSAR COLLEGE

(Former Republican)

Dr. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN Tells Why He Will Vote For

JOHN W. DAVIS

For President of the United States

In the long list of Republican and Independent voters who this year declare their intention of voting for John W. Davis for President appear the names of presidents of many of the leading colleges and universities of America. Among them is Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, President of Vassar College, who sets forth his reasons for supporting Mr. Davis in preference to the Republican nominee in the following ringing statement:

Read What Dr. MacCracken Says:



"I SHALL work for Davis, because I prefer a man to a myth. I know something about Davis. I know he is the leading lawyer of the American bar. I know his opinion on every great issue. His record is an open book. He is a man of utter integrity. I trust him.

"I know nothing about Coolidge. He is a myth. Secrecy surrounds him. I can't find out the truth about his record as governor. I don't even know whether he wrote the magazine articles he signed, when he was Vice-President. What else he did as Vice-President I don't know. He sat at Cabinet meetings with Fall and Denby and Daugherty, and could see no reason for change when he came to select his own Cabinet. He is an

edited man; he was put together in a publicity office; and he will be plausible just as long as he can find someone to tell him what to think.

"I've seen him in the movies. 'Smile!' say the picture men; and he smiles. 'Go to ball-games!' 'Give Henry Ford a bucket of sap.' 'Toss some hay.' And he obeyed anxiously and humbly. But is that the real Coolidge? I don't know. I know who tells him to smile, for I can see a movie. But I don't know who tells him to sign on a dotted line, for I'm not there, and I haven't a dictaphone on the job.

"I was once a Republican, by inheritance and faith. But when the Republicans abandoned their party policy in 1920, when they caused their country to be defeated in its war policy for the sake of a partisan victory of spite, when they repudiated everything I had learned from Lincoln and Grant and Hay and Root to hold dear, then I gave up my party.

"Today Republicanism means repudiation, cynical and self-seeking; Democracy means progress. It is hypocrisy against sincerity; the record of '16-'20 against the record of '20-'24. Why anyone past the age of fairy-tales wants to vote for a myth like Coolidge, I can not see. Vote for a man!"

The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

NOVEMBER 15, 1924

Number 11

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Election

THE result of the election, with Washington interpretations, is given by Mrs. Stokes in this number; but just to keep the record straight let us sum up: the final returns gave President Coolidge 382 electoral votes (266 were needed) and a popular vote of about 15,000,000; John W. Davis, 136 electoral votes and about 9,000,000 popular votes; Senator La Follette 13 electoral votes and a popular vote of over 4,000,000. President Coolidge's plurality was well over six million.

The states carried by President Coolidge were: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming.

Mr. Davis carried Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia; and Senator La Follette carried Wisconsin.

In searching out causes you take your choice, according to your best lights and your partisan inclinations. On a few interpretations there are small differences—the appeal of President Coolidge's personality—his reputation for steadiness, economy and common sense; the effectiveness of the Republican campaign alarm over an alleged danger to the country and the Constitution in the La Follette candidacy; the advantage of a large campaign fund; the conviction of business that its interests lie in Republican hands; and the disastrous effect on the public mind of the Democratic convention struggle of last June, together with the wide difference in type of appeal between Mr. Davis and Governor Bryan. In a recent analysis of the opinions of Democratic leaders, these last two are principal points. The New York World has produced an analysis

of the vote of the states that favored McAdoo in the convention, which indicates that these states gave Mr. Davis far less support than they gave to Cox in 1920.

With the Ex-Nominees

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S first post-election act, aside from his simple and dignified statement of thanks, was to indicate that he would put stress on tax reduction. This is in harmony with the dominant note—economy—of his few campaign speeches. It is reported, however, that the legislation he will urge on the short session of the old Congress is farm relief, only, reserving other measures for the new Congress, which will be in closer harmony with him than the old one.

Mr. Davis will turn again to legal practice after a winter vacation on the Mediterranean. Senator La Follette announces that he will carry on, though he carefully refrains from predictions in the name of the organizations that made up the third party group. From several of them have come expressions of belief that more than four million votes, widely distributed, justify the continuation of the educational propaganda and even the actual organization of a third party.

No figures on the popular vote are final yet, of course, and the La Follette people claim they will show nearer five million than four. In estimating the strength of the movement for a new party, they call attention to the fact that these votes were won in spite of the disadvantage of little money and an organization only a few months old, and without the inspiration of state tickets.

The Overturn in England

THIS is a lucky autumn for conservatives. In the British general election, on October 29, the Conservative Party won an overwhelming victory. They now have 412 seats, instead of their former 258. Labor has 152, instead of 193, and the Liberals dropped from 118 to 40, and even Asquith was defeated. The Constitutionalists have

seven seats, and the Independents, 4. The outcome thus is a strengthening of the two extremes, and a great damper on the Liberals.

Evidently fear of Socialism, though the MacDonald administration was socialistic only in name, was the motive of the crushing swing to the right. The failure of Liberalism and Labor to agree ended in a triumph for the Tories.

A last-minute factor of great importance in the election was a mysterious letter purporting to be written by Zinovieff, head of the Communist Internationale, to the British Communists, urging violence and measures that would cripple the nation in war. This document was in the foreign office for some time, and under MacDonald's direction its authenticity was being investigated. Its publication by the Foreign Office was hastened by the fact that the Conservative press had got hold of it somehow—through a Foreign Office leak, Mr. MacDonald charged—and was about to release it. The letter appeared, just on the eve of election, accompanied by a strong protest from the Foreign Office. The Conservatives, of course, made great capital out of this against the Labor Government, which had put through treaties with Russia and had claimed the Soviet Government would keep faith. A great Red scare was launched, and as the Labor Party had no press, there was little opportunity to fight it. The letter may prove a forgery. The Soviet Government has repudiated it and demanded an apology. Mr. MacDonald ordered an inquiry before he resigned.

Stanley Baldwin has again become Premier, and in general opinion has chosen his Cabinet with great wisdom. His Chancellor of the Exchequer is Winston Spencer Churchill—a former Liberal; his Foreign Secretary, and Deputy leader of the Commons, is J. Austen Chamberlain, and Lord Birkenhead is Secretary of State for India. Lord Curzon, the former Foreign Secretary, received only the minor post of Lord President of the Council—and objects.

Election High Spots

FOLLOWING the lead of Cleveland, Cincinnati voted by more than two to one to abolish its mayor and ward council government and adopt the city manager plan, with proportional representation. For years Cincinnati has suffered from having one political organization—the Republican—in undisputed control, without an opposition strong enough to elect office-holders, but able to vote against the spending of funds, with disastrous effects. Recently the Republicans summoned a city government expert, and the result is a plan for a council of nine instead of thirty-two members, to be chosen by proportional representation so that *minorities* also may have a voice.

A distressing election result in Colorado was the defeat of Judge Ben B. Lindsey, for twenty-five years judge of the Children's Court, and known throughout this country and Europe for his remarkable work. Apparently, the Klan did it, and Colorado has suffered a grave loss.

William Allen White, the well-known editor, of Emporia, Kansas, ran third in the race for the governorship. Mr. White was a courageous crusader against the Klan, leaving his desk for that sole reason.

The Klan's victory was easy against the former governor of Oklahoma, Jack Walton, who had accumulated enemies on various scores. It was defeated, with assorted help, in Texas. In Colorado, Indiana, Kansas and Maine governors credited with Klan support were elected.

Massachusetts had an advisory referendum vote on the child labor amendment November 4, and advised against it. Alice Stone Blackwell will tell us the details of the battle in the next issue; the conditions that prevailed in Massachusetts probably exist in others of the states whose legislatures will act on the amendment this winter.

France and Russia

AT just about the time the British Foreign Office was publishing the Zinovieff letter and protest, the French Government was formally recognizing Soviet Russia. France makes no expressions of friendly approval for the Soviets; and no French claims on this or preceding régimes are waived. Later a conference will be held for the settlement of debts, treaties, etc., but formal recognition of the government as stable enough to warrant trade and diplomatic relations has not waited for this. Ambassadors are to be appointed at once, and indeed the old Russian Embassy has already been taken over by the Soviet representatives, while Russian exiles in Paris, of whom there are great numbers, are protesting violently.

The following countries (listed by the Foreign Policy Association) have

now given Soviet Russia *de jure* recognition: England, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, China, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Greece, Turkey, Albania, Mexico, Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Khiva, Bokhara, the Free City of Danzig; and *de facto* recognition has been extended by Czechoslovakia.

Income-Tax Publicity

INCOME-TAX lists continue to appear in the papers, but whether legally or not is still unclear. The difficulty is that two passages in the income-tax law seem to contradict each other—one prohibiting, one directing, publication. Attorney General Stone, confronted with them, has prepared a suit against some newspaper as a test. His idea is that publication was not intended, but only accessibility of the returns to inquirers. Meantime, a man in Cleveland tried to get an injunction to prevent the Collector of Internal Revenue from publishing his tax record, on the ground that it was his private property. A Federal judge ruled against him—said his tax return belonged to the Government, and his privacy had not been invaded.

An Upset in China

THE Civil War in China, which has been going on for weeks, took a new turn when one of the three principal generals involved, the "Christian General" Feng Yu-hsiang, turned on his superiors, marched on Peking, the capital, and demanded the resignation of the President and a decree declaring hostilities at an end. He desires the elimination of Wu, his own chief, and of the Manchurian war lord, Chang—all for patriotism, as usual. But the hostilities are at least temporarily ended.

A twist in the situation is that the young Emperor, who was deposed in 1912, has been turned out of his Palace in the Forbidden City. When the republic came in, he was politely allowed his home and a huge allowance, instead of being exiled or killed, after the man-

"I studied in Paris at the Académie Julien and afterward with Raphael Collins," said Helen Watson Phelps, our cover artist. "Portraiture has been my bent from the beginning, with an occasional change of theme to the nude figure out of doors. I have also painted many children. One of my happiest experiences was painting a dear old lady, a mid-Victorian poetess."

And we add that there has been a long list of prominent sitters; some of the portraits now hang in private collections, some in private homes.

"Aside from my painting, my interest lies in the Pen and Brush, one of the most worthwhile of women's clubs, the Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, the National Arts Club, the New York Society of Painters and the Providence and Yonkers Arts Clubs.

"My chief hobby is cooking. You should see my cook books, fifteen of them—such a cosmopolitan array on my kitchen shelf!"

ner of most countries. Now the military men have evicted him.

League Services

THE Council of the League of Nations has been successful in disposing of another menacing quarrel. Great Britain appealed to the Council to settle her dispute with Turkey over the boundary between Turkey and Mesopotamia—the so-called Irak frontier, which has been causing trouble and threatening a great deal more. The boundary was fixed in the Treaty of Sevres, but that treaty was never accepted by Turkey. The two nations agreed to abide by the Council's decision, and it has been given, through the work of M. Branting, of Sweden. The line is changed in several places—each nation yielding something, but Turkey, it is said, losing a bit the more. Though the adjustment is only temporary—to last until a commission on a permanent boundary can investigate and decide—for that length of time hostilities are averted, and the value of such a conciliatory body is again demonstrated.

Mosul oil lies somewhere in the background of this situation, but it seems not to be involved in the boundary dispute.

Another recent action of the League is in connection with friction between Greece and Turkey over charges that the Turks were not carrying out fairly the arrangement for exchange of populations. The Council asked the Mixed Commission to meet and smooth out the troubles. The Mixed Commission, itself a League body, was already at work.

Unemployment

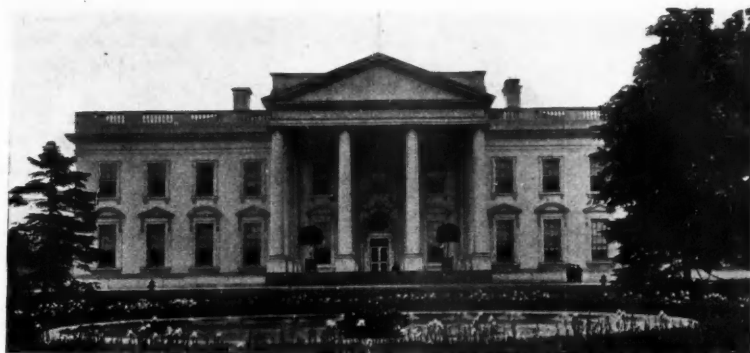
AFTER five years' study of the employment situation in thirty-one states and Canada the Russell Sage Foundation reports that during the last two decades between ten and twelve per cent of the workers of the United States, on an average, have been out of work all the time.

Very Briefly

TEN Federal attorneys have been ousted by Attorney General Stone for failure to enforce the prohibition law. The request for their resignations is supposed to be a result of recent statements made by Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General, to the President of the Philadelphia Law Enforcement League concerning district attorneys who had hindered prohibition.

The power of Primo de Rivera, dictator of Spain, has been threatened. Revolution broke out in two cities, but the latest report is that the execution of several anarchists has checked it.

Senator Lodge died November 9, in his seventy-fifth year. He had represented Massachusetts in the Senate for thirty-one years. His place will be filled by appointment. November 11, 1924



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

November 7, 1924

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE is popular. He was elected by a popular vote of some 18,000,000, by the early returns. A wave of enthusiasm has put him on a pedestal. He will now be entirely on his own. Condolences offered him previous to election for the mistakes of his party and Congress were based on his handicaps—the fact that he was left by the death of President Harding with problems which he did not create and with which he was more or less powerless to cope. He has now gained support in both the House and the Senate. His shackles are loosened and the silent power in the White House can now produce.

Enter the Radio

Looking back, it was a different election from any in the history of American politics. One needed but a single graphic illustration—the picture of Chief Justice Taft sitting before the radio at the home of Miss Mabel T. Boardman here, with ear 'phones over his head and the loud speaker bellowing at his elbow. The publicity revolution which may be in store for the country, namely, the usurpation of the place of the American newspaper by a perfected and developed radio, was foreshadowed this election night. Cries on the street as usual of "Wuxtra"—"Papah"! seemed to stop the crowds but little and to fall on the unsympathetic ears of people rushing home to eat a comfortable dinner and settle down afterward in slippers and pipe to hear the *real* news—the radio. The old thing squeaked and squawked; Chicago broke in on Pittsburgh and Pittsburgh on Washington. Every now and then some one was elected to the Court of Common Pleas of Nehasane, and then out in Kansas a

raucous voice announced the failure of William Allen White's candidacy for the governorship, against the Ku Klux Klan. It was all a political radio mêlée. No one but a psychic medium could have told what in truth was happening, with one exception, that the preponderance of pluralities for President Coolidge from every part of the country was such that it was obvious that Democrats and Independents might as well go to bed. But radio returns are amateurish, and hardly competitive with newspapers. It was merely a question of whether a man would rather stand in front of a newspaper bulletin board on a galeswept corner office building and read logical bulletins or take his politics in a jumble with full intermissions for jazz concerts from Cleveland and the Middle West. Unfortunately, nine out of ten will take the easy chair and the radio.

As a matter of fact, among all the squeaks which the wave lengths carried there was no better voice than that of President Coolidge. He made a good many votes with the low, unemotional, high-carrying messages he intoned. Every syllable he uttered carried a resonance of confidence and undisturbed temper. He might have been sitting at his desk in the president's office of a bank or been safely ensconced as a great wool merchant in New England. He had no semblance of doing a skit. His delivery sounded all in the day's work and people liked it—after dinner with a good cigar.

On the morning of election day President Coolidge was calm. He had stayed in bed late—as late as eight o'clock—in order to remain up beyond his usual retiring hour of ten o'clock. About half-past twelve at night the announcer on the radio began to beg the unseen audiences to accept a little more music while Far Western returns were awaited. It was at this point that President Cool-

idge decided to go to bed. In the morning he had predicted his own election and that of a Republican Congress. After midnight he was no surer than he had been in the morning, although the votes were actually in hand. His was the East, the Middle West and the Far West in bright prospect. Mr. Davis had the solid South and Mr. La Follette his State of Wisconsin. That was enough for President Coolidge and he slept peacefully.

Even the capital was taken aback somewhat by the size of the popular vote for President Coolidge. No one had expected anything else but a Republican victory, with the exception of radical workers who were wild in their hopes, but few thought that both La Follette and Davis would so thoroughly capitulate to Mr. Coolidge. At this writing the afterglow and the "why" have hardly set in, but the elemental situation has been studied.

The New England Influence

In any campaign old hands will say that the most powerful factors are those which have to do with elemental conditions. One old pine table, one kerosene lamp, one Bible, one father, one old cemetery, a few New England hills, and an economical look mean more to an electorate than four billion oil leases or a like number of economic technicalities of tariff or balance of trade. There may be a legend that the East is East and the West is West, but there is one go-between which the whole country understands, and it is the foundational psychology of New England, which penetrated the West in pioneer days and has seeped through the country from coast to coast ever since until you cannot put a finger upon a spot where somebody's grandfather didn't hail from New England. Consequently plain people understand the man Coolidge. They

know dozens of others like him. They believe a shrewd, canny man is the one who can gain success with an eloquent silence. They understand a personality which loves baseball and abhors golf.

Colonel Harvey in his early interpretation said that women elected Coolidge because he was "their kind of man." In all his analyses Colonel Harvey waxed more and more laudatory of Coolidge, the man, as the issue, rather than the accomplishments of the Republican Party. It was President Coolidge himself who won the election by so large a plurality, not the G. O. P. and its philosophy; it was not even the Republican platform adopted at Cleveland that succeeded. In fact, the platform all but disappeared, sunk with its own issues. One of the administration interpreters, writing in a Republican newspaper here, said that the platform went to the Republican Convention in the pocket of C. Bascom Slemple, secretary to the President, all neatly typed and decided upon, and that, although ardent women and others spent long hours deciding upon what should go into the platform, it was President Coolidge and advisers in the White House who ground it out.

But, although Colonel Harvey made the campaign revolve around President Coolidge, it is well known in Washington that Mr. Coolidge cannot be a natural leader no matter to what extent he becomes a mythical prince. He has nothing in him of the magnetism of a Roosevelt, Theodore or Franklin. There is nothing martyrlike about him, little of the fighter. Colonel Harvey has created an image, labeled "Coolidge or Chaos," and the Republican Party now will have to deliver the gifts expected from it.

The Four Million

There are many here who wonder whether it is a healthy sign today to bring back either of the old parties with a landslide, for students of political economy have been convinced that the United States is but a part of the political cycle; that Great Britain already has reached the peak of a swing toward liberalism, has had her fling at a liberal government, and started down the road toward a middle ground, but that the United States has not reached the peak, and may have only postponed it. Although Senator La Follette has fallen so far behind the expectations of his own followers and others, nevertheless, the fact remains that about four million persons registered a protest against the old parties. That they were ineffectual is another story. Four million votes would have rolled up considerable in the electoral college, had the La Follette forces been concentrated in battle formation.

It is almost inconceivable that a man so long experienced, so much a name in the failures of American politics, so representative of a hodge-podge of political opinion should have been able to

carry so large a vote against strong men like Calvin Coolidge and John W. Davis.

Senator La Follette's vote was about half as large a proportion of the total vote cast as that polled by Theodore Roosevelt when he led the third party movement in 1912, even though it gained him the electoral vote of only one state. Roosevelt obtained 88 electoral votes in 1912, and defeated Mr. Taft, insuring the election of the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson. Senator La Follette's total vote was about the same as Roosevelt's.

Moreover, those four million were not inclusive of the labor vote, which split and did not wholly support the independent candidate at the last. Take these four million, plus the remaining labor vote, and you have a substantial protest against the old parties as they are now functioning. A good deal of this four million was the intelligentsia—ministers, professors, students and others.

WHAT THE ELECTION TOLD

1. *Issues in the national election were entirely submerged by personalities.*

2. *The Ku Klux Klan is an active power in American politics—it elected and defeated candidates.*

3. *Labor organizations cannot deliver the votes of their memberships as such—organizations endorsed La Follette, members voted for Coolidge.*

4. *American people do not hold a party responsible for the conduct of individual members in office—there was no censure for Secretary Fall, or other participants in oil irregularities.*

5. *A protest vote exists in the American electorate well distributed throughout the country among all classes—four million votes were cast for an independent candidate.*

The next four years will entirely determine the future of this protest in the electorate. If President Coolidge succeeds in a thorough reorganization of government and party he will have done a service which may mean that the United States will not go through the kind of political climax that has happened in Great Britain. If in these ensuing four years some of the hangers-on at the capital find other work; new blood comes in, more forward-looking foreign policies are adopted, those who have registered as independents undoubtedly will reenlist in one or the other of the old parties. Since our earliest history there has been no place for a third party as such. Time and again it has been tried, and the ultimate success has been in working through one or the other of the established organizations.

But President Coolidge faces the most

difficult work of his career. Thousands of persons among this great plurality voted for him because they had "nothing against him." He will be forced out in the open. He must now construct. He no longer can be passive and merely tolerant. And the reason a great many have "nothing against him" has been, frankly, because he has done little. The whirl has been around him, not within him.

One of the first reactions to the election results has been the news that there would be important changes in the Coolidge cabinet; that Secretary Slemple was worn out, personally and officially, and would resign. It is said that he was none too gratified at the time of the appointment of William M. Butler as head of the Coolidge campaign; that his ideas and those of President Coolidge and his political adviser, Mr. Frank W. Stearns, were not entirely compatible. It is not surprising. There are two sections of the country that even today hardly understand each other, and those are the old South and parsimonious New England. Mr. Slemple, formerly Congressman from Virginia, is the Southern politician epitomized. He looks upon office-holding as the cat looks upon the canary, and he and President Coolidge must have about as much in common as a school teacher and Beau Brummel.

The election has furnished the country with a political anomaly. Although Republicanism swept the country it overlooked New York State. While President Coolidge sits in the White House with a Republican House and Senate to command, Governor Smith will preside at Albany as a Democratic Governor with Republicans all about him. His will be a hard task, while "Coolidge" luck has stood by the President, even in the details of the Congressional situation.

New Leaders

The elevation of Speaker Gillett of Massachusetts to the Senate will leave the choice of the new Speaker to the Coolidge administration and the new Congress, Republican controlled. Representative Longworth, Republican floor leader, is spoken of with favorable comment for the post.

In the Senate, the serious illness of the majority leader, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, creates a situation in which the President may be called upon for party leadership. At this writing Senator Lodge's condition is extremely grave, and even if his extraordinary vitality enables him to rally, the nature of the shock is such that he would be inactive for some time, in all probability. The possibility of filling his place in the Senate with a majority leader from the younger ranks would indeed give the President a Congress almost entirely made to his order.

(Continued on page 24)

Women Who Won

On November 4th



WELL, they got out the vote!

Thirty million strong, it trooped to the polls all that beautiful November day, warm and clear almost from coast to coast. Very dramatic it is when you think of the length and breadth, the heights and the valleys of this great land, and everywhere little streams of men and women quietly concentrating on voting booth and ballot-box—coming easily from neighboring city blocks or sometimes with hardship over long country roads, to choose their government.

Exact figures on the number who voted, on the ratio of voters to possible voters, are still lacking as this is written; but that there was a huge turnout is certain. And credit must go first of all to all the numerous organizations of women—of men—of men and women—of boys and girls—who joined in to bring out the vote.

The one and only drawback is that it takes so long to count up! We have to go to press with the main outlines of course clear to all the world, but with points of special interest in state results still uncertain. Returns are coming in, not only through the papers but by telegram; but with a country as large as this, and with a vote as large as this, we can't hope to make full reports before the last November issue.

Four conspicuous offices have been won by women: Mrs. Miriam Ferguson has been elected Governor of Texas, and Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross, Governor of Wyoming—both Democrats; Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp, Republican, has been elected Secretary of State for New York; Mrs. Mary T. Norton, of New Jersey, Democrat, goes to Congress—the first woman from the East.

Women governors are the great novelty of this election, so we'll begin with them.

Both of the women governors came to their high honors through unusual circumstances, and with their husbands as factors. It is true that neither case is an all-wool feminist triumph. Yet both women were freely chosen by the people, with plenty of chance to choose otherwise, and the election means a remarkable advance in the political recognition of women. To realize it, one has only to remember the fuss made over women mayors a few short years ago. And the fact that two great states, in whatever circumstances, have given to women the highest political office in the country next to that of President, will make it easier hereafter for other women to succeed wholly on their own records. Texas perhaps is more amazing than Wyoming because Wyoming gave women the right of suffrage away back in 1869, first of all the states in the Union.

Mrs. Ferguson was nominated in the Democratic state primaries in August; Mrs. Ross was nominated by the Democratic state party convention only in October, to fill the two-year vacancy caused by her husband's death.

Wyoming papers and Wyoming friends say that Mrs. Ross was chosen not merely as a tribute of sentiment for her husband, but in the conviction that she, better than any one else, would carry out the late governor's policies. She did not seek the nomination, but accepted it in loyalty to her husband and his work, with which she has been most intimately associated.

The *Wyoming Labor Journal* favored her, and said, in urging her election: "Mrs. Ross is eminently qualified by training, experience and character to be



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Governor-elect Ross of Wyoming

governor. She cooperated intelligently and whole-heartedly with her husband while he was private citizen and while governor, and knows the problems and administrative policies of the state as few people do. She is devoted to the rights of the common people, and should be elected to repudiate the grasping, selfish oil interests, and to insure the continuation of the wise and constructive policies inaugurated by her late husband and in the formulation of which she herself had such an important part."

Her candidacy stirred great enthusiasm. The convention was noisily enthusiastic. A non-partisan woman's club was organized to work for her; so was a club of students at the state university. Seventy Republican and Democratic men and women students of the university paid for a big political newspaper advertisement in her favor headed "Not Sentiment but Common Sense," and carrying the slogan, "Beat Texas to It."

In her speech of acceptance—a clear and dignified statement—Mrs. Ross stressed friendliness for labor, legislation to relieve agriculture, to safeguard bank savings, opposed the repeal of the primary law and urged economy to reduce taxes. Taxation was the special issue before the state at the time of Governor Ross's death. In concluding her speech, she said:

"I want to add that I am not unmindful of the great responsibility this office entails, and, in case of my election, while I should expect to avail myself of the counsel of all persons, without regard to party, having information and opinions on the questions placed before me, I shall expect and feel in duty bound to make my own decisions in every case, realizing that upon me alone would rest the responsibility. The fact of my being a woman would in no way alter my obligation to the people in this respect . . ."



Governor-elect Ferguson, of Texas, with her two daughters. Dorrace, at the right, will act as hostess at the capitol

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Mrs. Ross is of old Southern stock, born in St. Joseph, Missouri, educated there and in Omaha. She married William Ross of Tennessee when he was a young lawyer with a shingle just out in Cheyenne. She is about forty, gracious, of striking appearance and fine poise; the mother of three sons. Two of them—twins—voting at their first presidential election, accompanied their mother to the polls on November 4.

Mrs. Ross, being in mourning, did no active campaigning. There was a hope that she would slip in by a small majority; actually she rolled up a huge one as the belated returns came in.

"Ma" Ferguson

The story of Mrs. Ferguson has been told so often that it need only be reviewed. "Jim" Ferguson, one-time governor, lost the right to hold office as the result of impeachment proceedings on charges of misappropriation of funds. He was notably "wet," and he was an active anti-suffragist. Mrs. Ferguson undertook to secure the nomination in "vindication" of her husband's name, and he did most of the campaigning. The Klan, dry, opposed Mrs. Ferguson and became indeed her chief opponent, while strong wet forces supported her. The lines were crossed, but Mrs. Ferguson's victory was counted as a defeat of the Klan. So Mrs. Ferguson, in her statement after election, interprets it. At the moment her Republican opponent refuses to concede the election, but there seems little doubt.

As reported in the CITIZEN for September 6, Mrs. Ferguson is said never to have served liquor on her own table during the time she was governor's wife, and she is clearly for law enforcement. She may surprise the wets who supported her. She has indicated that on state matters affecting education and social welfare, women and children, she will follow her own judgment exclusively, consulting her husband on technical matters only. So she may surprise those who have been saying "Jim" will be actual governor. Anyhow, the outcome will be most interesting to watch. "Perhaps after all," as Mrs. Catt said, after summing up the Ferguson record, "Texas has immortalized herself."

In contrast with the governors, the Congresswoman went in on her own, in the regular political way. Of the four women who have served in Congress previously—Miss Rankin, Miss Robertson, Mrs. Huck, Mrs. Nolan—two were elected in tribute to a deceased father and husband, respectively. Mrs. Norton is the first to leave a husband at home!

The outstanding facts about Mrs. Norton, who will take her seat in the next Congress as the first woman Democratic Representative, are supplied by Frances Drewry McMullen:

A grateful. "If-there-is-ever-anything-

I-can-do-for-you." is said by her friends to have proved the opening wedge into politics for Mrs. Norton. Interest in welfare work first brought her into contact with the officials of her present constituency in Jersey City, who won her gratitude by their response to her appeals for funds and cooperation. When women received the vote, someone was needed to organize the Democratic women of Hudson County. Mayor Frank Hague, of Jersey City, decided to call upon Mrs. Norton to do it. In 1921 she became vice-chairman of the county Democratic organization and the following year stepped up to the vice-chairmanship of the Democratic State Committee of New Jersey. Last winter she became a member of the Board of Freeholders of Hudson County, the governing body of the county, with the city hospital and the almshouse in her charge. In addition, she has striven for the establishment of a maternity hospital, ground for which will be broken in the spring.

Her social service work began when, after the death of her little son, an only child, she volunteered in the Hudson County Day Nursery. For eight years she has been president of the Queen's Daughters of Hudson County, an organization of the Catholic Church. Under her administration the work of the society has expanded from care of a small day nursery to maintenance of two large institutions of the kind at which



Mrs. Knapp, New York's Secretary of State

some ninety children of all creeds are cared for every day.

The Twelfth Congressional District of New Jersey, from which Mrs. Norton comes, contains the outstanding Democratic stronghold of the state, manned by a powerful party organization, with Mayor Hague in command. Mrs. Norton has had this organization

solidly behind her. She has worked in cooperation with its aims and policies, and Congress is her reward.

Mrs. Norton is a woman of attractive personality and good looks. (See her picture in the latest CITIZEN.) She is said, too, to be a good fighter for the things closest to her heart. Organized women will not find her program wholly to their liking. On prohibition, she is admittedly wet, favoring modification of the Volstead Act, though not the restoration of the saloon. In her campaign speeches she has promised to work for an improved veterans' bureau, where men who served in the war may be sure of a square deal. She favors the establishment of a hospital in each state to eliminate long journeys, often at great expense, for men disabled in the service. She is also in favor of increased pay for letter carriers and postal clerks; more liberal immigration laws; against a Federal Department of Education; against the Klan, and it is thought that she may be counted on to support the Child Labor Amendment.

Mrs. Knapp

A woman Secretary of State is not a complete novelty—there's Mrs. Emma Guy Cromwell, of Kentucky; Mrs. Soledad Chacon was once New Mexico's Secretary of State, and we'll not swear there has been no other. But she is certainly a rarity, and Mrs. Knapp is certainly New York State's first. In the amazing returns which gave New York a Democratic governor and a complete Republican cabinet, Mrs. Knapp ran well ahead of all but one or two on the ticket. She seems to have proved that women may be an asset to a ticket and not a detriment, as politicians have been known to fear.

Mrs. Knapp is a woman of recognized ability and integrity. She knows more than a little about politics, and she knows a great deal about executive work. She is the dean of the College of Home Economics at Syracuse University—worked out its plan, organized it, set it up, and runs it. That work was a logical development of the school teaching in her past, and her service as superintendent of food conservation for up-state cities during the war.

Her political work began when the Republican women of her county asked her to organize the new women voters. She did it—handling the two jobs on a sixteen-hour-a-day schedule. Before that she had held the only political office which a woman could then hold—district superintendent of schools, and after that she was delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1920. Mrs. Knapp is also interested in club work, and, though she wasn't an active suffrage worker, was by no means an anti-suffragist. She had the hearty support of women at the convention and—obviously—at the polls.



Champlain Studio
Mrs. Graves, N. Y.



Townsend Studios
Miss Muir, Neb. (R)



Helen R. Webster
Mrs. Goode, Ill.



Photo-Crafters
Mrs. Vare, Pa.



Mrs. Allen, Me.



Leschinsky
Mrs. Gillespie,
Neb. (D)

The list of women elected to legislatures is very sketchy, owing to the slowness of the returns; and naturally we have more material about some of those elected than about others. But we can't resist the temptation to tell you the results so far as known.

California reports the reelection of its famous five: Cora M. Woodbridge, Anna L. Saylor, Esto B. Broughton, Grace S. Dorris, Eleanor Miller.

Connecticut has no less than fifteen women elected to the House of Representatives. The figure is impressive, but less so than it would be if Connecticut were not a "rotten borough" state. The representatives elect are: Marjory Cheney (R), Hannah D. Townshend, Corinne R. Alsop (R), Elizabeth W. Coe, Mary M. Hooker, Julia Emery, Sarah B. Crawford, Mary B. Weaver (R), incumbent, Helen A. Green (R), Edith Raymond (R), Edna C. Fenniman, Clarissa Nevius (R), incumbent, Ethel M. Ryan, Helen E. Kewis (R), incumbent, and Annie E. Vinton (R), incumbent. Where no party designation is given, it is because the information was not sent.

In Delaware Mrs. Florence M. Hanby (R) was elected to the legislature.

Illinois made a remarkable record: three women elected to sit in the General Assembly: Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill (incumbent), Mrs. Katherine Hancock Goode, Mrs. Rena Elrod—all Republicans; and Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer (R) elected to the Illinois Senate. Also, Mrs. Anna Wilmarth Ickes (R) was reelected trustee of the University of Illinois.

Every one of these women is of high type, and the organized women of Illinois are very proud of their new representatives. The story of Mrs. O'Neill's splendid work, as the only woman legislator in the last session, has already been told in the CITIZEN. Mrs. Goode has been introduced (two or three times)—former president of the largest local League, the sixth ward in Chicago; wife of a professor at the University of Chicago and a superior leader among women. Mrs. Elrod, a club woman, carried the election in her district to the discomfort of a candidate in the primaries who represented "wet" interests and who opposed the women's eight-

hour-day measure in the last session. Mrs. Bohrer, the first woman senator in Illinois, is experienced in civic and social agencies and will be another standard-bearer for legislation of interest to women. She was the first woman ever to campaign in her district.

Reports from Indiana, labeled incomplete, show the election of Antoinette C. Hagenwald as state representative, and Mrs. Edward Franklin White, first vice-president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, as Reporter for the Supreme Court.

Kansas elected Mrs. R. H. Trueblood and Mrs. Ben Mickel, both Republicans.

Maine elected Mrs. Katharine C. Allen, Republican, by a large majority at the election in September. She has taught school and has managed a large farm and been active in politics ever since women won the vote. Reports from Maine say: "Mrs. Allen is a fine woman, one who knows her own mind, and sticks to the right as she sees it."

For Massachusetts, M. Sylvia Donaldson (R) has been reelected to the House of Representatives, and Mrs. Harriet Russell Hart (R) is a new member.

Minnesota reports the reelection of Mabeth Hurd Paige and Hannah Kempfer, only. This is half of the state's number in the last session. Both Mrs. Paige and Mrs. Kempfer are known to CITIZEN readers.

Nebraska will have women in the legislature for the first time: Mrs. Clara C. Humphrey (R), Sarah T. Muir (R) and Mabel A. Gillespie (D). Miss Muir has a record of work for suffrage, both in Nebraska and New York, and was director of the second district when the League of Women Voters was organized in Omaha in 1920. She has an A.B. and an A.M. degree from the University of Nebraska, and is head of the English department in Lincoln High School, with other honors and responsibilities along the same line. Miss Muir is a member of the American Association of University Women and numerous other organizations, and is a speaker, on occasion, for them and for her party. A former superintendent of schools said, when he heard of her candidacy: "Hurrah for Miss Muir! My prayer is that she may go to the state legislature. Her presence there would be a breath of fresh air in a room that

has needed ventilating for a long time."

The Democratic representative, Mrs. Mabel A. Gillespie, is a real farmer, with an understanding of common people's needs; and besides that is a graduate of the State Teachers College, and was once a Federal Court reporter on the *Omaha Bee*. Her campaign promise was: "I pledge simply honesty and intelligence—and lots of it."

Mrs. Humphrey has been a school teacher and a postmistress. She says she became interested in politics during the 16 to 1 campaign, and her interest is in a "square deal for the farmers, ranchers and the working class."

Nevada also has three Assemblywomen elect: Daisy Allen, Florence Snazey, Mayme Schwebble.

New Hampshire claims Dr. Zatae Straw, Mrs. Arnold S. Yantis (reelected), Mrs. Hobart Pillsbury, Mrs. Mary Chapman, Mrs. Imogene V. Emmons, Mrs. Marcia S. Hilton, Mrs. Nellie J. Page—all Republicans; Margaret H. Barden, Jennie Fortier, Victoria Langlois, Helen J. Young—all Democrats.

New Jersey has five this year, as against three elected in 1922. They are: Mae Carty and Mrs. C. Finn (incumbents)—Democrats; May A. Thropp, Mrs. Lila Thompson (incumbent) and Madge I. Ebert—Republicans.

New York State has again sent a woman to the Assembly—Mrs. Rhoda Fox Graves, of Gouverneur—the first woman in four years to win a seat. She says her route to the Assembly led from a Shakespeare Study Club, via the child welfare work that the club took up. The first political step was to persuade county supervisors to increase appropriations for child care in the county. This route, you will notice, is often marked in the political histories of women in politics. It is the most logical development in the world.

North Carolina has two women representatives: Miss Julia Alexander, a woman of unusually high attainments. She is an attorney, second vice-president of the North Carolina Bar Association, was the first state president of the North Carolina Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and a former officer of the State Suffrage Association.

The other woman is Mrs. Giles
(Continued on page 30)

Jane Addams—Opener of Doors

By Mildred Adams



THE first time I ever met Miss Addams was on a cold, snowy morning in December of 1891. Most of the neighborhood was still huddled under their scanty quilts. I stood on the steps of Hull House ringing the doorbell, and beside me stood a blanketed Indian, Henry Standing Bear, with the same purpose. Suddenly the door opened, and there stood Miss Addams, friendly and serious, a sleepy, heavy-headed baby on one arm, a toddler hanging on to her skirts. She held the door open, and we went in, Henry Standing Bear and I. He stayed three years, and I stayed eight." There was a far-away light in the speaker's eyes. "That picture is symbolic of Miss Addams. All her life she's been opening doors, spiritual, moral, mental, and letting people in out of the cold."

Jane Addams' name is perhaps better known over the country than that of any other woman who is doing public work. Part of the reason for this lies in the widespread success of such books of hers as "Twenty Years at Hull House," and "The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets." They touched a chord in the public consciousness which won even the least likely of people, and so much has Miss Addams the gift of words that they left unforgettable pictures in the minds of her readers.

It is in her books that one finds the record of her busy life. The New York Public Library lists twenty-six separate books, pamphlets, papers, and addresses, without counting magazine articles and interviews. The earliest one is called "The Subjective Side of a Social Settlement," and is dated 1893, while the latest was published in 1922 and bears the title "Peace and Bread in Time of War." They are indicative of the major trend of her interest through the years, though as she was interested in peace in those early days, so she has lost none of her interest in Hull House in these latter ones.

Beginnings of Hull House

To the United States, Jane Addams is Hull House. It doesn't matter whether they have any clear idea what Hull House is, or what Jane Addams does with it, say "Jane Addams" to almost any citizen, and you will get the instant reaction, "Oh, yes, Hull House."

She was born in Illinois in 1860, a delicate child with a curved spine. The

disability led her into much dreaming by herself, and was only conquered later at the cost of a year in bed. Her home was a comfortable one in a village, and it was in the mill neighborhood of a nearby town that she declared, at the age of seven, her intention "to have a large house of course, but it would not be built among the other large houses, but right in the midst of horrid little houses like these."

However, that resolution seems to have lain fallow in her growing mind for some time. It was not until after

A leader in the list of twelve greatest American women chosen by popular vote was, of course, Jane Addams, the famous founder of Hull House. Here is a sketch of her many-sided career of service, and of her personality. Several others remain of the big twelve whom the CITIZEN has been trying to show to its readers in intimate studies, rather than biographies; and after them still other well-known women will be pictured.

her graduation from Rockford College, and two trips to Europe, that she gradually "became convinced that it would be a good thing to rent a house in a part of the city where many primitive and actual needs are found, in which young women who had been given over too exclusively to study might restore a balance of activity along traditional lines and learn from life itself." Following this conviction, she went to visit Toynbee Hall, that London parent of settlements, and in September, 1889, she, with her friend Miss Ellen Starr, moved into a hospitable house built long before by a Chicago pioneer, Mr. Charles J. Hull. This house, carrying the name of its original owner, was the nucleus for the group of thirteen buildings which house the present settlement.

People who knew her then say that she was a slim young person, quick moving and lithe, with cinder-brown hair and grey eyes that flashed blue with color of gown or with mood. Her features were fine and straight, and her face had a clear pallor that held one's eyes. There was a light of high purpose and a distinction of bearing that sometimes made her very beautiful.

The house over which she presided was a gracious, kindly old mansion, with hospitably large rooms which lent themselves to the simple decoration of old

mahogany and fine photographs. She and Miss Starr had gathered an unusually fine collection of artistic European pictures, and these gave the wide rooms a remembrance of the old world which must have comforted their homesick, foreign neighbors. Every night the house was a pool of inviting light in the midst of that dark and crowded city section. There was almost always music to lure the passerby, and inside one found lectures and games, and always friendliness.

The history and activities of Hull House would, indeed do, fill many books. It was opened on the theory that the classes into which society fall even in a democracy are mutually dependent on each other, and that each gets from the other something peculiarly valuable. The truth of that theory has been demonstrated in uncounted ways. Communities have felt it in social experiments begun at Hull House and carried forth over the country. Individuals have felt it in the influence of women like Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley, Grace Abbott, who have come out of Hull House with a broad social vision and a burning zeal for service.

And Effects of Hull House

If Miss Addams led Hull House into wide social experimenting, the neighborhood led her into diverse movements and interests. Her very early contact with child workers, and listless girls worn out with too long hours, led her to realize the need for labor legislation, and only three years after the establishment of Hull House she and her co-workers urged the inclusion of an eight-hour law for women in the first factory legislation of Illinois. Her intimate knowledge of the neighborhood led to her appointment as Inspector of Streets and Alleys around her.

The collection of photographs of European art was the nucleus for a loan exhibit that grew into the Public School Art Society of all Chicago. Three baths maintained in Hull House basement for the use of the neighborhood furnished experience and argument for the establishing of Chicago's first public bathhouse. A resident who was first attached in a semi-official manner to the nearest police station for the purpose of looking after neighborhood boys and girls under arrest, became the first probation officer of the Cook County Juvenile Court. The Juvenile Protective Association which has done such splen-

did work in Chicago that it has been imitated all over the country, grew out of Hull House meetings held in the interest of keeping boys and girls out of the courts by removing the conditions which inevitably led them into trouble.

Chicago grew to expect almost anything of Miss Addams. She was called on to settle the queerest controversies, entrusted with the strangest missions.



As a Child

A resident at Hull House in early days remembers being awakened at some weird hour of a winter morning by an insistent door bell. A stable in the neighborhood had caught fire, and the horses, maddened by the flames and refusing to move, could not be rescued. The firemen had telephoned the owner for permission to kill them and end their sufferings, and he, half awake, overcome with disaster, threw all his burdens on the one person he trusted absolutely, and said that if Miss Addams said it was all right, to go ahead and kill them! So the firemen had come for Miss Addams. She got up and dressed, hurried through the snow to the scene of conflagration, satisfied herself that the poor horses could not possibly be rescued, and gave the order for the shooting.

The belief in suffrage for women was an inevitable outgrowth of Miss Addams' work. She was affiliated with the suffrage movement throughout many campaigns. In 1912 she became a vice-president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, and wrote for it and spoke for it throughout the country. Her name had become a synonym for wise unselfishness, and carried great weight with many voters. "If Miss Addams wants it, it's right," was heard far away from Halstead Street.

The beginning of the war must have come as a terrible shock to the woman who had hopefully published in 1907 "Newer Ideals of Peace," in which she set forth dynamic, aggressive, humanitarian efforts as moral substitutes for war.

It was to be expected that she would throw her major efforts toward attempts

at arbitration. In those first days it seemed as though the war could not last, as though it were a mistake which needed only encouragement to stop and right itself. In 1915 there was an International Congress of Women called at the Hague to consider steps which might be taken toward shortening the conflict. Miss Addams was president of that Congress. It was a dangerous trip, through submarine zones, regarded with suspicion by first one country and then another, held in quarantine for unexplained days, then as suddenly freed. After the Congress, with its undercurrent of deep feeling, its sense of national conflict and human devastation, two delegations were sent to visit both the neutral and the belligerent capitals of Europe, presenting a plan for "continuous mediation" to be conducted through a commission of experts. One delegation, composed of Miss Addams and Dr.



Jane Addams today

Aletta Jacobs of Holland, visited the war capitals and conferred with the ministers in charge. The delegates were everywhere treated with courtesy, but perhaps the only definite result of the trip was a warmer comradeship between the women concerned.

It was on her return from this hard and heart-breaking trip that her friend, Mrs. Florence Kelley, observing at a luncheon that she looked tired, was answered: "I can't understand it. I've only had a little cold, yet I feel as though I were recovering from a long illness." Instead, she was entering on one, for the "little cold" was the forerunner of a tubercular condition which lasted five years, two of which she spent mostly in bed.

The hysteria of war, which regarded the very mention of peace as treason, dealt harshly with Miss Addams. Ill as she was, she was charged with all sorts of "unpatriotic" acts, and the charges

were as ridiculous as they were unsubstantiated and unfounded. She could not have carried Hull House to such success had she not been a fighter, yet so thoroughly did she have the gift of patient silence and the realization that hysteria knows no reason, that she made no attempt to confute the charges or to protect her name.

She virtually rose from a sickbed to go to the 1919 Peace Conference in Zurich at a time when sentiment in the United States was still dangerous to anyone who evoked the term "pacifist." She was a delegate to similar conferences in 1921 and 1922, and in 1923 she started on a tour of the world in the interests of peace. She returned to this country in the spring of 1924, just in time for the congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an organization with branches in twenty-one countries, of which she is International President.

If one goes to her books for the facts of her life, one goes to her friends for knowledge of her personality. Lillian Wald, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop—such friends as these deny the charge that she is the most impersonal woman in the world. They have known her for many years, have played with her and worked with her, and their analyses of her character are thorough and valuable.

According to them, the basic characteristic which flowers in so many manifestations is an extraordinary, an inexplicable power of understanding human nature, the motives which move people, independent of their place or position. It is this which has made her a neighbor



In the First Year at Hull House

to the world, has given her the power of international friendship which knows neither race, creed, nor color. She has a deep reverence for the human soul, whatever its outer wrappings may be.

Her mind is extraordinarily quick and sure. She makes a decision and gets a thing done while other people are considering it. Yet with that quickness, as

(Continued on page 24)

Conspiracy or Slander

By Carrie Chapman Catt

OF the three super state scares, the latest to appear is either the most gigantic conspiracy in the history of the human race or the most outrageous slander ever conceived by a human mind. We believe it to be the latter.

In the early part of the year 1920 a correspondent began a series of articles in the London *Morning Post* in which he set forth a story about a conspiracy to establish a Jewish super state. In May, 1920, a series of similar articles began in Mr. Ford's *Dearborn Independent*.

Obvious flaws in these tales are admitted by the writers, and the explanation is made that only a few Jews have been entrusted with knowledge of the main plan, which is as unknown to the mass of Jews as to Gentiles. Although Jews are found on both sides of every question and movement, all Jews, they say, will respond to the common call when it comes and join the scheme of the Jewish super state.

These articles allege that a Russian monk published what has since been called "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion." The monk himself, Sergei Nilus, said the manuscript was given him by an official of the Russian government, with the explanation that a lady living abroad had given it to him, and that he was at a loss to know what to do with it. The monk had no clue to the identity of the mysterious lady, the Russian officer seems to have died many years ago, and even Nilus himself has disappeared from view. The manuscript, therefore, appears in the world without any sponsorship whatever.

The Nilus Book

It is alleged that the Nilus book, containing these so-called Protocols, was placed in the British Museum in 1896, bearing 1895 as the date of printing. Four editions are said to have been published by the monk, the last in 1917. The book appears to have circulated chiefly in Russian church circles, but during the war it was brought out of Russia and translated. It is now being read in many lands and the Protocols may be had in many languages.

Nilus himself accepted the Scriptures with exact literalness and, therefore, believed the Jews to be God's "chosen people" who are destined some day to exercise supreme direction over others, and as Christ himself predicted that an

"Anti-Christ" would arise, he accepted the manuscript as evidence that conspiring Jews were the enemies Christ had in mind. He professes to have accepted the contents of the manuscript that fell into his hands as proof that the consummation of both predictions was at hand. He called his last edition "It is nigh; even at the doors."

The articles in the *Morning Post* and the *Dearborn Independent* (the latter

This is the second of the "rumors" that Mrs. Catt has run down in her series of studies of causes for propaganda against peace workers and peace movements. The series will be concluded in the next issue of the CITIZEN with an article entitled "Conspiracy vs. Conspiracy."

have been printed in four volumes, totaling one thousand pages) are attempts to prove the Protocols genuine by demonstrating that what has been predicted in them has actually happened or is happening.

Briefly told, the main trend of the story is that a Jewish conspiracy has been forwarded through many centuries whereby the Jews would eventually control the world and establish their faith over all. The Sanhedrin, the central governing body of the Jews in Bible days, is known, it is said, to have been kept alive three hundred years after the dispersion of the Jews from Jerusalem. This body, composed of "Wise Men of Zion," may have been kept alive secretly through all the centuries that lie between, or at some fairly modern date it may have been revived.

One guess is that at some unknown spot a hereditary leader of the Jews, perhaps descended from King David, has secretly led on through the centuries, gathering about him especially educated men for counsel, and there they have planned and plotted together to keep up the Jewish solidarity, while breaking that of Gentiles. They have schemed to weaken governments, overthrow nations, always playing the game to their own advantage.

Through the centuries the chief exterior agency employed to manipulate these political maneuvers was Freemasonry. Behind the locked doors of European lodges (American ones do not seem to be implicated) the plotting has

been done, wars have been bred and the Jews, financing both sides, always reaped rich profits. One book offers alleged proof that all revolutions in Europe have been planned by Jews.

The credulous imagine that this super, yet human, agency holds schools of instruction, for naturally the conspiracy must be carefully guarded, and its workers taught with great caution. The Protocols are imagined to be the notes of an initiate at such a center, who either lost them or from whom they were stolen. Those who believe and interpret claim that this unknown and central group of "Wise Men of Zion" has planned and actually brought about most big things that have happened, including such separate events as the French Revolution, the Young Turk movement, the League of Nations and the Federal Reserve Act. It was they who brought on the Great War and who dictated the chief phases of the Treaty of Versailles, and it was they, in most cases, who grasped the fortunes of the profiteers in the Great War.

Famous "Puppets"

There was American complaint, it will be recalled, that President Wilson had so stubborn a mind that he would take no advice from anyone. Yet, one group has whispered long and loud that this was untrue and that, on the contrary, like a mere puppet, he danced whenever Rome pulled the string. (He had a single Catholic secretary, Mr. Tumulty.) Now these others say that he was absolutely controlled by the Jews, as were the Catholics, who appeared to others to be controlling him. The reader of some of the literature would suppose that Mr. Wilson was surrounded by a small army of Jews, but when this army is reduced to names it seems to have consisted chiefly of Mr. Warburg and Mr. Baruch.

The conspiring army of Jews surrounding Mr. Wilson, however, was a mere police squad (according to these tales) compared with the battalions that encircled Lloyd George. They held him in veritable leash and when they ordered he spoke and acted as they dictated. It will not be surprising to learn that these were mainly German Jews, who even controlled Clemenceau through Lloyd George; and the Big Four, once so omniscient in world estimate, were really such weak-minded simpletons that they merely did what the German Jewish money power ordered and never for

a minute knew they were doing it! A few illustrative samples are necessary to clear understanding. The first is a quotation from the twenty-third Protocol, which will give readers the form and style: "Present governments are dragging out their existence, endeavoring to manage the affairs of a society demoralized by us . . . Our ruler will replace these governments. . . . To this end the ruler must destroy society even if he drowns it in its own blood and resurrects it in the form of correctly organized armies. . . . This chosen one of God is appointed on high. . . . These forces now triumphant. . . . have destroyed all social order so as to raise on the wreckage the throne of the Jewish ruler, but their rule will end on his accession to power. Then it

(Continued on page 29)

A Woman of the "Pigeon People"

By Marjorie Shuler

IT is not always the young woman who gives herself entirely over to business who scores the biggest success. But in every country there are married women, mothers of children, who are forced out into the business world and who come through with flying colors. Somehow their achievements seem the greater; somehow their stories seem to make the stronger appeal. And that is true of Margita Pauliny-Tothova, whose husband died eighteen years ago in Slovakia, leaving her with six boys to bring up and no money with which to do it.

Today she has charge of the chancery division in her district with 500,000 inhabitants, for whom she is responsible, with a staff of seven typewriters—all women. Margita Pauliny-Tothova is the kind of a woman who would employ other women and who would make a mighty good employer, too. Gentle with that gentleness of voice which belongs to the real Slovaks—their other name is the "pigeon people." Peaceful and serene—two other national characteristics. With white hair and smiling gray eyes she is a charming person indeed.

When she faced the world for the first time alone, she took stock of herself and decided that her only assets were her knowledge of the German, English, French, Italian, Czech and Polish languages, as well as the language of her part of the country imposed by the victorious Hungarian overlords. Her knowledge of languages took her into a bank as correspondent.

But six growing boys take a good deal of feeding, and the salary of a bank correspondent was exceedingly small, especially that of a woman bank correspondent. Madame Tothova looked around her and she could see little help for herself there. Women were notoriously underpaid. For the same work as men they were getting barely one-fifth of the salary of men—a condition which she declares is practically unchanged today.

So she cast about for some outside means of support, and being an enter-



A glimpse of Mme. Tothova's country: the Powder Gate in Prague

prising person, she thought of the Slovak papers published in the United States. She found that she could write for them and, what was more important, that she could sell what she wrote, the checks based on the dollar rate of payment often bringing her a much larger sum per month than she was earning in the bank.

Then came the war and the suppression of all foreign letters. The Slovak newspapers were cut off as a source of supply. And the price of food was constantly mounting. Perhaps it was natural that Madame Tothova should tackle the subject of food so energetically that almost before she realized it she found herself government chief of food control in her district.

There was one thing she had been doing all this time which called for a great deal of courage. You would hardly expect that she would make anything out of it, but it is directly responsible for the opportunity which came to her to become chief of chancery.

Under the Magyar rule in Slovakia and the Austrian rule in Bohemia few persons dared to call themselves other than Hungarian or Austrian. But Madame Tothova constantly said in her quiet way, "I am Slovakian." She spoke her own language, too, which was an even more dangerous thing. The language was almost becoming dead under the stringent rules which forbade its being taught or spoken. But she not only spoke it, she constantly studied it. She was always looking for new-old words, forgotten terms and forgotten meanings. She increased her own store of knowledge and she was able to pass on much of what she knew, until gradually it was accepted that she ranked among the five persons who are said to know the Slovakian tongue best. There are many expressions which she knows and which no other person does know. And so today she is using that advantage in a position which never before in her country has been given to a woman.

Women have not progressed so very far in the Czechoslovakian business world. "If a woman were so intelligent as twenty men she would never be a director in a bank," says Madame Tothova, with a shake of her head. "A little while ago a factory owner had a controversy with his chief bookkeeper. He called in a young woman of twenty-eight, who had worked in the office since she was fourteen years old. Now she does the work and does it quite as well as her predecessor. But he got 3,600 kronen a month and she receives 1,400 kronen. The factory owner says, 'I made an excellent change, I can trust in her.' But he fails to express his trust in the amount of salary he pays her."

During these years Madame Tothova's children have not been neglected either. Three children have been educated and are away from home. There is one son at home, who was two years old when his mother went out into the business world. "He has the manner and the ability; I want to give him the education to fit him for diplomacy," says the mother, proving again that when she is called upon to do it, a mother can bring up her children and make a business success at the same time.

Editorially Speaking

Women Were In It

THE first national election at which all the women of the country were entitled to vote has passed. In two states, Georgia and Mississippi, women could not vote in 1920. Besides, women had not yet had time to find themselves; to develop their organizations and take extensive active part in the campaign. This year they were in it—decidedly. They were in the conventions, and they were in the campaign headquarters; and if their place was not on the 50-50 basis in every single particular, nevertheless their contribution was significant and important. The parties now realize that women are a real factor, that they know what they are talking about and can be counted upon to give good advice in the conduct of a campaign. Women's political development in the past few years has been demonstrated in the campaign organizations.

Women were in the business of getting out the vote too—with energy, persistence and an encouraging degree of success—how great is not yet known; and in the business of voting. Though it is not yet possible even to estimate the comparative numbers of men's and women's votes, report after report through the country told of an impression of women flocking to the polls—and flocking early.

Added to this is the breaking of the ice for women governors, and the increasing number—already noticeable even in incomplete lists—of the finest type of women elected to the state legislatures. At least a score, at a guess, could be enumerated, who are not only creditable but cause for downright pride.

Decidedly, 1924 has furnished no ground for saying that "now they have it they don't want it."



Men vs. Women Voters

BUT how about women and the outcome of the election? New York's only woman "colymist," Margaret Mooers Marshall, published just before election a bit of verse on the theme—that ever since 1920 whoever is elected and whatever happens, the women are responsible. Well, with the figures running the way they do this year, the women will have no trouble in winning a compliment or two from men.

Certainly, there is nothing to indicate that they were affected by any different motives than affected the men. Subject to the same influences of press, speeches and other publicity, they responded in the same way, at least so far as one can guess in the absence of elaborate analyses. Splendid, able women supported each of the old party candidates, and the fine type of women enlisted in the La Follette movement was a noticeable feature. The fact is that, as Mrs. Catt said some weeks ago, "all of the candidates were honest, decent, patriotic gentlemen"; real issues were not numerous or very sharply defined, and there was no reason for a cleavage between men and women, even if such a phenomenon could be expected or desired.

There was strong evidence of independent voting, as contrasted with the old rigid party adherence of other days. In several cases women ran well ahead of their ticket, indicating the opposition had voted for them. Instances might be multiplied. And no one who has grown familiar with women's habit of asking questions of candidates will doubt that they contributed to increase independence of voting, which means the exercise of the voter's mind and will.

Armistice Day

BEFORE this is read, Armistice Day will have passed, with its many serious messages. None, surely, can be more effective than an appeal made "on the air" by Harry Emerson Fosdick to the Christian church to take this war issue for her own, and realizing that Christ and war cannot be reconciled, to raise a clear standard against its paganism. "You can't baptize modern war with ideal aims"—you can't say war protects the weak—or stops war—or checks militarism. In Europe there are more men under arms, according to Dr. Fosdick, than before the war, and we are spending more money on armaments. Every year, perhaps, we should face again those staggering figures which show what the last war did: 10,000,000 war dead, 3,000,000 wounded, 13,000,000 civilian dead, 3,000,000 war prisoners, 9,000,000 war orphans, 5,000,000 war widows, 10,000,000 war refugees, and millions more starved, starving, or doomed to starve before the effects are exhausted. What then does protect the weak? Dr. Fosdick's answer was, the World Court, a League of Nations, "an international mind backed by a Christian conscience."



Mrs. Burnett

THE death of Frances Hodgson Burnett, late in October, has taken away one of the best loved American writers—a figure identified, in all middle-aged minds anyhow, with the most glamorous romance. "Little Lord Fauntleroy" and his tremendous vogue; his effect on Mrs. Burnett's fame and fortunes, make one of the most colorful chapters in the story of the American novel. No one needs to be told the number and the kind of novels Mrs. Burnett wrote, nor the way her public bought them. Born in England, Frances Hodgson was brought to America as a child, and wrote her first story at the age of sixteen. She died at seventy-five, still writing in the spirit of sound romance; still, in spite of the years, young in her sympathies and interests.



The High Cost of Kilchens



THE high cost of living hits the housekeeper in many directions, but nowhere is it more startling than in the increased price of ordinary kitchen utensils. Articles that cost a few cents some years ago now form a serious expense for a young couple setting up house-keeping. To take some recent examples: an ironing-board, \$3.15. The cheapest rolling-pin found in a low-priced department store was 79 cents, an ordinary yellow mixing-bowl, 75 cents; a wooden chopping-bowl, \$1.23.

The question arises involuntarily—How can the average young man afford to get married? Our response, given out of our own observation, is "He can't, and doesn't"! We do not claim that statistics prove fewer young people are marrying today—we don't know whether they do or not; but we do mean that observation of many different social groups shows that both young men and young women are arranging their lives, to all appearances, with marriage shut out completely.

Believing, as we do, that without marriage the life of either man or woman is infinitely poorer and less satisfying, the question of the high cost of living, from this angle alone, is worthy of hard study.

Husband-Getting



SPEAKING of marriage, in spite of love stories to the contrary, we believe that more often than not, instead of his being the ardent pursuer, the young man has to be pushed over the brink by the girl. This is not a new phenomenon. It was recognized by our grandmothers, and girls of their day were taught the gentle art of coquetry. Catching a husband was the most respectable occupation an unmarried female could have in the good old days, and the girl's education and training were directed to that purpose.

The girl of today is still fed in popular publications, in both the fiction and the advertising pages, sentimental bunk about the young man and his susceptibility to her charms. She is led to believe that somewhere the man exists who was made to be her mate, and that Fate in some way will find him and send him to her, and he will be the ardent lover of her dreams. Of course she must be as beautiful as a vision, she must beware of halitosis, she must have a school-girl complexion, and she must be careful to choose the proper cold creams, soaps and cosmetics.

All this is not much real help in husband-getting, and Fate isn't always on the job of producing the right man. The fundamentally sound modern girl in large numbers scorns husband-getting as a sport. She won't stoop to underhand methods, and custom still deems no other kind respectable. Both she and her would-be mate are losing out.

At this stage of history little account is being taken of the fact that men are merely grown-up little boys, that they are shy creatures in their relations to women and lack initiative. And modern life is making it more and more difficult for young men and women to meet in simple, wholesome ways where they can learn to know, respect and love each other.

G. F. B.

Our Burning Forests

CARELESSNESS, to a point of recklessness, which seems to be growing as a national characteristic, is costing us dearly, both in money and in the future welfare of our children. It is easy to believe that the heavy losses of growing timber this fall caused by forest fires is due, as is claimed by the newspapers, to campers and hunters. Everyone knows how roads and parks, after a Sunday or holiday, are strewn with papers, boxes and garbage, bearing testimony to the disgraceful disorderliness of picnickers. No doubt campers are careless of ashes, matches and burning cigarettes.

The cost of building and of endless necessities of life has gone up and up, because of our vanishing forests, and yet we continue our policy of careless indifference and waste.

The government, both state and national, is spending many millions and doing everything possible to preserve what is left of our priceless heritage of forest land. Yet, through our own waste, our resources steadily diminish. Are we wrong in thinking that this comes back to the housekeepers, mothers and teachers? Americans used to pride themselves on their good housekeeping. Judging from the streets and countryside, we have sunk deplorably in our standards. Are women doing what they can to instill orderliness, respect for what we possess ourselves, and for the rights of others?

Lel's Keep On Talking

VARIOUS menaces have been pointed out and reforms talked about in connection with election this year. Are they to be dropped, or will something be done about them? Since organized women seem to have adopted the extraordinary policy of studying things, they might keep the subjects before the public for consideration. One is, of course, the manner of choice of a President, in case of a deadlock. Then, there is the whole question of the electoral system of voting. It certainly need not be held changelessly sacred, since we do not maintain it as it was given to us by the fathers; and it certainly is not an exact means of recording a popular choice. Why should we not vote directly for President as for governor? Or in some of the other ways that have been recommended?

The Proportional Representation League recommends applying the principle of proportional representation to the division of the electoral votes, and in case of an election going to the House, that the representatives vote, under P. R., as individuals and not as state delegations with one vote per state. This, too, needs consideration.

Women, with a fresh interest in these matters, and a practical sense, should study and discuss them.

ONE reform should be considered promptly—the reform of our law covering campaign contributions. As these things go, this campaign was not very expensive. The latest Republican accounting was \$4,000,000 spent, the Democratic \$725,000, with a deficit, and the Progressives, \$157,122, with a surplus. Obviously, such differences can hardly fail to be significant, since each sum of money represents proportionate opportunity to persuade. An implication of the hearings before the Borah Committee was that indirect means may, under the present system, easily be resorted to in the effort to collect funds, and such contributions escape accounting. The hearings have been postponed, but Senator Borah will suggest to the Senate that some method be developed by which campaigns may be financed from the public treasury and each party draw the same amount. The suggestion will bear pondering. It sounds like sense, at first impression. Whether by that or some other method, there ought to be corrupt-practices acts that cannot be evaded.

The Path of the Non-partisan

WITHIN the past few days the CITIZEN has received several accusations of partisanship. One reader canceled her subscription because she considered we had gone on record for the Progressives; one suggested that a certain feature should have been labeled *Political Propaganda* in the interest of the Democrats; one—a Democrat—suggested that we didn't seem interested in Democratic women nominees—implying a Republican slant.

The experience is not exceptional: when we get hit on one cheek, we are likely to get a balancing blow on the other. After all, it is not extraordinary. Non-partisanship is a difficult attitude to establish—for writer or reader, and readers aren't even asked to be non-partisan! They can hardly read political material without supplying something from their own minds.

The CITIZEN ideal is to present the facts in a sincerely non-partisan way. But we do not construe non-partisan to mean that we may never speak favorably of a doctrine that happens to be endorsed by one party and not by another. On the matters that are basic in our program we cannot take account of who is for and who against. For instance, in speaking for international cooperation, it is world peace and not a party we are trying to promote, and world peace is all we can consider.

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, Consulting Editor

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Membership Drives

THE National League of Women Voters announces the publication of a new organization leaflet on membership drives which is especially commended to the attention of local League officials. As the calendar of concerted activities* calls for special organization work to follow immediately after the election, it is hoped this leaflet will be found timely and useful.

The question of membership is one of great interest and importance and should have the constant attention of a permanent committee in every local League. Such a committee should have an active personnel, each member being so imbued with the desire to hold all enrolled members and bring in new ones, that, as one young League enthusiast said, "If she should die 'one more member' would be found engraved on her heart."

With a working membership committee always on the job and a drive once a year a local League will find its membership curve on an upward climb which will astonish, delight and invigorate the whole organization. But it must be remembered that careful planning on the part of the responsible officers is needed in order to start that curve soaring. There should be a definite goal for increase. There should be a promotion leaflet. There should be businesslike methods of recording and expending membership dues. There is nothing which so commands the respect of the membership of an organization as good administration of the League's business affairs.

Economy, so-called, that saves money by refraining from needful expenditures is as sure death to a League as to any business, but a live program, an adequate budget, regular collection of membership dues, careful bookkeeping and wise expenditure give a League member the same sense of solid prosperity in the organization that good business management always gives to the stockholders in a well-managed commercial enterprise.

A successful League of Women Voters is "Everywoman's" organization; a healthy League like a healthy tree puts on new growth annually. The most insidious and deadly danger to a League is not opposition from without, it is the failure of leaders to welcome and train "Everywoman" when she comes as a new recruit; when the Board lets the new member join

and then drop out for lack of interest. It is as though a tree said to its new branches: "You are not tested, experienced, hardened wood—I am too busy to be bothered with you—no time to supply you with life-supporting sap—wither and drop off if you haven't the interest to stick on." If it is desired to build a successful League of Women Voters be sure the clear vision and unbiased judgment of new members does not find the Board to be "a clique," to be "exclusive," to desire, in fact if not in theory, a "limited membership."

One of the best ways to grip a new member's attention and hold it is to supply her at regular intervals with current information about the League and its work. This can be done by issuing a bulletin, or by sending each member a regular headquarters letter. Or better still, by both—the bulletin for program information and the letter more of a "family affair." Experience indicates that some form of regular communication is necessary to the continuing interest of the whole membership.

It is assumed, of course, that the League has a vital program about which to communicate. If your League has not, the Board should take steps at once to put one before the membership. No member, new or old, who is worth her salt, is going to stick by an organization that is not concerning itself with live business. That may be an uncomfortable situation for leaders, but it certainly indicates a healthy condition of citizenship.

But first, last, and all the time, the permanent success of the League, and the respect and loyalty of its members, both old and new, must be rooted and grounded in good business methods. The secretary's record of membership must be accurately kept; preferably card cataloged, always up-to-date. The treasurer's records must be accurate, easily understood and up-to-date, bills must be sent to members for dues when they are due, and the budget must be a clear-cut proposition, adequate to finance the adopted program of work. Without these things, success, when it comes, is sporadic, and members join only to drop away because of "lack of interest." But with these things and the devoted leadership, which is the rule and not the exception with League Boards, success is within easy reach of any League anywhere.—M. F. C.

Our Opportunity in Politics

This is an excerpt from the recent address of Mrs. James E. Cheesman, before the United League of Women Voters of Rhode Island, on the occasion of her retirement from the state presidency after four years' service.

WE citizens of Rhode Island need no argument to convince us that political conditions might be bettered. Some, in saying that this improvement must come from within the parties, would seem to discredit non-partisan education. Not so! The League urges its members to go into the parties to help in this needed betterment. The League thus urges its members because it believes that a party is a means to an end and not an end in itself—an agency, and not a sacred and self-explanatory institution. It seems obvious enough that one must go for help somewhere outside the partisan folds if one may reasonably expect to find impartiality and all sides of a question discussed, where the facts of the case are the paramount object, and it isn't considered political heresy to think a thought not bearing a party label. If progress is to come, inspiration must come, knowledge must come—in fact, a conception of a better way must precede its accomplishment.

* See page 72 of the proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention.

Our women are going into politics, more and more. This is inevitable. Their keen and rather critical interest assures it, and they are going in to help make the system better. In so far as party practice has grown autocratic we may be sure that eventually changes will be made for popular control. Some day there is going to be a way devised whereby the ordinary rank-and-file party member will count for more than simply the value of his actual vote. Some day party councils will not be left to the entrenched few who have the power to perpetuate their offices. Some day methods will be open—at least more open—and pre-election promises will be binding and so clearly stated that one may choose his or her political camp by real conviction. Some day platforms, so often in the past a grim political joke, will be true and strong enough to last throughout an administration and by their durability will, to a great measure, determine party success. In that day differences will be real, issues will be better defined, and there will be involved something more than the mere exercise of power or the chance to exercise power.

Our educational movement is contributing to this end. If I overstate the place of women, my apology is that upon the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment a more and more mechanical interpretation of "government by parties" was gaining acceptance. But with the advent of voting-women, the situation changed. It was natural that full citizenship should seem to them, thus suddenly immersed in it, a serious, individual matter where choice must be intelligent in order to be conscientious. Perhaps women's ability to help in this new field is because of freedom from political pride—a certain humility of mind lending itself to openness of mind. Their approach to politics, if they come of their own free will, is simple and direct. It is in helping women more and more thus courageously to face the new situation, that the League's greatest value lies.

The DeLuxe Illinois Bulletin

IT would be hard to find a more convincing and comprehensive illustration of the growth and work of the League of Women Voters than the September-October issue of the Illinois League Bulletin, known as the Election Number. It merits a flood of congratulatory messages to the League officers and especially to the capable editor, Mrs. Henry W. Cheney. It is a finished product, both readable and informing, and without a doubt one of the most ambitious undertakings in state bulletin service.

This issue contains sixty-four pages. Its first message is found on the cover page, where a cartoon entitled "At the Cross Roads" and drawn by John T. McCutcheon is reproduced. While there is plenty of interesting material about the pre-election citizenship school conducted by the League and the Woman's City Club in Chicago, and the plans for the League convention in Chicago November 19 to 21, it is primarily an issue featuring election day, candidates, platforms, issues, parties and records of candidates. The editor has covered the field well in the presentation of articles on "How the President is Elected," "Guide Posts for Election Day," "National Issues," "Child Labor Ratification," "Voting for Candidates November 4 is Not Enough," "Campaign Stories Told by Women Candidates Successful in April Primaries," and most important of all, an amazing wealth of information about each candidate, a tabulation of the vote of each Illinois Congressman on ten important measures before Congress, and a chart detailing the record of each member of the Illinois General Assembly.

To League members, at least, there is one page of the Bulletin which will stand out as decidedly imposing. It is headed, "Four Years of Service—Accomplishments of the Illinois League," and in "Thirty-one Talking Points" you have the inspiring history of the League. It is a noble piece of work. The first "talking point" is "fifty-seven citizenship schools."

The other thirty points are equally important and deserving of mention.

California's Success

THE California League of Women Voters sent a delegation of twenty, known as the platform builders, to the political party state conventions which were held in Sacramento in September. The delegation was headed by the president, Miss Marion Delany, and the legislative chairman, Mrs. Ernest Wallace. The delegation wore golden yellow badges which bore the name of the League and carried copies of the planks which the League wanted to incorporate into the various party platforms. Briefly, the planks called for prompt ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, adequate support of education, increased appropriation for the Child Hygiene Bureau, an institution for delinquent women and protective legislation for women in industry.

Efforts of the delegation resulted in the Prohibition Party incorporating a platform plank favoring the prompt ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and one which read: "We commend the League of Women Voters for seeking uplift in education and social conditions." The Socialist Party adopted all of the planks just as presented.

The Democratic Party included in its platform a statement that it favored the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and adequate support of education and humanitarian institutions.

The Republicans declared their stand on the Child Labor Amendment plank in these words: "We hereby pledge the Republican Party of California to see to it that this Child Labor Amendment is promptly adopted by this state." The planks urging adequate support of education and humanitarian institutions are incorporated in principle in the following paragraph: "We reaffirm our adherence to those educational, humanitarian, social welfare and progressive policies and institutions which have become and are universally recognized as a part of the established and accepted state government of California."

The plank favoring protective legislation for women was adopted in the form presented by the League. This plank reads: "We favor protective legislation for women in industry and are unalterably opposed to any legislation prejudicial to women's labor laws or to social welfare legislation."

While the platform builders "would have liked to have nailed some of their planks a little more securely in place" they feel especially pleased with the results of their work. It was the first time any organized group of women in California offered to help build the political party platforms.

Five State Conventions

WITHIN the last month five state Leagues have passed through the busy, but inspiring, days of a state convention. Three of the Leagues, Rhode Island, Maine and Vermont, begin their 1924-1925 season with new presidents, while the Nebraska League retained Mrs. Leroy Davis in the presidency. Miss Wells' term as president of the Minnesota League does not expire until next year.

The three New England conventions, according to glowing accounts of all sessions, thrived under the inspiration of the first vice-president, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, and the director of the first region, Mrs. James E. Cheesman. The United League of Rhode Island held its fifth annual convention October 6 and 7 in Providence. The convention hit the high-water mark of interest and accomplishments. There were interesting committee exhibits, discussions of committee programs at a series of round-table conferences, an evening mass meeting devoted to political issues, reports, adoption of reso-

lutions carrying out the National League's suggested legislative program, and a meeting devoted to immigration, ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and our foreign policy. Miss Lathrop discussed the Child Labor Amendment, and Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Social Economy at New York University, and Henry Merritt Wriston, Professor of History at Wesleyan University, spoke on the other subjects. Retirement of Mrs. Cheesman from the presidency of the Rhode Island League to assume greater responsibility as a director of the National League was expected, but it did not lessen the reluctance with which her League members "let her go." In recognition of her devoted service she was made honorary president, and Mrs. George H. Crooker, a power in civic circles in her home town of Providence, was elected to carry on Mrs. Cheesman's well-established work.

Vermont's one-day convention on October 10 produced, in addition to an interesting program, another new member in the state presidents' council. Mrs. Ella Buckman, who served Vermont's interests so well, turned over the work to Mrs. W. H. Jeffrey, of Montpelier, who has been especially concerned during the pre-election period with the Vermont League's get-out-the-vote campaign. Miss Lathrop and Mrs. Cheesman were the outstanding speakers, bringing messages on the need of earnest work for ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and the League's great opportunity in improving citizenship and government. Other speakers included Mrs. Ford W. Whitney, Mrs. Buckman, and Professor Harold R. Bruce, of Dartmouth College.

Mrs. Arthur Lee Bates, of Portland, is being warmly welcomed as the new president of the Maine League, her election having taken place at the state convention in Portland on October 13. She succeeds Mrs. J. H. Huddilston, of Orono, who is leaving this month for a six-months' absence in Southern France. Here, again, Miss Lathrop inspired her audience with an appeal for earnest efforts to bring about early ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. Mrs. Cheesman and Mrs. Huddilston addressed the convention on general League subjects, and Mrs. Mary C. Boody, in reporting on living costs, urged co-operative marketing. Mrs. Anna C. Witherle, the retiring first vice-president, took the delegates a few months back to the National League Convention in Buffalo and delighted them with her account of the many interesting and informative features on the program.

Seven public welfare measures, to be introduced before the 1925 session of the Minnesota Legislature, will be supported by the Minnesota League, in accordance with the program mapped out at the sixth annual convention of the League in St. Paul, October 2, 3 and 4. Out-of-state speakers, who made the convention something to be remembered by the 205 delegates, were Mrs. James W. Morrison, of Chicago, treasurer of the Illinois League; Mrs. William G. Hibbard, of Winnetka, Illinois, director of the fourth region, and Miss Edith Rockwood, executive secretary of the Illinois League. Miss Rockwood spoke at the conference on organization; Mrs. Hibbard talked about political parties and issues at the annual convention luncheon, and Mrs. Morrison, fresh from a visit to Europe where she made a careful study of the attitude of European countries toward international peace, spoke at an evening session on "The Emerging Order." Undoubtedly the most exciting session of the convention was the candidates' mass meeting, when candidates for governor of Minnesota and United States Senator from the Republican, Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties spoke on political issues. According to Minnesota newspapers the affair was a "smoker," where each candidate tried to smoke out other candidates on certain vital issues. More than 1,600 persons crowded into the meeting.

The Nebraska League devoted October 19, 20 and 21 to its fifth annual convention in conjunction with the Nebraska Conference of Social Workers. The opening Sunday night session had as its principal speaker Miss Grace Abbott, director of the United States Children's Bureau. The Monday meetings were confined to reports, a get-out-the-vote luncheon,

and discussion of legislative matters. Tuesday, October 21, was the big day, culminating in an evening address by Miss Lathrop, in which she discussed the Child Labor Amendment and the arguments in its favor.

Mrs. Charles H. Dietrich, director of the sixth region, presided at the session devoted to the discussion of organization problems under the leadership of Miss Ruth McIntosh, secretary of the sixth region. There was also a finance session, a short address by Mrs. John L. Slaker, state chairman of the National Council of Women, and a luncheon with local speakers discussing "Women in Political Parties." Mrs. Davis, who has shouldered the responsibilities of the presidency with marked devotion, has assumed the duties for another term. Mrs. H. H. Muchall, president of the Missouri League, was cordially greeted by the delegates and remained for a conference with Miss Lathrop the following day.

Educating the Election Official

EVEN election officials do not know the law! The Girard (Ohio) League sensed this when they invited election inspectors to a recent meeting, but Mrs. James B. Aimer, leader of the Twenty-first Assembly District League (New York), and her daughter, Miss Alice Aimer, know from actual experience. Miss Aimer, who is a senior at Adelphi College and a first voter, went with her mother to register. She presented her elementary school diploma instead of a certificate from the school examiners as proof of her literacy. (New York State requires a literacy test of all voters.)

"That doesn't go here," the inspector declared. "You must have a certificate."

"If you have read the election law," Mrs. Aimer told the inspector, "you will see that this is all that is required."

After some discussion, in which the election official insisted he was right, a copy of the election laws was found, and on page ninety-three it reads: "A new voter may present as evidence of literacy a certificate or diploma showing that he has completed the work of an approved eighth grade elementary school or of a higher school in which English is the language of instruction."

The Interest in Issues

WOMAN'S growing interest in issues of the past national campaign found expression in the many political schools conducted by state and local Leagues. Within a few months scores of League schools have sprung up for the education of politically-minded women. With representative men and women discussing presidential platforms and referendum questions, the Boston School of Politics, on October 20 and 21, proved a decided success. Mrs. LaRue Brown, former chairman of the National League's Child Welfare Committee; Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, Mrs. True Worthy White, Congressman John Jacob Rogers, Senator David I. Walsh and Mrs. Harris T. Baldwin, chairman of the National League's Living Costs Committee, were among the speakers.

Members of the New London (Connecticut) League indicated profound interest in the tariff and other kindred subjects on the living costs program when Mrs. Baldwin addressed a large meeting there on October 24. More than 150 women were in the audience.

"Party platforms, the electoral college, the Supreme Court issue, the tariff, state legislative procedure, and the party machine" came in for a large measure of intense discussion at the third annual institute of political education conducted by the Erie County (New York) League in Buffalo, October 27, 28 and 29. Speakers representing all parties contributed to the interest. Mrs. Baldwin also addressed this school and

found, as she has at every gathering, an ever-increasing serious consideration of the tariff and other matters affecting the cost of living.

Leagues and League Work

THE Missouri League *Bulletin* has this to say in its October issue: "If any of you League members could visit the office of the St. Louis League these days you would realize why it is necessary to have three presidents. No one person could keep in touch with all of the activities. There is the get-out-the-vote committee which has been functioning since June 1, and which seems to gather more momentum each day. Then there is the 'courts committee'—also the education, political information, speakers' bureau, legislation, economy shop, citizenship, program and public schools committees. The membership committee, not satisfied with 3,000 members, have started a fast and furious drive to double the membership. There are twenty-eight team captains under the general direction of the chairman of membership, and prizes are offered to those who bring in the largest number of new members. If you do not wish to work, keep away from the St. Louis office!"

HUSBANDS of League members were out in full force for a dinner given under the direction of the Elkhart (Indiana) League last month as a part of the drive to increase interest in voting. Thomas Konop, dean of the college of law at the University of Notre Dame, was the speaker, and Mrs. J. C. Boss, chairman of the League's political department, in charge.

CANDIDATES addressing a pre-election meeting arranged by the Minnehaha (South Dakota) League were agreed on two questions of statewide interest. They favored an adequate appropriation for a state home for delinquent girls and discontinuance of expense allowance for certain state officers. Mrs. J. M. Coon, president of the League, presided.

PROBATION officers of Frankfort (Indiana) are to have the helping hand of the Frankfort League this year, according to a recent decision of the League Board of Directors.

THE Delaware League co-operated with several state organizations in celebration of Armistice Sunday. A public meeting was arranged for Sunday afternoon, November 9, in the First Central Church of Wilmington.

AN intensive organization campaign is now engaging the interest of the Georgia League. A new field secretary, Miss Carrie Lee Sanders, and Mrs. L. L. Hendren, president of the Georgia League, and Mrs. J. W. Wills are touring the state in a drive to increase membership.

WESTCHESTER County (New York) League is increasing its membership each month. It now has 1,100 members, and two new Leagues have recently been organized in Harmon and Mount Kisco.

CONCLUSIVE evidence that issues came to the fore in the presidential campaign just closed is given in the report that 12,700 copies of the platforms of political parties, published by the National League, have been sent out from national headquarters in four months. Study of the platforms was not confined to League members or civic clubs. Miss Laura J. Cairnes, instructor at the Easton High School in Baltimore, Maryland, sent an order for 238 copies, to supply each member of her civic classes.

RUTHERFORD County (North Carolina) has a very active League, of which Mrs. Charles F. Gold, of Ellenboro, is president. It has eighty members.

THE reorganized Oakland Center of the California League is fortunate in having for its president Mrs. Fred C. Turner, one of the prominent club women of the state. Mrs. Turner was president for two years of the California branch of the Association of College Alumnae, and is a director of the Public Health Center of Oakland.

THE Decatur (Illinois) League has the right idea. In order that school teachers and business women, who are unable to attend general League meetings, may know something of the work of the League, the Decatur officers arranged a Saturday luncheon during October, at which Donald Gibbs spoke on international relations.

MANY Leagues have availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the get-out-the-vote campaign to strengthen organization. Illustrative of this was the formation of the Adams County (Pennsylvania) League in time to welcome officially the state get-out-the-vote caravan at the Franklin County line, escort it into Gettysburg, and accompany it to the York County line. Miss Edna Eicholtz, of Gettysburg, as chairman of the new League, directed the reception to the caravan delegation.

ANOTHER new publication, in the form of No. 3 of the study leaflet series being issued by the Women in Industry Committee of the National League, is ready for distribution. The all-absorbing subject of "Women and the Labor Movement in America" is presented in convincing style by Miss Mollie Ray Carroll, chairman of the committee. As first-aid to those Leagues which will take up the study of woman's part in the labor movement, Miss Carroll has suggested topics for club papers.

THE Washington University (Missouri) League has reorganized for the year with Miss Louise Weaver as president, and eighty-one charter members.

PENFIELD (New York) is to have a League of Women Voters as the result of an organization meeting arranged by Mrs. William E. Werner, chairman of the Monroe County branch, and one of Rochester's representative citizens.

RESOLUTIONS endorsing the Child Labor Amendment, the passage of a New York State forty-eight-hour-week bill for women, the World Court and jury service for women, were adopted by the Saratoga (New York) League at its annual meeting October 12. Mrs. F. Louis Slade, chairman of the New York League, was the guest of honor. Mrs. J. A. Donaldson was elected president to succeed Mrs. Charles H. Keyes.

PROFESSOR Dorman's class in American Government at the Woman's College in Montgomery (Alabama) formed itself into a citizenship club recently. Miss Jeffries Heinrich, secretary of the third region, attended the organization meeting. In addition to the general citizenship program, other subjects on the National League's program, such as living costs, international co-operation to prevent war, women in industry and social hygiene, will be studied by this group of young women. Miss Mildred Abrams is president of the club.

MISS Emily H. Whitney of New Haven, Connecticut, who is an active member of the Connecticut League, has been honored with appointment to the New Haven Board of Education.

FOUR Indiana Leagues are just puffed with pride at the thought of having Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as an honor guest this month. She is slated to speak at the third annual citizenship school conducted by Purdue University on November 21, then to be at Evansville for a day, at Terre Haute on November 26, and at Michigan City about December 1.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

Britain's M. P's

THE English election is over, and generally speaking women candidates for Parliament met defeat. Of the forty-one candidates only four won—just half the number that sat in the last Parliament. The Conservatives re-elected Lady Astor, the Duchess of Atholl and Mrs. Hilton Philipson, and Labor put in a new candidate, Miss E. Wilkinson, of the East Middleborough division of London.

Five women who sat in the last House have disappeared: Margaret Bondfield, secretary to the Ministry of Labor and the first woman to occupy such a post; Susan Lawrence and Dorothy Jewson, both Labor; Mrs. Winttingham and Lady Terrington, both Liberal.

Out of the forty-one candidates, twenty-two ran on the Labor ticket, six on the Liberal, twelve on the Unionist, and one was independent.

Suffrage and Nicaragua

SENORA TEREZA DE MORALES, of Nicaragua, suffragist and law student, who tried vainly to register as a prospective voter for the presidential election, has taken her claim to the Supreme Court. According to the Constitution, all citizens over twenty-one, and those over eighteen who can read and write, are eligible as voters, and Señora Morales claims that no restriction because of sex exists. The case is attracting widespread interest, for the constitutions of the other four Central American republics are similar to Nicaragua's in their suffrage provisions.

A YOUNG Indian woman has been appointed Justice of the Peace in Madras. She is Mrs. Jayalakshmi, and she is only twenty-three years old.

Seats for Women

NOW that the women of Cochín, India, have won the vote, they are asking the government to allocate at least four of its fifteen nominated seats to women of the state. It is their belief that women representatives are necessary when laws affecting women and children are being made.

Backward Steps

ACCORDING to the *International Woman Suffrage Alliance News Service*, the Bulgarian post and telegraph offices are reducing the number of their women employees to ten per cent

of the whole personnel, the only exception being the telephone exchanges. In the more important positions men are replacing women, and in the future no woman may hold a position where other persons are under her control.

Policewomen 200 Strong

LONDON'S force of twenty policewomen is to be increased to two hundred if the plans of Mr. Arthur Henderson, Home Secretary, carry. Under the new order, particular attention is to be paid to the night-club question, and close observation kept of women of undesirable character who are known to be coming to the country.

The Fifth Assembly

TO the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, where fifty-four states were represented (a fifty-fifth being admitted before the session ended), six sent women delegates. They are:

Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell, of Sweden, Substitute. Has attended all five assemblies.

Professor Kristine Bonnevie, of Norway, Substitute. Has attended all five assemblies.

Mme. Henni Forchhammer, of Denmark, Technical Adviser. Has attended all five assemblies.

Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco, of Rumania, Substitute. Has attended all five assemblies.

Mme. Helena M. Swanwick, of England, Substitute. New this year.

Mme. S. M. Allen, of Australia, Substitute. Editor of the *Melbourne Argus*. New this year.

"Boys and Girls and Books"

THE American Library Association has produced, in cooperation with the Bray Screen Products, Inc., a still film called "Boys and Girls and Books." It shows what books mean to boys and girls, and was of particular value for use during Children's Book Week, November 10-15.

Equal Pay Rejected

THROUGH the columns of *Equal Rights* we learn that in New Zealand a bill in the interest of women, demanding equal pay for equal work, has been rejected by a vote of 38 to 36.

A P. S. on Candidates

A CANDIDATE for Congress whose name was not received in time for the last issue was Florence Garvin, of the Forward Party of Dela-

ware—a daughter of Lucius F. C. Garvin, twice Governor of Rhode Island.

Madrid's Councilors

OCTOBER 22 was an eventful day in Madrid, for it marked the first time that women have ever taken part in the deliberations of the Municipal Council. The city councilors are Marie Echarría, a writer, Countess Yenteno and Elisa Calonge, both land owners.

Annie Furuhjelm

ANNIE FURUHJELM, who has been a member of Parliament in Finland since 1914, was defeated at the last election. A very interesting report from this country is that there is a reaction against women because women cannot be trusted to agitate for defense preparedness.

Broken—Another Barrier

SWITZERLAND has granted its first theological degree to a woman. She is Mlle. Von Auw, of Lucerne, and the degree was granted by the Free Church of Vaud.

A Fuel Consultant

MRS. CLOUDESLEY BRERETON, of London, has a unique position as fuel consultant to the British Commercial Gas Association—a research and advisory body representing the whole gas industry. The abolition of the use of raw coal—and thus indirectly of smoke—is her ambition. When asked about her training Mrs. Brereton says that the ambition to make existence more tolerable for women and children in an industrialized age brought her to the post she now holds.

Public Welfare in the Cabinet

MANITOBA has established a new department of public welfare under the supervision of a Cabinet minister, and thereby set a precedent in Canadian political history. The new department was established under an amendment to the Child Welfare Act passed at the last session of the provincial legislature. It has eight members, headed by the Minister of Education, and its specific duty is to administer the child welfare regulations.

Florence Kelley

A BRILLIANT public dinner has just been given to Mrs. Florence Kelley, in honor of her twenty-five years of devoted service to the National Consumers' League. We shall have more to say about it and her in the next number.

A Line on the Movies

By IRENE THIRER

THIS WOMAN—A rather tearful movie is this, with Irene Rich in the title rôle, Creighton Hale and Marc McDermott taking due honors. The story concerns a good girl with a beautiful singing voice, who is wrongly accused of straying from the straight and narrow path. Irene suffers and suffers and suffers, until the happily-ever-after conclusion. This won't interest the youngsters to a great extent. However, it's well directed and excellently cast. A Warner Brothers production from the novel by Howard Bockey. Directed by Phil Rosen.

HOT WATER—Anybody and everybody from nine to ninety—and younger and older—will be all warmed up after a plunge into the theatre where "Hot Water" is being turned on for the silver screen. Harold Lloyd's antics are as laugh-enticing as ever. There are loads of clever new gags, interspersed with lots of old but nevertheless ludicrous ones. Harold is married in the film, and the tale exacts much sympathy for poor Mr. Lloyd, who is forced to put up with a typical movie mother-in-law (Josephine Crowell—who does marvels with her part). Jobyna Ralston makes a pretty wife, without much film duty to execute. A Pathé production, directed by Sam Taylor and Fred Newmeyer.

MADONNA OF THE STREETS—This is Mme. Alla Nazimova's come-back presentation, after a film retirement of more than two years. Nazimova, with her many idiosyncrasies, is as much the fans' idol as ever she was. The production portrays the life of a gold-digger who weds a preacher, intending to do him out of his inheritance. Finally, almost too late—but not quite—she discovers that she loves him. Milton Sills is forceful as the preacher. May Beth Carr, Harold Goodwin and Courtney Foote do good work in minor rôles. Children won't get much out of this piece of filmetry. Doubt whether they'll like it at all. A First National production from the novel by W. B. Maxwell. Directed by Edwin Carewe.

THE SILENT WATCHER—Here's one of 1924's prize cinema productions. "The Silent Watcher" is positively one of the finest pictures made in many movie seasons. Credit goes to Glenn Hunter, Bessie Love, Hobart Bosworth—three excellent performers—and to its director, Frank Lloyd, who followed his film masterpiece "The Sea Hawk" with this presentation. The theme, adapted from Mary Roberts Rinehart's story, treats of a young clerk's love for his wife, and at the same time his loyalty to his employer—his idol. There is strength in the plot, and enough cannot be said for the capability of the cast. A First National production.

THE BANDOLERO—Imported from Spain is this photodrama, with the best movie bullfight ever screened included in its footage. Also a vast amount of beautiful Spanish background for a trite tale of one man's revenge for another, taking effect on their respective son and daughter. Rita Rossi and Manuel

Granado, two new film luminaries, of no special histrionic abilities, are cast in support of Pedro de Cordoba and Renee Adoree, who really do as well as possible in consideration of the material. A Metro-Goldwyn production, directed entirely in the land of its origin by Tom Terriss.

The Bookshelf



By
M. A.

THE fall book lists seem to be longer than ever. Well-known authors, stand-bys in a world of literary stress, offer new titles for your delight. New authors shoulder each other for your attention. They jostle back and forth like barkers at a county fair, until in desperation you grab blindly at a handful of them and struggle out of the press to look over your prizes at your leisure. And like all such prizes, some are better and some are worse than you expected.

Hugh Walpole's "*The Old Ladies*" is distinctly better. It has qualities of characterization, of subtle indication of feeling, and atmosphere, which place it very high in the list of his novels. It tells of three old ladies, two of them gentlewomen, the third a strange, gypsyish person whose fate leads her into dark ways. Through different circumstances they come to live in the same lodging house in Polchester, and their lives come together in moments of high importance. Thus the book which seemed three character sketches, comes to hold the entire quality of three long lives. It is written with skill and charm, and with a certain indefinable power which tempers Mr. Walpole's sweetness.

May Sinclair's new novel, "*Arnold Waterlow*", is a sad disappointment. Here are all the trappings, the phrasings, the mannerisms of another character in her brilliantly lighted salon, but they are set up on a clothes frame. Arnold has all the familiar traits; he is a psychological changeling in a commonplace family, sensitive, bookish, with a love for Greek and Kant. He has the typical Sinclair mother whose selfishness wraps him round like the arms of an octopus. Three women love him earnestly, though it is difficult to see why. In spite of Miss Sinclair's customary incisive style, he just doesn't come alive. The book isn't even a good copy of previous successes.

One turns with relief to the inimitable Irishism of "*Blind Raftery*." It is Donn Byrne's new story of a great Irish poet and what happened after he wedded a woman of Spain. A slight book, lacking the poignancy of the same author's story of Marco Polo and the Chinese Princess, it has something of

the same tender wistfulness and love of words. But Mr. Byrne is a poet in prose rather than in verse, and one regrets that he was not content with describing Raftery's songs. Their actual printing casts considerable doubt on the ability of "Ireland's greatest singer".

"*Elaine at the Gates*" is W. B. Maxwell's husky romance of 397 closely printed pages, wherein everything happens to Elaine Fletcher that reasonably could without taking her outside of England. She was brought up to be the heiress of a beautiful estate, but her benefactress dies suddenly after an unwise secret marriage, leaving Elaine penniless. She gets herself engaged to the man she has loved from childhood, only to have him marry the prospective mother of his presumed child. Elaine contracts brain fever at that, and after her recovery turns governess and agnostic. She is rescued from both by the clergyman her benefactress had married, and marries him. All that takes only half the book. The second half is even more sensational. Only two characters, the clergyman, Mark Awdrey, and Elaine's uncle, recall the excellent character building in "Spinster of This Parish," and "The Day's Journey." The rest are puppets pulled by violent strings.

The book's jacket predicts that it will be a best seller.

When well-loved authors disappoint, one turns to the new and unknown. Marcel Schwob is a young Frenchman whose "*Imaginary Lives*" is attracting much interest. It is a series of short sketches of Pocahontas and Petronius, of Captain Kidd and Lucretius and a score of others whose names are mostly unknown. Bizarre, twisted, superlatively good, and descending to weird wickedness, they are like a handful of those tiny and curiously wrought idols sometimes found in ancient tombs, some carved of flashing jewels, some out of livid stone. They are done with exquisite art.

The Old Ladies, Doran, 1924. \$2.00.
Arnold Waterlow, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.50.
Blind Raftery, Century, 1924. \$1.25.
Elaine at the Gates, Doubleday, Page, 1924. \$2.00.
Imaginary Lives, Boni & Liveright, 1924. \$2.50.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

The radical and liberal groups in both houses have been reduced. Senator Brookhart, La Follette's mainstay, almost lost his seat, winning his state by a small majority after he himself had conceded his defeat. Senator Magnus Johnson, the Farmer-Laborite, was defeated in Minnesota by Representative Schall, the blind Congressman.

Considerable credit at the capital for the success of the Republican campaign has been given to Colonel George Harvey, who waited for the psychological moment and then spread his fatal slogan, "Coolidge or Chaos." It is said that Colonel Harvey, when he returned from Europe, wrote this powerful editorial and tucked it in his pocket. It is understood that he conferred with President Coolidge regarding his plans and tactics. He let the Republican campaign go ahead on its own momentum, trying to create issues. He watched it lose ground slowly and give way to the Independent movement until finally the important state of California began to waver and show tendencies toward the Independent column. It was then that Colonel Harvey loosed his crowning effort in which he frightened himself for six columns of newsprint over the possibility of the election of a Democratic vice-president, Charles W. Bryan, to the presidency in the event that the contest was thrown into the House. "A possible calamity," he wrote, "Bryan the real candidate. La Follette may control government. Neither Davis nor La Follette can, at any time, win a ma-

jority of votes in the electoral college. It is doubtful if Coolidge could obtain a clear majority now or next week. Looking to November then, the paramount issue is: Coolidge or Chaos. And Chaos spells Calamity."

On the day after election one of Colonel Harvey's editors claimed that this pronouncement swung the election. "No editorial has been published in any American newspaper in this generation," he said, "which can be compared to it on the score of effectiveness. It was devastating. It checked the La Follette candidacy, as it seemed to be gathering strength in the prairie states. It annihilated the last lingering hopes of John W. Davis, so far as the electoral college was concerned, and drove home to the consciousness of the people the realization that his only chance lay in having the election thrown into the House of Representatives, and his own eventual

THE NEW SENATE

(Estimates of November 7)

Republicans	53
Democrats	40
Farmer-Laborites	1
Vacancies	2

THE NEW HOUSE

Republicans	245
Democrats	185
Farmer-Laborites	3
Socialists	2

choice determined there through the treachery and weakness of individual Republican representatives voting, at the dictate of what sinister motive might influence them, to break the deadlock in the evenly divided states. The alternative was the election of 'Bro. Charles' by the Senate—and this was too terrible to contemplate. When the people examined the picture drawn by Colonel Harvey in the editorial of September 7, opinion rapidly crystallized. They saw the basic principles of the government threatened, and determined to save them in the only way that was safe and sure. There can be no doubt of this. The event proves it."

And now President Coolidge is opening hundreds of telegrams of hearty congratulations from people, it is said at the White House, whom he has never seen and never known. A few days before election your correspondent received a booklet in the mail from the telegraph company. This brochure stated that many persons throughout the country would desire to extend felicitations to the successful candidate, and it begged to submit herewith samples of messages which would be appreciated. Then fol-

lowed dozens of flowers of the air, couched in all manner of congratulatory felicitations. Some like friend to friend, some lover to lover, some politician to politician, but nearly all of them more than ten words and over twenty-five cents.

Jane Addams

(Continued from page 13)

balance wheel, goes an amazing accuracy. She is an omnivorous reader with an excellent memory, and that quickness which might be ill-judged in another, is backed in her by scrupulously accurate information. So thoroughly does this quality of mental clarity and sureness pervade her thought and acts that it is hard to imagine her acting in uninformed prejudice or blind emotion.

One prejudice she seems to have, in spite of her many published works, and that is against the press. She has always been good "copy," perhaps because of a certain picturesqueness of utterance, a feeling for words, perhaps because of an underlying sense of drama which reporters are quick to feel. She has naturally encountered the opposition of the press when fighting corruption in Chicago, or war in the world. Such statements as "the people of the different countries could not secure the material upon which they might form a sound judgment of the situation, because the press with the opportunity of determining opinion by selecting data, had assumed the power once exercised by the church when it gave to the people only such knowledge as it deemed fit for them to have," are scarcely calculated to please such a power as the Fourth Estate.

It has been said that "the greatest thing about Miss Addams is that she has affected the morals of her generation in the widest sense." Certainly the spreading spirit of Hull House, and the success of her widely-read books, set people to thinking along new lines, opened a new era of neighborliness and attempts at understanding.

Yet with all these extraordinary qualities, she is in no sense an austere person. Tender, loving, gay, fond of music, art and color, understanding them, she sees the value in everything, merry or sober, that makes life more significant. She has a pervasive sense of humor that deepens at times into a thread of pure wit. She is a most delightful companion, both at work and at play. Her life has been so very full that she has had no time to play games, but she believes in them thoroughly, and has fostered them untiringly at Hull House.

Her international friendships take the place of hobbies. She is keenly interested in whatever science discovers about



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Visitors are delighted with the spacious lounge, charming garden and excellent service. Four hundred rooms. Three blocks from the Capitol, Library of Congress and Union Station. Reasonable rates. No tipping.

GRACE DODGE HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade, Main & Market
 Albany—Hewett's Silk Shop, 15 N. Pearl
 Allentown—H. Mayer, 907 Hamilton St.
 Altoona—Bendheim's, 1302-11th Ave.
 Asheville—Pollock's
 Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
 Atlantic City—2019 Boardwalk
 Baltimore—325 No. Charles St. (2nd floor)
 Bangor—John Connors Shoe Co.
 Berkeley—The Booterie
 Binghamton—Parlor City Shoe Co.
 Birmingham—319 North 20th St.
 Boston—109 Newbury St., cor. Clarendon
 Bridgeport—1025 Main St. (2nd floor)
 Brooklyn—516 Fulton St. (Primrose Bldg.)
 Buffalo—641 Main St., above Chippewa St.
 Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
 Charlotte—226 North Tryon St.
 Chicago—162 N. State (opp. Chicago Theatre)
 1050 Leland (Near Broadway)
 6410 Cottage Grove Ave.
 Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
 Cleveland—1705 Euclid Ave.
 Columbus, O.—104 E. Broad St. (at 3rd)
 Dayton—The Rike-Kumler Co.
 Denver—224 Foster Bldg.
 Des Moines—W. L. White Shoe Co.
 Detroit—41 E. Adams Ave.
 Duluth—107 W. First St. (nr. 1st Ave. W.)
 Elizabeth—253 North Broad St.
 Elmira—C. W. O'Shea
 Erie—Weichler Co., 919 State St.
 Evanston—North Shore Bootery
 Evansville—310 So. 3rd St. (near Main)
 Grand Rapids—Herpolsheimer Co.
 Greenville—Pollock's
 Hagerstown—Bikle's Shoe Shop
 Harrisburg—26 No. 3rd St. (2nd floor)
 Hartford—Trumbull and Church Sts.
 Havertill—McGregor's, 21 Washington Sq.
 Holyoke—Thos. S. Childs, 275 High St.
 Houston—205 Foster-Bank Commerce Bldg.
 Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Diehl
 Indianapolis—L. S. Ayres & Co.
 Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
 Jacksonville, Fla.—Opp. Seminole Hotel
 Jersey City—Bennett's, 411 Central Ave.
 Johnstown, Pa.—Zane's
 Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
 Kansas City, Mo.—300 Altman Bldg.
 Kingston—E. F. Stelle & Son
 Knoxville—Spence Shoe Co.
 Lewiston—Lamer-Wellehan, 110 Lisbon St.
 Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
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 Little Rock—417 Main St. (Pugh Bldg.)
 Long Beach, Cal.—536 Pine Ave.
 Los Angeles—505 New Pantages Bldg.
 Louisville—Boston Shoe Co.
 Lowell—The Bon Marche
 Madison, Wis.—Family Shoe Store
 Memphis—28 N. Second St.
 Miami—Dickins Shoe Store
 Milwaukee—Brouwer Shoe Co.
 Minneapolis—25 Eighth St. South
 Montreal—Keefe Bldg. (St. Catherine W.)
 Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—Rice & Co.
 Nashville—J. A. Meadows & Sons
 Newark—897 Broad St. (2nd floor)
 New Bedford—Olympia Shoe Shop
 Newburgh—G. A. C. Co. Ben
 New Haven—153 Court St. (2nd floor)
 New Orleans—109 Baronne St. (Room 200)
 New Rochelle—Ware's
 14 W. 40th St. (opp. Pub. Lib.)
 New York—2950 Third Ave. (152nd St.)
 13 John St. (Bet. E'way & Nassau)
 Norfolk—Ames & Browner
 Oakland—516-15th St. (2nd floor)
 Oklahoma City—Feiler's Boot Shop
 Omaha—1708 Howard St.
 Pasadena—378 E. Colorado Street
 Paterson—10 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
 Peoria—105 So. Jefferson (Lehmann Bldg.)
 Philadelphia—1932 Chestnut St.
 Pittsburgh—The Rosenbaum Co.
 Pittsfield—Wm. F. May, 634 North St.
 Plainfield—M. C. Van Arsdale
 Portland, Me.—Palmer Shoe Co.
 Portland, Ore.—353 Alder St.
 Poughkeepsie—Louis Schenberger
 Providence—The Boston Store
 Reading—Sig. S. Schweriner
 Richmond, Va.—Seymour Cycle
 Roanoke—J. Bachrach Shoe Co.
 Rochester—257 Main St. E. (3rd floor)
 Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
 St. Joseph, Mo.—216 N. 7th (Arcade Bldg.)
 St. Louis—516 Arcade Bldg. (opp. P. O.)
 St. Paul—43 E. 5th St. (Frederic Hotel)
 St. Petersburg—W. L. Tillinghast
 Sacramento—208 Ochsner Bldg., K nr. 7th
 Saginaw—Goeschel-Kulper Co.
 Salt Lake City—Walker Bros. Co.
 San Diego—The Marston Co.
 San Francisco—127 Stockton St.
 Schenectady—445 State St.
 Scranton—Lewis & Reilly
 Seattle—Baxter & Baxter
 Shreveport—Phelps Shoe Co.
 Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
 Spokane—The Crescent
 Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
 Stamford—L. Spelke & Son
 Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
 Tacoma—255 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Bldg.)
 Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
 Toronto—7 Queen St. East (at Yonge)
 Trenton—H. M. Voorhes & Bro.
 Troy—35 Third St. (2d floor)
 Tulsa—Lyons' Shoe Store
 Utica—23 & 30 Blandina St. (cor. Union)
 Vancouver—Hudson's Bay Co.
 Washington—1319 F Street (2nd floor)
 Wheeling—Geo. R. Taylor Co.
 Wilmington, Del.—Kennard-Pyle
 Winoona—Hudson's Bay Co.
 Worcester—J. C. MacInnes Co.
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DO you always enjoy your evenings—or are you often too tired? Does foot fatigue mar the hours which should be your happiest?

Nature designed your feet to serve as two tireless springs. They should carry you through the day with ease, leaving you fresh and ready for an evening of pleasure.

Shoes with rigid arches bring on foot fatigue by working against your feet all day long. Wrongly shaped shoes affect your bodily health by irritating important nerves and weakening the muscles of the feet and lower limbs. High heels thrust the body forward and often cause headache, backache and displacement of the internal organs. Shoes are important. Physicians know this and women are learning it.

The Cantilever Shoe is like the foot, shaped naturally and flexible from toe to heel. It is in close harmony with your foot in any position. Each step you take in a Cantilever Shoe is a foot exercise that strengthens the muscles which hold the bones of

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The well-placed, moderate heel of the Cantilever swings the body weight off the inner and weaker side of the foot and does not tilt the body forward at a harmful angle. The modishly rounded toe allows ample room for all five toes of the foot. The graceful, natural lines permit your foot to relax in comfort. And the unusual fitting qualities—the snug heel seat, the contoured arch, offer you the luxury of real foot comfort.

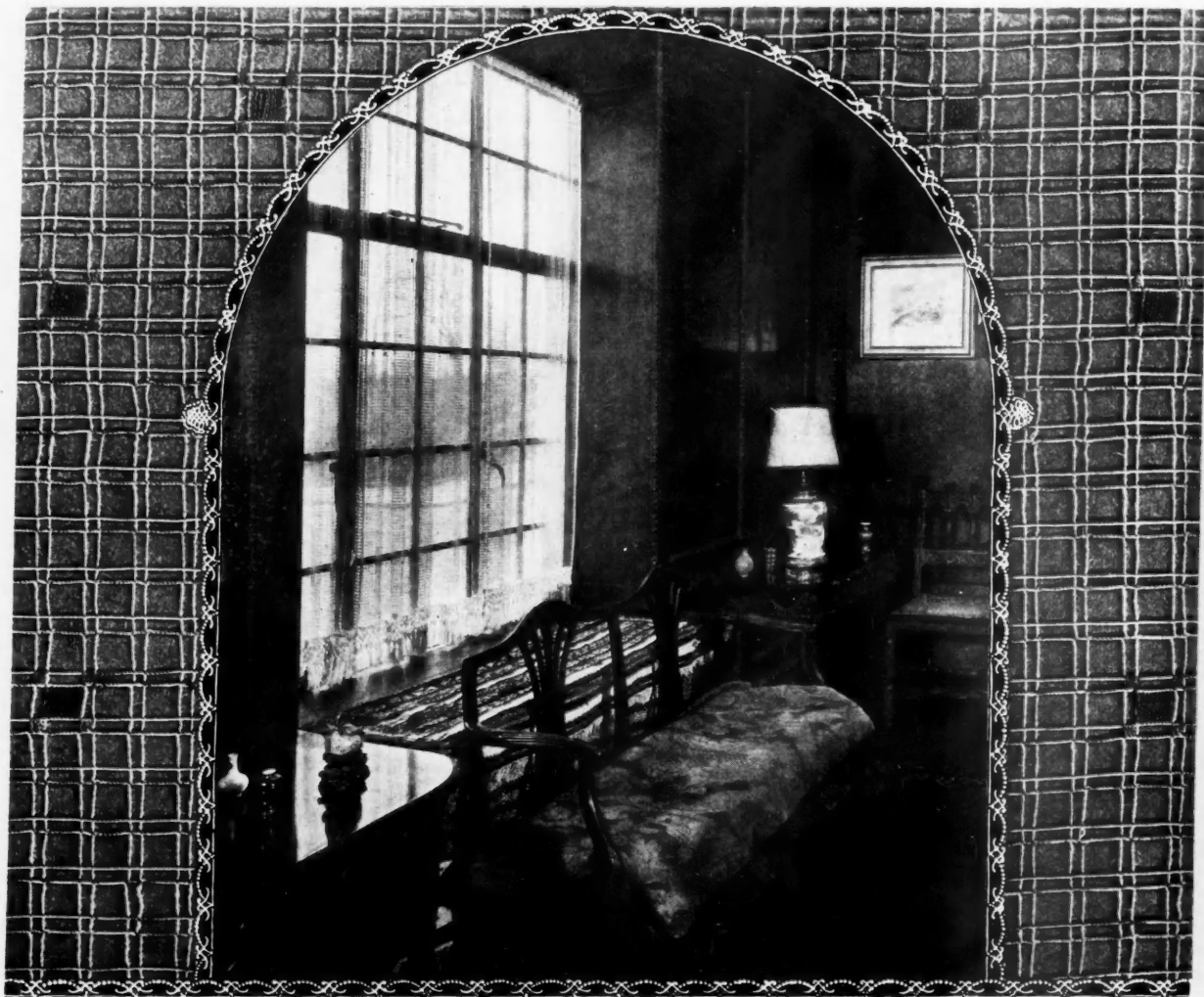
There are many smart models to select from this Autumn. A gored step-in pump, three-strap pumps and distinctive designs in two-strap pumps offer a fine selection for dress occasions. For daytime wear there are several trim oxfords and snug boots.

If none of the dealers listed at the left is near you, write the manufacturers, Morse & Burt Co., 426 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., for the address of a nearer store.



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The New York home of the Duchesse de Richelieu mirrors that period of history when the artistic glory of France was at its height,—containing, as it does, that famous collection of *objets d'art* begun by the inscrutable Cardinal de Richelieu himself, and added to by generations of connoisseurs. . . To be forced to buy anything modern, utilitarian, for such a house, is indeed to be faced with a problem.

When the Duchesse decided to have the windows

recurtained last spring, she was fortunate enough to find among the many Quaker Lace creations "Filet Grandée," a design which to her reflected precisely the dignity, reserve and subtlety of charm demanded . . . And so successful were the decorators' first experiments with it—as shown in the illustrations—the same design was chosen for all the other windows in the house.

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of the Duchesse de Richelieu

was to the home of the Duchesse—and you can be certain that the curtain of your choice will be in taste and in style.

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the races and groupings of mankind. Sitting in a foreign hotel lobby one day, she saw a cluster of people who looked totally different from any with whom she had ever come in contact. Inquiry showed them to be the descendants of the ancient Chaldeans. With the exception of the pigmies of Africa, she has probably met most of the racial groups of the world.

Her contribution to the life of America, in and through Hull House, can never be reckoned. It was one of the first, and remains one of the most comprehensive attempts to put a social philosophy into action. Many people dream a social philosophy, form theories about it, but Jane Addams dreamed her dream and put it to work, and its influence spread through a nation. She has "a power, outside intellectual ability and moral worth, which we call genius. Its great expression is through her passion for social justice, based on great intellectual understanding of what justice must be and of the halting steps necessary to accomplish it."

The Library of Congress wishes to secure a complete file of the WOMAN CITIZEN, and we are unable to supply certain numbers. If any one can furnish them, in order to complete the file deposited in the National Library, both the Librarian and the CITIZEN will be grateful. The Library needs the issues of June 4 and June 18, 1921. Kindly address The Librarian of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Also, if any one can spare the issue of September 8, 1923, the CITIZEN could make excellent use of it.

Keeping Sane

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

THOSE of us who have read many of the modern books on race are left with a feeling of fear and discouragement.

From books and newspapers and periodicals come statistics of the increase of insanity, of the uncovering of a vast class of intellectual morons who need care and control throughout their entire life. Coupled with these statistics, go the reports of increase in crime. Social experts tell us that this crime is largely, though not entirely, limited to the subnormal intellectual classes. The increase in crime goes hand in hand with an increase in the number of mentally unfit.

The occurrence of epochs of racial greatness seems evident in even a casual perusal of history, but the terrifying fact of the gradual dying out of the best stocks only appears after a closer biological study. According to some theories, there is very little hope for racial betterment unless some conscious means of better breeding and eugenics is instituted. There is predicted a vast increase of morons, or intellectual inferiors, to whom civilization, as it now doubtfully exists, is a burden, and to whom the annihilation of civilization is an aim. To many it seems as if mankind had come to the crossroads where the blind, automatic drive of nature, unhindered, would lead to extinction, unless the conscious determining will of mankind takes the wheel.

After all, the hope of humanity lies in its gifted creatures. The hope of another golden age arising in the future lies in the freeing of the energies and

talents of the best individuals for creative work. We should not be proud of our boards of charity, our college settlement work, our rescue work, but rather ashamed. They represent no advance but only the salvage of human wreckage. They absorb the entire lifetime and the spiritual enthusiasm of thousands of workers whose energies and talents could have accomplished constructive work for the real progress of mankind.

There are two classes of the mentally unfit—the downright insane and those suffering from one form of psychoneurosis but still living in normal surroundings. Of the insane there are again two classes—cases due to demonstrable organic lesions of the brain or its coverings, as the syphilitic and alcoholic cases, and those cases at present called constitutional, in which the organic basis for insanity either does not exist or has not yet been demonstrated. Under the latter class comes dementia precox, maniac depressive insanity and the psycho-neuroses.

According to Dr. Hoch's report in Park's "Public Health and Hygiene," syphilis gives rise to 15 per cent of all first admissions to insane asylums and alcohol to 8 per cent. In the New York State hospitals dementia precox gives rise to 23 per cent of all admissions and maniac depressive insanity to 15 per cent. If the cases due to alcohol and syphilis, both preventable, were added together and prevented, one-quarter of all insanity would be abolished. The attack against these diseases is already in full swing and will undoubtedly in the coming years produce an astounding decrease in insanity.

Against the remaining three-quarters of insanity civilization is not so well equipped to fight. Their actual cause is not known, though a tainted inheritance seems to play a very distinctive part in the creation of such types. Three lines of attack are open against this ponderable mass of insanity and unhappiness. Pure scientific research, both in the laboratory and in the clinic, working with the biologic histories of tainted families, with the application of the laws of heredity, will ultimately work out for us the underlying causes and point the way to their removal.

Until that happy time arrives eugenics can still help the race by laying its emphasis upon the breeding of known healthy stocks. Also a strict enforcement of an intelligence test in immigrants would admit only normal intellectuals to the country. Many difficulties arise in the practical handling of eugenics, but if mankind is to stand at the helm of its future and not surrender its guidance to a blind, subconscious, racial drive, all the problems and questions of eugenics must be faced and conquered. A great mass of public opinion must be created.

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The third line of attack against insanity lies in environmental adjustment for all nervous cases, in a conscious modification of the burden of life to fit their lessened capacities. Modern psychiatry attempts to handle this problem, insisting upon a knowledge and sympathetic understanding of both the conscious and the unconscious self. This study has shown that many delicate, fragile intelligences crack and break from no intrinsic malady but from the sheer weight of maladjustment to a difficult environment. They can be saved by lessening the strain of life.

This modern strain begins in the schoolroom and increases steadily throughout adolescence, the most dangerous time for all unstable, nervous cases. Both parents and teachers ought to realize very definitely—yes, and doctors too—that, though it is no stigma to take a child out of school or lessen its academic and recreational program, it is an enduring stigma to push a child till it breaks down.

The most practical result of any casual survey of the mental needs of the race is a definite setting of the will of each individual against the rush and strain of modern life, and a determination that no child in the care of any individual shall be pushed beyond its powers.

Conspiracy or Slander

(Continued from page 15)

will be necessary to sweep them from the road, upon which not a single impediment, not even a twig, will remain. It is then that we will say to the people: 'Bow before your God and before his people who carry upon their faces the stamp of predestination,' etc.

The following sample shows the character of the interpretation of the Protocols. This one, chosen almost at random, is found on page 121, Volume I, of the reprint from Ford's *Dearborn Independent*:

"The method is one of disintegration. Break up the people into parties and sects. Sow abroad the most promising and Utopian of ideas and you will do two things: you will always find a group to cling to each idea you throw out, and you will find this partisanship dividing and estranging the various groups. The authors of the Protocols show in detail how this is to be done. Not one idea, but a mass of ideas, are to be thrown out and there is to be no unity among them. The purpose is *not* to get the people thinking one thing, but to think so diversely about so many different things that there will be no unity among them. The result of this will be vast disunity, vast unrest—and that is the result aimed for."

In a book, "The Cause of World Unrest" (The Jewish Conspiracy), occurs

this rare gem: "It was thus that in 1822, as in 1789, the conspirators found their dupes in the ranks of Masonry—beyond the Masons lay the deadly secret conclave which—used and directed them for the ruin of the world," etc.

So in 1914 the German Jews, working with Jews in other lands, brought on the Great War, in order that they might break up Gentile civilization and accumulate vast fortunes for the final steps of the great conspiracy. The Germans, it seems, were quite innocent dupes of these Jewish masters.

Several hints are given in all these writings that the League of Nations resembles the super state over which the conspiracy plans a Jewish "Son of David" shall preside. The editor of the *London Morning Post*, which published the first news of the Protocols in England, is the most bitter anti-League man in all Great Britain. Those who are promulgating this gossip in this country, so far as we can learn, are all anti-Leaguers.

The story is extensive and intricate. This brief review may sound so silly as



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The telephone knows no favorites. Its service to all the people is of the same high standard—the Bell System standard. Twenty-four hours a day it carries the voices of all. For the benefit of all, the long-distance circuits are kept in tune. Numberless discoveries and improvements developed by the Bell System have made the telephone more useful for all the people. In America, all can afford the telephone, for Bell System service is the cheapest, as well as the best, in the world.

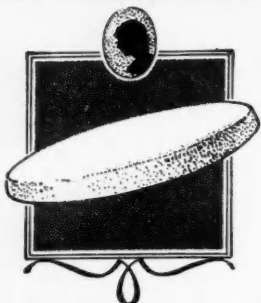
The telephone knows no favorites. It is not owned in any one locality or by any particular group of men. It is owned by 350,000 stockholders, who represent a cross-section of the thrift of the whole country. The owners of the telephone are those it serves.

In America to-day the 15,000,000 telephones of the Bell System contribute to the security, happiness and efficiency of all the people.



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to be passed over with a pooh, pooh! The truth is that the writer has now read eight books presenting different phases of this theory and found it referred to in others. These books are being advertised and urged upon readers by agents in the field, and we find plenty of people who actually believe them. An alleged publishing company gives out a typed catalogue chiefly of anti-Jewish books. Yet it is known by the pen name of a writer and the office address is merely a place where mail is delivered and gathered up. Orders are filled elsewhere. The writer, responsible for the distribution himself, writes:

"One of the surest signs of a coming war lies in this peace propaganda with which the civilized world is now being bombarded and which has its inception in Bolshevism."

Somebody puts money into this business of anti-Jewish propaganda, yet is cautious enough to attempt to conceal his tracks.

A careful reading has convinced the writer that the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" are either a dastardly forgery or the imaginative creation of a supremely egotistic and unbalanced Jewish individual on the threshold of a lunatic asylum. Yet this propaganda, hard pushed, is another source of pusillanimous attack upon honorable workers for a civilized peace. One writer praises the Chemical War Service, as it will be only by poison gas that the Jews in their moment of triumph can be overcome! Nonsense, says the writer, but she has talked with others who with scared faces believe.

Women Who Won

(Continued from page 11)

Cover, active member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Daughters of the Revolution, the American Red Cross, etc. She was a delegate to the 1924 National Democratic Convention. "They say" she is a woman of great personal charm and popularity.

Reports from *Ohio* are by no means complete, nor completely verified. Apparently, however, the following have won out: For the Senate, Mrs. Nettie B. Loughead and Mrs. Maude C. Waitt (both Republicans) reelected; for the House of Representatives: Grace E. Makepeace (R), Nettie M. Clapp (R), Mrs. Clara Wood Derr (R), Mrs. Viola D. Romans (R), Mrs. May Van Wye (R), Mrs. Florence H. Wells (R), Mrs. C. J. Ott (R), Osa Penny (R).

Pennsylvania is interesting in that it has shattered a tradition by sending a woman to the State Senate, and at the same time preserved a tradition by continuing the Vares in political power. She is Mrs. Flora M. Vare, widow of

the late Senator Edwin H. Vare. She comes from a district which, for decades, has been under the control of the Vare organization, and her husband, at the time of his death, was the undisputed Republican organization leader of Philadelphia. Mrs. Vare is the fourth member of the Vare family to hold in direct succession the State Senate seat from the first district. She takes a place left vacant first by her husband's death, then by his brother's, and third, by another brother, who prefers to continue his service as Congressman at Washington rather than in the State Senate. Mrs. Vare's time has been largely occupied with her children, her home, and golf.

Six women have been elected to the Assembly (there were eight last time). They are: Lillie H. Pitts, Martha G. Thomas, Helen Grimes, Alice M. Bentley (incumbents), Martha M. Pennock and Maud B. Trescher—all Republicans.

Though word has not yet been received from *South Dakota*, a New York newspaper reports four women elected to the House of Representatives: Mrs. Mabel Moody (D), Gladys Pyle (R), incumbent, Celia M. Kelley (R), Christine Olson (R).

Utah reports a list of four women elected—a really impressive achievement: Mrs. N. A. Dunyon, Mrs. Julius Smart, Mrs. Arthur E. Graham, and Mrs. Monroe Paxman, who is president of the Utah League of Women Voters.

Washington lists: Mrs. Belle Reeves (D), Mrs. Harry John Miller (R), and Mrs. Maude Sweetman (R), all three incumbents.

West Virginia reports the success of one of her candidates listed in the last number—Dr. Harriet Jones (R), who was the first woman physician in her state, had a hospital for women for twenty years, and has put in any amount of work at legislatures to get bills for four state institutions. The list of offices she holds shows her years of devotion to public health and general improvement of the conditions of children. Children—white and colored—by hundreds have benefited by her lectures, her medical service, her legislative efforts. "A candidate whose qualifications are super-excellent," the *West Virginia Woman Voter* said.

The story must stop here, to be continued in our next. The list is not complete, though it is far more nearly so than we thought it would be when we began. Some states have not reported at all. For others we have reports on one party only. We can attempt no analysis until the reports are all in and there has been time for study. But it is already very clear that the quality of the women legislators is likely to prove the highest it has ever been.

Please, if your state is not in the list, or if its record calls for additions or corrections, notify us at once.

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The Woman Citizen

Volume IX

NOVEMBER 29, 1924

Number 12

News Notes of the Fortnight

Crisis in Egypt

A SERIOUS situation developed from the assassination in the streets of Cairo of Sir Lee Stack, Governor General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army. Immediately after his funeral the British High Commissioner, Lord Allenby, presented to the Egyptian Premier Zagloul a stiff ultimatum with a twenty-four-hour limit. The British note demanded apology, punishment of the assassins, the payment of an indemnity of two and a half million dollars and, in addition, suppression of all political demonstrations, immediate withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan and withdrawal of Egyptian opposition to the British Government's wishes concerning the protection of foreign interests in Egypt. Warships and troops were moved along to support the drastic orders.

The demand for withdrawal from the Sudan reversed the arrangement made by Premier MacDonald last summer. Egyptian independence of Great Britain, with strings tied to it, was achieved in February, 1922. The British protectorate was abandoned, on condition of British imperial communications—referring especially to the Suez Canal—being left open, and of guarantees for "British protective influences." These matters and the future of the Sudan—scene of bitter contention between British and Egyptians since the days of Kipling's Fuzzy Wuzzy—were reserved for later discussion, and the *London Times* complains that the Egyptian attitude since has been unfavorable to anything of the sort. Last summer the Egyptian Nationalists demanded the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt and the recognition of Egyptian sovereignty in the Sudan. MacDonald refused, but at the same time realized the impossibility of the counter contention that Egypt should herself leave the Sudan, and agreed that the present situation of joint control should continue for from three to five years. Zagloul Pasha, it will be remembered, recently visited England in an effort to modify the working agreement with England on some of the

points of dispute, had small success, and resigned a few weeks ago; but popular demand practically forced him to continue in office.

His response to the British ultimatum was to apologize, though disclaiming official responsibility for the murder committed by a private person, promise punishment and pay the large indemnity asked. He protested the demand concerning the Sudan—a matter explicitly under negotiation—as contrary to the Constitution and Egyptian rights.

Zagloul Pasha then resigned, and his place was taken by Ziwar Pasha, president of the Senate. Meantime the English replied curtly that orders had been given to move the Egyptian troops from the Sudan, and they have seized the customs at Alexandria. Egypt may attempt to appeal to the League of Nations.

Russian Treaties Canceled

THE policy of the Labor Government in the matter of the much discussed Russian treaties has been reversed by the new British Foreign Secretary. Notes to the Soviet Government from Austen Chamberlain notified it that the treaties concluded by the Labor Government would not be recommended to the Parliament for consideration, and expressed the conviction that the Zinovieff letter, which played so important a part in the recent election, had not been a forgery. Complaint was made of revolutionary propaganda in Great Britain, aside from this letter, and the Soviet Government was given to understand that it could expect nothing further from Great Britain without evidence that all propaganda had stopped. In some quarters the notes were understood to amount to a withdrawal of recognition, but this is not the general point of view. Nor does the present attitude affect the continuance of the trade agreement. The note in which the Russian *chargé d'affaires* had demanded apology for the British response to the Zinovieff letter, it turned out, had not been turned over by former Premier MacDonald to his successor; that is, the Government had refused to

"receive" it, and the present régime has so notified the Soviets.

It is not thought that Russia will resent the new notes to the extent of breaking off relations.

Scrapped

UNDER the disarmament treaty the superdreadnought *Washington*, still uncompleted, was condemned to destruction. As a taxpayer and naval expert, William B. Shearer brought an injunction suit against the Government to prevent its being scrapped, on the ground that this would be an unjustified waste of the taxpayers' fifteen millions. The injunction was refused by the District of Columbia Supreme Court for lack of jurisdiction. Mr. Shearer appealed to the Supreme Court, claiming that there is a plot on foot to destroy the Navy, but the *Washington* was moved out to the appointed place of destruction and experimentation.

The incident reminds us again that various questions in connection with the treaty remain unanswered. For instance, has France ratified or not? Are we behind Japan in the ratio? And is Japan building more ships than ever? Not to mention the vexed question of the elevation of the guns on our ships.

Opium Conferences

THE first of two international opium conferences called by the League of Nations met at Geneva early in November, and ran a stormy course, with a free exchange of recriminations, according to press reports. The British Empire, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, India, Siam, China and Japan were the conferring powers, and the conference revealed the fact that, despite undertakings made at the Hague convention of 1912 to suppress the evil, opium smoking is still prevalent and, in some cases, on the increase.

In the second conference, which met later in the month, an American delegation, headed by Stephen G. Porter, appeared and made proposals for a fundamental cure. These proposals are that the production of opium shall be limited

to the strict medical and scientific needs of the world; that all other use shall be considered an abuse—heroin, an opium derivative, to be absolutely prohibited as having no use at all. A plan for a central board to furnish yearly estimates of legitimate quantities is recommended. In countries where opium smoking is still permitted it is proposed that imports for the purpose of making prepared opium shall be reduced by ten per cent each year for ten years and then flatly prohibited.

The real heart of the problem is apparently profit. India, according to Wayne Gard in the *Christian Century*, produced 1,500 tons of opium a year and for the year 1921-22 the British received from opium revenue in India 3,728,000 pounds sterling. Turkey comes second as producer. In China, where opium growing is illegal, the amount is not a matter of record, but it is known to have increased rapidly in the past two years.

The American proposals were not unanimously approved, and are still under discussion.

Mussolini

THE Mussolini government may have passed the crisis that has been threatening it since the murder of Matteotti, the Socialist Deputy. At any rate, Mussolini won a vote of confidence—315 to 6—on his foreign policies one week, and the next week he was brilliantly and dramatically defended by a man who had been counted as of the opposition. This was the Deputy Carlo Delcroix—a young martyr of the war, in which he lost both eyes, both hands. Before a packed Chamber he supported Mussolini's policies in an impassioned speech, winning a tremendous ovation.

Heading the rather heterogeneous opposition, with Delcroix counted out, are former Premier Giolitti, past eighty, but still very effective, and Peppino Garibaldi, grandson of the Italian liberator. On the other hand, Mussolini seems to have loyal support from the Vatican. His problem is to persuade Italy that his government is normal and constitutional, and at the same time to keep his Fascist forces sufficiently rough and violent to be a menace to his enemies.

Delay on the Protocol

THE British Government has asked the League of Nations to postpone consideration of the proposed Protocol of security and disarmament which was adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League this fall. The Protocol was to have come up at the December meeting of the Council, looking toward preparations for a disarmament conference next June. Though the British request was at first interpreted as meaning the scrapping of the Protocol, this seems not inevitable. The fact is that the time was

short to consult the British colonies properly, and they had raised strong objections. Those that rule out Oriental immigration were alarmed by the clause, inserted on Japan's insistence, which makes it impossible for a nation to be declared aggressor on a domestic question until the Council has considered the case. New Zealand and Australia saw in this provision possible trouble over immigration.

It is assumed that Great Britain will not allow herself to occupy the position of destroying the agreement, at least without offering something else of the same purpose.

Mr. Hill's Test Case

REPRESENTATIVE HILL of Maryland favors a modification of the Volstead law and he staged a test of it which he thought would be helpful. At his home he made cider and allowed fruit juices to ferment and invited his friends to drink. He was indicted on charges of illegal manufacture and possession of these drinks.

Federal Judge Morris A. Soper ruled that evidence could be introduced to show whether or not these liquids were intoxicating. He based his ruling on a clause in the Volstead law which says: "The penalties provided in this act against the manufacture of liquor with-

out permit shall not apply to a person for manufacturing non-intoxicating cider and fruit juices exclusively for use in his home." He held that the definition of "intoxicating" given elsewhere in the act for other liquors did not apply and that the question for the jury was whether Mr. Hill's drinks were intoxicating in fact. The fruit juices contained from 3.34 per cent to 11.64 per cent of alcohol and the cider contained 2.7 per cent. The jury, after deliberating seventeen hours, pronounced Representative Hill "not guilty."

He himself greets the verdict as a certain help in the probable effort to get through Congress a modification of the Volstead law. "It proves," he claims, "what I have always maintained—that the Volstead act is hypocritical, crooked and marked by two standards." Opponents of modification claim that the decision is being greatly overrated; that in many places the decision would have been different; that in any case its application is very limited.

An Immigration Ruling

AN important ruling was that of Judge James A. Lowell in the United States District Court at Boston concerning a Chinese bride. A Chinese, born in the United States, recently went to China and brought back a wife. She was detained and ordered deported. Judge Lowell held that the new immigration act of 1924 does not bar the wife of any American citizen just because that citizen is of Chinese blood.

Very Briefly

HOWARD M. GORE, of West Virginia, who has been acting Secretary of Agriculture since the death of Mr. Wallace, has been appointed to the secretaryship, but can serve only until the fourth of March, when he becomes governor of his home state.

A hundred million dollar loan to France has been arranged by the Morgan interests.

A demand for more railway wages in Austria, and a strike called to enforce it, caused the resignation of Dr. Seipel, Chancellor of Austria. Then, as he doubtless knew, he returned to office on his own terms. Dr. Seipel is engaged in the difficult task of trying to carry out the League of Nations plan for the reconstruction of Austria, and is resolved to keep within the budget recommended by the League.

The Sailless Ship is causing much interest. It was invented by a German, Herr Flettner, and reports claim successful trials in the Baltic. The inner secret is kept, but the general idea is motive power from the impact of wind on rotating cylinders of thin metal at the tops of two steel towers.

Peonage has again been disclosed in Florida—in the turpentine camps.

November 25, 1924.



Marceau

Only a person whose life is wrapped up in animals could portray animals as does Edith Derry Willson, our cover artist. But when a person says: "Animals are my whole life, both living and in paintings or etchings. Dogs in particular are my fancy, and in my spare moments it gives me more satisfaction to be an amateur veterinarian to the sick dogs of my neighborhood, than anything else," it is easy to understand why her work is so realistic and appealing.

Mrs. Willson received her training under Joseph Pennell at the Art Students League in New York, and has shown in most of the national and international exhibits. She prefers oils to any other medium for the portrayal of animal life, although she admits that the intricacies of etching fascinate her, and we are glad because of "Wolfe of the Moores," among others.



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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

November 19, 1924

THE prosaic and conceded election has left anything but a dull situation at the capital. So much has happened since the first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress that American politics would appear almost to have had a complete overturn. There are many dramatic aspects of the Congressional situation. The last session of the Sixty-eighth Congress will convene on December 1 and, according to the Constitution, will expire on March 4. Although Republicanism has swept the country with one of the largest popular votes ever recorded, its leader will open the coming session facing a hostile assembly. It will contain the old radical bloc, the farmer insurgents and, in addition, lame ducks, limping in from the election which repudiated them. Here they will sit for three months, legislating according to principles and policies opposed by the electorate. They will be in the position of carrying measures against the will of President Coolidge and if the old coalition between Democrats and Radicals holds, the Senate again may pass legislation entirely contradictory to the advice and judgment of Cabinet members; such, for instance, as the passage of the internal revenue bill by the Democrat and Liberal coalition after having received advice from the Secretary of the Treasury that such procedure would be against his experience and wisdom. The President will have to wait one year from this December before the Congress elected on November 4 may constitutionally assemble.

A Menace to Lame Ducks

The picture of these lame ducks and the power they will wield gives impetus to the amendment to the Constitution offered by Senator Norris at the last session, which fixes the beginning of the terms of a newly-elected President and

Vice-President at noon on the third Monday in January instead of waiting according to present rules until the inauguration of March 4. Thus, the President and Vice-President would be more immediately responsive to the will of the people.

This, however important, in some aspects is secondary to the effect of the Norris amendment upon Congress, for that amendment specifies that the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin at noon of the first Monday in January after election instead of having to wait a whole year from the election date.

It is perhaps fortunate that the final session of the Sixty-eighth Congress should not be devoted to vital issues which have been pending so many years. It is hardly likely that the coming session will cover much more than the regular appropriation bills and a few outside matters, such as Muscle Shoals.

The procrastinations of Congress, or the Senate, in the last few years, have concerned the most important problems. These have been so comprehensive and troublesome that the Congress has merely shelved the whole thing; such, for instance, as the formulation of a more permanent immigration policy, the definition of our foreign policy, with action on pending matters such as the World Court and further disarmament, the railroad policy, and government reorganization. At the last session the coming Presidential campaign was the excuse.

The accumulation of these weighty problems has been such that on December 1 the lame duck Congress will face a roster of uncompleted work which will include tax revision, with the present dissatisfaction over the methods of publicity for income-tax returns; membership of the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice; definition of American participation in humanitarian activities of the League of

Nations; railways; Muscle Shoals; farm relief; increase in the Navy and consideration of the recent scrapping of warships; regular appropriation bills; child labor; treaty with Cuba regarding the Isle of Pines; new program for conservation of national resources growing out of the investigations of oil leases; selection of new Speaker for the House; possibly a new majority leader; selection of majority leader for the Senate and possibly new President *pro tempore*. This list could be expanded but it is sufficient to be indicative. By agreement made at the last session the legislation regarding the government nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals will be taken up in the Senate at two o'clock on the day of convening and remain before the upper house until disposed of.

First on the Program

Other matters scheduled for early consideration are the Cuban treaty mentioned above; a second deficiency bill, which failed in the last hours of the former session; a measure appropriating \$150,000,000 for the Navy, and the possibility that proponents of the postal salary bill, vetoed by President Coolidge, will endeavor to force immediate action on the veto, in the hope of overriding it by the necessary two-thirds.

Several investigating committees are about to report: The Couzens Committee, which has been looking into the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department, has resumed hearings, and Senator Borah's committee, which investigated campaign expenditures, is drafting its report for presentation to Congress. As an indication of how President Coolidge regards the present session, note his reply to those who favor bringing up the question of tax revision before the ensuing short session. In spite of the fact that when he signed the internal revenue bill last spring (the legislation put through by the Democratic and insurgent coalition), he stated

that he would take the earliest opportunity to ask for further revision, he has decided not to allow the subject to come before the present session of Congress. In this Secretary Mellon has concurred. It is understood that the tax experts of the Treasury Department advised no further changes in tax rates until information becomes available showing the effect of the new rates inaugurated by the revenue bill of last spring. However, it is also thought that the President is only too glad for a sufficient economic excuse to defer so important an issue until he can work with a sympathetic Congress instead of one not amenable to the advice of Treasury experts.

On December 1 the floors of Congress will be almost unrecognizable, for who can think of the Senate without Henry Cabot Lodge, without Senator Brandegee, or Senator Cummins as presiding officer? He, it is intimated, may relinquish that post in order to devote his whole time to railroad committee matters (which otherwise would fall into the hands of men more easily influenced by the La Follette theories of government ownership) and to the possible chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee.

In the House the elevation of Speaker Gillett to the Senate, although it will not be physically consummated until next year, produces an exciting situation as the contest for the speakership develops. Friends of Representative Madden, who has ably headed the House Appropriations Committee, are working hard for his candidacy. The majority leader, Representative Longworth, is another aspirant.

Senate Leader?

The majority leadership in the Senate is uncertain at this writing. Senator Lodge so naturally kept up the appearances of complete control over the Republican majority that his replacement will mean a vital change in the atmosphere of the upper house. His was a penetrating personality. He had great distinction. He never lent himself to the commonplace. His intellectual aloofness only accentuated his position. The Senate is heavy with traditions and none more underlying than that of Lodge as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, as orator, writer, friend of Theodore Roosevelt, scholar, and gentleman of leisure. Now in the place of the man who made no concessions, who had few political intimates, who stood on his own feet and bowed to no super power, not even to the President himself, unless the Chief Executive happened, fortunately, to side with him, comes the appointment of William H. Butler to fill Senator Lodge's place. The appointment has been made by Governor Cox of Massachusetts to last until the next general election in 1926.

Mr. Butler will remain chairman of

the Republican National Committee. He is of the Coolidge type and his nomination by the President as head of his election campaign cemented an affiliation of two men whose attitude and reactions are almost identical. There was considerable dissatisfaction among the Old Guard at the appointment. Mr. Butler now takes the seat of the most important Republican in the upper house. For the first time in a long record of American politics there will be in effect an administration speaker in Congress. If he functions according to the precedent he has set during the campaign he will be more like a Prime Minister than anything an American Congress has had in some time. It may be that he will be the means of a liaison between Congress and the White House which will bring about a working agreement and produce real results—something sadly needed in the last few years.

Enter Senator Borah

Moreover, his retaining the chairmanship of the National Committee will bring that organization closer to the Republicanism of Congress than ever before. President Harding had a hard row to hoe when he tried to conciliate the different Republican groups which flourished around their natural centers—the National Committee, the Senate Republicans, state organizations, Cabinet officers and government officials. It depends considerably upon how fine a diplomat Mr. Butler is whether or not this new alignment has the advantages of its potentialities.

And now the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee and the majority leadership have been divorced by the death of Senator Lodge. Senator Borah succeeds as head of the important body dealing with foreign relations. So, knowing Senator Borah's propensities, it is safe to assume several things:

First, that his hobby, recognition of the Russian Soviet Government by the United States, will at least have a thorough airing. Second, that there will be some action for or against the World Court. Third, with specific pending issues disposed of, there are excellent chances that the foreign policy, so far as the Congress is concerned, will have greater definition than ever before.

Senator Borah will be a new type of foreign relations chairman. When he is aroused he is highly active. The only time he subsides into passivity is when pending matters are so humdrum and dull that they do not interest him. The mere symptom of a fight is sufficient to call forth his powerful defense or attack. It will be refreshing in a legislative day to find a vigorous power in a committee noted during the last few years for its stodgy, cavernous atmosphere into which important matters were poured and from which very little came forth. During Senator Lodge's long service on the

committee, Senator Borah often fought single-handed without even a slight promise of success, ineffectually wasting time, and it is not inconceivable that he will be able to so present the foreign policy to President Coolidge that they will work in considerable harmony.

Moreover, his elevation to the chairmanship through seniority undoubtedly will serve to clinch his own judgment. His attitude on membership in the World Court has been somewhat variable and during the last session he was thought by many to have been more amenable to argument from the proponents than opposed. He has already said that he wants the World Court issue taken up and settled one way or the other.

But the latest as I write is the talk among Democrats for a general reorganization in Congress. Some of the Democratic leaders believe the time has come to revert to Jeffersonian Democracy and forsake any semblance of connivance with liberals and radicals. Senator Bayard of Delaware recently said that he believed "the fundamental principles of the Democratic party have undergone no change and will be just as enduring as ever. I believe the time has come when we must swing back to first principles and refuse to be a party to the many isms advanced for the most part for purely local conditions or for the advancement of some personal equation."

Pure Democrats

A short time before election, it will be remembered, there was some indication that Democrats thought kindly of liberal brethren in the Senate and throughout the country. Mr. McAdoo and John W. Davis both issued statements to the effect that those who believed in more liberal politics were not so bad after all. But the election is over and, faced with the Senate situation, it seems more wise to some of the leaders to purify the ranks and go ahead on the basis of an undefiled democracy, true to its principles, with renewed courage and a determination to make a better showing in 1926 and 1928.

Since the election President Coolidge has become more positive and is beginning to assume the rôle of leadership. If he does not assert himself vigorously now he will be overridden by more forceful groups in the party. Senator Borah has failed to convince him against his own judgment that it would be wise to call an extra session of Congress to meet in the spring after the forthcoming assembly. Senator Borah paid his respects at the White House and said, after seeing President Coolidge, that he thought it was a great mistake to postpone action on such important measures as tax revision, agricultural and railroad legislation and the World Court for a whole year. "The Republican party will

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A Pioneer in Social Justice

By Mildred Adams

SHE has been a dangerous woman for twenty-five years, for she has known what she was talking about," said Newton Baker. "With

keen understanding, a dynamic force that functions even at breakfast, she has made her generation think," added Lillian Wald. "She has kept her mind uplifted above hate," Jane Addams characterized. "She has been a leader in converting the consuming power of the public into a moral force," read Governor Smith's letter. The head on which this acclaim was heaped sank lower and lower. Not until Grace Abbott chimed in, "And she's the hardest thing to say anything nice to that I ever saw," was there an answering gleam in the brown eyes. It was Florence Kelley's birthday party, and she was finding the praise of her friends harder to bear than she had ever found the attacks of her work's enemies.

For twenty-five years Mrs. Kelley has been Secretary of the National Consumers' League, and her friends gathered from all over the United States to pay her homage. As she herself said wonderingly, "I didn't know a dinner could be like that." It sparkled with wit and affection and understanding. It was a spontaneous outpouring of all kinds of people bearing all sorts of personal tributes to the place of this woman in the nation's life. They call her "A citizen distinguished for a lifetime of service on behalf of the child laborer, women in industry, the Negro and the immigrant, and for the cause of equal suffrage."

A lifetime is scarcely long enough for the amount of work Mrs. Kelley has accomplished, and the answer is that she began earlier than most people. She was born with a social cast of mind. Her mother's family have been Quakers as long as that sect has been in America. An ancestress sailed over in the ship with William Penn, and received from him a deed to many acres in the new colony. An ancestor, old John Bartram, the Pennsylvania Quaker botanist, sat at the head of his table daily with his family, his white servants next and then his black slaves; and later he freed his slaves and continued employing them as wage-earners. The tradition of social

vision was thus established long ago.

Mrs. Kelley's father gathered the threads together, and from her very earliest years kept her conscious of social problems. "One of my very first memories," she said musingly, "is of

in the vast place was the blazing glow of the blowers' fires on the one side, and black darkness on the other. And through the darkness and danger went children smaller than I, half clad, burned, their shoes cut by the hot glass, working wearily in the hours when they should have been sleeping. And no one had kept them tenderly in bed twelve extra hours to prepare them for their labor."

Mrs. Kelley's father was William Darrah Kelley, Congressman from Philadelphia for thirty years, and a long time "Father of the House." His daughter was his constant companion, and she gained very early a familiarity with practical law and government which has been invaluable in her work.

She went to Cornell in the days when few schools of equal standing admitted girls. On graduation she tried to enter the University of Pennsylvania for graduate Greek, but they refused to admit a woman, and she went to Zurich, where she continued her law studies.

In 1892 she went to live at Hull House, where she started that pioneer work in investigating child labor which is now about to flower in the Federal Child Labor Amendment. Those years in Chicago were crowded ones. She completed at Northwestern University the study of law which she had started with her father and carried on in Zurich. She was admitted to the Bar of Illinois and

to practice before the State Supreme Court. She had translated from the German several valuable books on social economics to add to the then short list of such works in English. She investigated the needle trades in the tenements of Chicago for the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, had charge of the Chicago branch of the United States Department of Labor's investigation of the slums of great cities, and served four years as Chief Inspector of Factories of Illinois, the first woman to hold such a post in this country. Lectures which she and Miss Addams gave at the University opened the way to the first playground in Chicago, and there was always work at the settlement.

After seven years there, Mr. John Graham Brooks, head of the then infant Consumers' League, persuaded her

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Photo by Mary Woodbridge Herring

Florence Kelley

"She has made her generation think"

learning to read out of a book filled with old wood-cuts which showed children, younger than I, carrying on their heads loads of wet clay in English brickyards. They were bent and twisted till they looked like nothing human, but like misshapen little gnomes. My grandmother gently reproved my father for 'darkening my childish mind.' I had never heard my father rebuked, and I waited breathless. He answered that the world would never be a happier place for all children until the cherished children knew of such unkindness.

"One eventful day when I was about twelve, I was not allowed to get up in the morning, but was fed in bed, and told to rest and store up sleep ahead. Just before midnight I was awakened and dressed, and taken with my father to a great glass works. It was before the days of electricity or gas light, and



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Ruth O'Brien

Help for Homemakers

With the Government's Compliments

By Catherine I. Hackett



Laura I. McLaughlin

YOU will remember that the government, a little over a year ago, gave Dr. Louise Stanley \$71,760, thirty-nine employees transferred from the old States Relations Service, a small suite of rooms in one of the rambling buildings of the Department of Agriculture, and the title of Chief of the Bureau of Home Economics. The public, especially the feminine contingent of it for whose especial benefit the infant bureau was supposed to function, sat back with a show-me expression. The Bureau, with a sigh for the meagerness of its appropriations and a gasp for the size of its opportunity, huddled into its little offices and set to work. Its workers were so close to each other that their elbows literally bumped each other's typewriters; but they were quite cheerful about it. That was because they were working out an Idea. It was that the new Bureau should be not only a central office where the American housewife could write for information on how to take fruit stains out of a colored silk dress, but a source of sound, essential, economic information on the status and needs of the American home. Nothing in the whole field of government activities could be much more fundamental than that.

Now, after a year's activity, the Bureau has moved into commodious quarters, where it will be able to spread itself over a whole building; it has hopes of an appropriation of \$107,024 as mentioned in the budget figures for 1925; and it has established three new divisions—on economics, on textiles and clothing, on housing and equipment. Two more sections remain to be added, according to the recommendations of the committee which was called together by the late Secretary Wallace to outline the new Bureau in June, 1923—a section on home relations and one on art in the home.

The first new division to be created was that on economics. This carries out a pet idea of Dr. Stanley's that there must be emphasis on the more intangible side of home life. One must know the best method of cooking round steak, to

be sure; but one must not become blinded by attention to detail to the need for a sound basis for operation of the whole.

"We want to guide the homemaker in arriving at proper relative values of the different kinds of work she performs," says Dr. Stanley. "We also want to give her some guide for her work as general purchasing agent for the family—that is important both from the individual standpoint and that of the community."

The whole work of the Bureau has shaped toward this ideal—to help the housewife weigh values in organizing her working time, in apportioning the resources of the family, and in all the more general and intangible business of running a home and keeping the people in it well and happy.

The first innovation to make its appearance under Dr. Stanley's direction was the Economics Division, to which in February, 1924, came Miss Hildegard Kneeland, head of the department of household economics at Kansas State Agricultural College, as director. Studies in household economics have been going on for several years under the direction of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, with which Miss Kneeland's division is now cooperating. But the studies which she is planning will put the emphasis on the home side of farm life, rather than on the general subject of the farm as an institution.

Keep your eyes open for reports coming out of this Economics Division; they are likely to have a far-reaching effect on you in your home, Madam House-

keeper, and on the value the community puts on your work. The division is carrying out a project dear to Dr. Stanley's heart—to find out, through a comprehensive study of actual reports kept by homemakers, just what is the housewife's contribution, on a dollars-and-cents basis, to the community and to the family welfare. To protests that "there's no money equivalent for housework," Dr. Stanley sensibly agreed that "much of a woman's contribution to the home is intangible." She insisted, however, that housework could be measured in terms of the services performed by other types of wage-earners, and that to deny it is to deny housework the dignity it should have. She also wanted the housewife to have expert assistance in placing a relative value on different kinds of household duties. Why not work out for homes the same standards of efficient organization which "efficiency experts" work out for offices? Two things it was necessary to find out, if possible: First, what is the "norm" or standard of housework in homes of various types; and from this to discover and suggest corrections for the most common weak spots in household routine as planned by the homemaker.

From Miss Kneeland's division have been sent out about 3,500 blank records, which when filled in and returned will form the basis for the study. These are in the form of time records, on which the housewife is asked to record, by means of a clock-like chart, the time consumed in the daily round—dishwashing, cooking, dressing the children. The records are to be kept for one week and returned to the division.

Records are being taken from all sections of the country and all types of families; and the results will be classified as they represent the woman who has servants, the one who does all her work herself, the woman who works in a factory and keeps house, the professional woman who is also head of a family.

On that last item, the survey is likely to throw a spark into that ever-present powder magazine of public discussion—can a woman have a job in the business or professional world and keep a home? The Division of Economics is gathering



Hildegard Kneeland

information on how she does it; and its analysis of the standards of living and problems of the married woman in business ought to throw valuable light on the problem.

The second project which Miss Kneeland is directing is a study of the standard of living in farm homes. The first table ever published showing the average for all expenditures of farm families—based on farm homes of Livingston County, New York—was published by the Department just before Miss Kneeland was appointed to the office. Now, with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the subject will be pursued further, with the purpose of enlightening the public on that perplexing question of "what's wrong with the farm?" Investigations into the standard of living in widely scattered sections of the country are to be continued—to discover whether a good deal of farm discontent may not be traced to backward or primitive conditions in the farmer's home surroundings, and in the belief that these conditions are just as properly the concern of the government as crop statistics. Miss Kneeland believes that it is as important to the general welfare of the country to know how many outings a farmer's family gets during the year, or how many and what kind of books are drawn from the nearest library, as it is to draw up elaborate tables on the use of farm tractors or improvement in wheat grades.

House-to-House Study

Not content with viewing conditions always from the isolation of an office desk in Washington, she took an assistant with her to Vermont, and personally directed an investigation of farm homes in that state—one of the first state surveys to be made after the division was organized. At present the division is conducting investigations in about a dozen states, and over three thousand records will be used in compiling the report. This report will show what sort of things are bought with the hard-earned money of the farmer, what the farm is contributing, outside of agricultural products, to the economic life of the nation, and how that contribution differs from that of the industrial population. It is hoped to give a true and vivid picture of life in the average farm home, of what constitutes the American farm family's standard of living.

The field agents by conducting a house-to-house canvass are bringing the homemaker on the isolated farm into direct contact with her government at Washington. The schedules which they use are something new in the statistical line; a departure from the cut-and-dried tables which emanate in such appalling quantities from government bureaus. After the usual lists of foods produced on the farm or purchased, the operating expenses of the farm home, the list of

household and farm equipment, come such questions as the following, questions which to anyone familiar with farm life must seem the heart of the situation:

Time of beginning work, summer and winter; time of ending work.

Meals: minutes usually spent in eating; where eaten.

Does family sit down together? (To our way of thinking, that is a more significant question than the number of electric washing machines or of farm mortgages.)

Neighborhood visiting: times per week; movies and concerts; trips to city.

Hours of rest, reading and recreation per day during day's work.

Can't you imagine the feelings of some hard-working farmer's wife when she realizes that her government at Washington is interesting itself at last in the details which make for happiness or misery in the home? That, after years and years of snappy government pamphlets on prevalence of hog cholera, or prevention

some of the largest cotton and woolen mills in the country as a textile chemist.

Studies designed to help the homemaker in better selection and care of clothing and household textiles are under way. This is the first time the "Common Citizen" has had at his disposal scientific advice on fabrics such as is available to the textile industry. Heretofore all the advantage of scientific discoveries has been on the side of the manufacturer. Now, under Miss O'Brien's direction, experts will be continuously at work in government laboratories to put at the disposal of the public the latest information on the effect of certain manufacturing processes on fabrics, the best and most economical methods of laundering, problems of shrinkage, methods of treating artificial silk, and similar technical points, which can only be determined in scientifically equipped laboratories.

"We hope to do fundamental research in textiles and clothing," said Miss O'Brien, in outlining her plans. "But we shall approach everything from the standpoint of the consumer. This ought to put him on better bargaining terms with the manufacturer and tradesman!"

Dressmaking Movies

Miss O'Brien also is planning studies in clothing design, which will set forth principles of color and line, of patterns, of alterations and fitting. She wants to get the results before the public through the latest methods of visual education. So before long you will probably be able to see in moving pictures just how to fit a dress. Quite a departure, this, from the pamphlet method. In dressmaking particularly Miss O'Brien believes that one minute of seeing just how the thing is done is worth ten of reading about it.

The laboratory work will be carried on in two separate sections, one dealing with textiles, and one with textile chemistry. Information of the greatest scientific value will be put into terms of everyday use. Trade groups employ high-salaried experts to carry on just this sort of investigation and testing of textile fabrics. The service which is now at the disposal of the homekeeper, it is hoped, will enable her to choose her clothing and household fabrics with a wiser eye to wearing qualities.

It is also purposed to make detailed studies of the relation of clothing to heat regulation and to general health, a highly technical subject but one with a vital import.

The latest division will take up various phases of the housing situation, making studies of rent figures and of cost of building, and readjusting budget estimates to the present housing situation. It will cooperate with the Better Homes in America, Secretary Hoover's pet organization for improving housing standards. No permanent director has yet

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U. S. D. A.
Dr. Louise Stanley

of the boll weevil, she is going to get some real first-hand information on what farmers' wives in other states are doing in their spare time, on what she should expect as a minimum of entertainment and of education for her children, on how much of the luxuries of city dwellers should come her way as her right?

The second new division organized deals with textiles and clothing, with Miss Ruth O'Brien as director. This was started in June, 1924. Here also was an open field. Except for a small pamphlet on stains in clothing, the Department of Agriculture had never issued any publications on this subject. Miss O'Brien was well qualified to go at the subject from the scientific as well as the practical point of view, having done graduate work at the University of Chicago, taught textile chemistry for seven years at Iowa State College, and acted in an advisory capacity to associations representing the dyeing and laundry industries, and having worked in

With the Aid of Nathaniel

An Election Story

By Gladys Capen Mills

Hearing rumors that women in Mt. Vernon, New York, had done something interesting in the recent election, we followed the clue and asked Mrs. Mills, one of those women, to tell us the story, informally and personally. Here it is.—EDITORS.



HIS is the story of a little boy and a campaign. Seven and a half is Nathaniel, serious, big-eyed, and minus four front teeth. He is the oldest of three children of a "League of Women Voters" mother." He believes that the League is his mother's own personal property; that is why he calls it "My Mother's League," and that is why he took so great an interest in the "Rekerashun" (as he called it) campaign, which the League in Mt. Vernon, New York, undertook, to give that city a tax-maintained recreation system with an appropriation for its maintenance.

It was last March that the League of Women Voters in Mt. Vernon began to realize that there was a job for it in the lack of playground facilities in the city, and the lack of funds necessary to provide properly supervised play, not only for the school children, but for the older boys and girls and the young men and young women. The outcome of the realization was a community mass meeting held in one of the school buildings, with fifteen civic and educational organizations cooperating, for the discussion of "Better Playgrounds and Recreation Facilities for Our City." No definite plan was ready, but at this meeting an impressive resolution was passed calling upon the mayor of the city to appoint forthwith a committee to investigate conditions admittedly deplorable, and promising that the organizations represented would stand ready in November to vote any necessary appropriations for playground purposes.

In the light of our experiences, it is really amusing to think how we all sat back with a self-satisfied grin and considered everything all settled. After four months of daily calls upon the mayor and the superintendent of schools, this was the result: The mayor to the superintendent of schools: "Yours of—received and would repeat that this is a matter for the attention of the Board of Education, and any appropriation for playground maintenance must be put into the school budget." And the reply would come from the superintendent

of schools to the mayor: "This is a city-wide matter and necessary appropriations must be made in the municipal budget."

Our resolution proved to be a cul-de-sac, and by the end of summer only a firm determination and the big words in our resolution saved us from despair. But sometimes fairy stories do come true, and this time the magic wand was wielded by the Playground-Recreation



A Campaigner for "Rekerashun"

Association of America, telling us that Mt. Vernon, if it wished, could be the first city in New York State to take advantage of a municipal law pertaining to recreation, passed in 1917, and amended in the last days of the 1924 session of the legislature—a law which provided for a popular referendum on the subject. The only way to rescind the measure, if it passed, would be by another popular referendum.

Could we, a handful of women, swing this thing? The mayor thought not, the corporation counsel thought not, the common council thought not—but the women took full responsibility for the campaign, and proposition number two, "Shall the city of Mt. Vernon, New York, establish a recreation system and annually levy and appropriate for the maintenance of such a system the sum of not less than twenty thousand dollars?" was brought before the people.

The Playground-Recreation Associa-

tion said they would help us, and Nathaniel said he would help, and because of all the other little Nathaniels we started off.

Our first step was to get enough signatures on our petitions to place our proposition on the ballot. We met with opposition from the very start, and all sorts of weird rumors were afloat—we were mortgaging the future of the city; we were trying to cram this thing down the tax-payers' throats. One man whom we innocently asked to sign our petition denounced the project roundly from the mistaken idea that this was a lump sum of money, but when it was explained to him that it was an annual appropriation, it looked for a moment as if he would have apoplexy. "What! Every year—forever? Why, that's proposterous! I never heard of such a thing—every year—forever!"

We went our way, without resentment, because mothers know that children go on forever and children want to play, and we want them to play in safe places, away from the dangers of crowded streets; we want them to play in the right way. We heard a little later, when our petitions were almost ready to file, and the time was short, that it was said our signatures were all faked—but our aching bones and swollen feet could have proved that those 864 names were real and actual!

One thing that troubled us a good deal in the beginning was our "inferiority complex." After a while we lost it entirely, but at first it kept us continually on the defensive, and we took everyone's advice—especially men's. Had it not been for our "I. C." we would have had a pleasant evening, instead of a thoroughly nerve-racking one, with our common council, when they honored us with a special meeting called to decide whether or not they should ratify this measure before the petitions were filed. They didn't know, and they wouldn't take the corporation counsel's interpretation of the law. *We* knew, but—they were men; and besides weren't they city officials? We were questioned, and we were cross-questioned, and they did not ratify; but the next morning we filed our petitions with the County Board of Elections, and passed to the second stage of the campaign.

There was a little lull in the fireworks about then, and with the family Ford and the offspring in the back seat, we made the rounds of interviewing—

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Conspiracy vs. Conspiracy

By Carrie Chapman Catt



WHEN a new idea suddenly breaks forth from the talk centers in all parts of the country at the same moment, it is evident that the idea was deliberately planted by somebody with the intention of having it spread. The cheapest way of creating public opinion is to turn the task over to the gossips. They are not adepts at constructing, organizing, unifying, but they are master workers at destruction, disorganization and disintegration. When such tales are in this way told to the nation's gossips, it amounts to a conspiracy.

Ever since the famous debate by the United States Senate on the League of Nations in the winter of 1920, such underground gossip has been spreading. Whispered explanations of secret intrigues, threatening danger to our country, alleged to have influenced patriotic Senators to reject the League, have been traveling fast. At times and places it was the frightful discovery that the controlling states in the League were Catholic and that a Catholic had actually been President of the Assembly. In others it was the tragic discovery that the League was "Jew made, Jew controlled and all in the interests of Jews", accompanied by the clinching statement that a Jew has been president of the Super State League. It may seem a bit inconsistent that Jews and Catholics, long antagonistic, should be linked in this threat of world overthrow. The propagandists do not explain—they merely define it as the "Jew-Jesuit conspiracy". Very definite accounts of the three separate gigantic conspiracies to set over us a super state, overthrow our nation, destroy our religion and our American ideals are related by a few; the many merely rail at Catholics, at Jews, or Reds.

Anti-peace Propaganda

Very subtly the gossips have woven into their tales without knowing where they got it the charge that all peace societies (there are seventy-five in this country of more or less national scope) are composed of nincompoops who blindly follow leaders who are blindly leading them and the nation to destruction. In the wake of these tales comes the propaganda for war preparedness against imaginary enemies. The combination produces the precise state of mind desired by the propagandists. The masses are mystified by dozens of conflicting rumors and the timid withdraw

from the peace movement, lest they be contaminated by association with doubtful characters, or unpatriotically hamper necessary preparations for defense. Over the whole situation rests a seemingly impenetrable fog of mystery and misunderstanding.

The three very definite propagandas of fear (founded on falsehood mixed with a little truth) of the alleged conspiracies of the Catholics, the Jews, or

This is the concluding article of the series in which Mrs. Catt has reported her studies of propaganda against peace societies. She has found a whole family of fears, centering on Catholics, on Jews, on Reds, and, sifting truth from terror-inspired falsehood, she labels them all bogeys.

the Reds, to gain control of our nation and the world, have been set forth in preceding numbers of the CITIZEN. Necessary brevity has made the presentation quite inadequate to a full understanding of the extent to which these are being pressed. The Klan's specialty is fear of the Catholics, although its papers quote from "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" and give second place to the anti-Jewish propaganda. Klan literature which we have seen announces that women who are white, native-born Protestants, may join the women's auxiliary by paying \$5.00 and taking an oath, the nature of which is not revealed. We are informed that the same qualification applies to men members, although they pay \$10.00 instead of \$5.00. The Klan, therefore, is well financed. However patriotic it may think itself, it certainly is disseminating by organized methods intolerance, bigotry, distrust and hate, the qualities which make for national unrest and which breed riot and murder.

The fear of the Reds has not produced a known organized, secret society and the sources of its propagation are far more mysterious, yet none the less active. It is whispered that no end of proof is filed in Washington proving the widespread conspiracy in progress, but we do not get this "news" from the Government, but underground—from no one knows whom. On the other hand, the facts concerning the Socialist and the Communist movement in this country and in Europe have been presented by the press with elaborate detail. Several

newspapers and magazines have spent small fortunes in an attempt to learn the complete truth about Bolshevism in Russia. Those who have cared to understand, have had plenty of sources of information, although the evidence, unfortunately, is often contradictory.

We, the people, are left in no doubt that the Bolsheviks of Russia and their allies, the revolutionary Socialists now usually called Communists, dream of seizing all the nations and establishing as a substitute for governments of all the people the "dictatorship of the proletariat." We have seen the efforts fail in all countries except Russia and the funds, once seemingly so exhaustless in Bolshevik hands, disappear. The danger from present-day revolution has faded away, although the propaganda goes on. As though some super mind, perceiving the cause of scare receding, felt obliged to whip up the fear of the people for his own purposes, the super conspiracy of the Jews is brought forward. Yes, the Catholics are aiming at an international super state with the capital at Rome, they say. Yes, the Reds are aiming at an international super state with the capital at Moscow, but the Jews are helping on both of these ambitions, especially that of the Reds, in order triumphantly to override them all in a super-super state, commanded by a king (perhaps a descendant of David) with an international capital somewhere, perhaps Jerusalem!

Jews and Wealth

The total number of Jews in the world is estimated at about twelve millions; those in this country are estimated at about three and a half millions. What a compliment do these propagandists pay to a tiny minority of the world's population, scattered in the way of privilege or liberty through many centuries because they had money to buy. They, as a class, have been forced to place a higher value on money than any other people. Now there are many great fortunes owned by Jews; yet, when it is said that they control the money power of the world, other financiers have pronounced the charge unfounded. There are great

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What the American Woman Thinks

Massachusetts — "No"

By Alice Stone Blackwell

THE popular vote in Massachusetts on the National Child Labor Amendment is a very curious object lesson. It should be of interest to all the other states to know how the majority was secured. It was the manufacturers who put up the main fight against it, and who enlisted all other possible elements of opposition.

The Massachusetts legislature had asked Congress to submit a National Child Labor Amendment. In Congress, where it passed by a huge majority, it had the support of both the Senators from Massachusetts and all but three of her sixteen Representatives. President Coolidge had also declared for it. The need of it was very generally recognized, and it came as the culmination of a movement carried on for many years by some of the best and most respected citizens of the United States.

For a quarter of a century our Massachusetts manufacturers had been complaining bitterly of the competition of the Southern textile mills and their cheap child labor. Again and again they had used it as an argument for cutting down wages here. Whenever an attempt had been made to raise the child labor standards in Massachusetts or other Northern states, the representatives of the manufacturers at the State House had answered, in substance: "We should be perfectly willing if you would only make it a national law, but we cannot stand up against the competition of the states that have lower standards." Now, with the prospect of a national amendment which would relieve them of that unfair competition, they turned around and fought the amendment tooth and nail. Why? Because the Southern textile mills are now owned largely by Massachusetts capital.

The Northern manufacturer who also owns Southern mills wants to keep on working young children in the South; he also wants to keep on working boys and girls under eighteen for eleven hours a day and longer in his Southern mills; and he wants to keep on using "Southern competition" as an excuse for cutting down wages and keeping down standards in the North.

Massachusetts has a law, adopted just after the ratification of the nation-wide woman suffrage amendment by our legislature, that any future amendment

submitted by Congress must be placed upon the ballot at a state election, for an advisory vote by the people of the state, before the legislature acts upon it. The popular vote has no legal validity, but it may be expected to determine the action of the legislature.

As Massachusetts was the only state which was to take a popular vote on the question, and as the outcome here could be used as an argument with the more than forty state legislatures that are soon to act upon the amendment, the opposition concentrated its forces here.

Beginning last May, the manufacturers made an intensive campaign throughout Massachusetts, using every possible means and spending money like water to persuade the public that the Child Labor Amendment was loaded with dynamite. The Associated Industries and representatives of the National Manufacturers' Association flooded the state with literature. They circularized all the farm journals with assertions that if the amendment were ratified the farmer might not be allowed to let his son under eighteen milk a cow, or his daughter wash the dishes. They constantly represented the measure as designed to keep all young people idle up to eighteen. Of course, many boys and girls have to go to work before they are eighteen; and by craftily representing this to be the issue, and harping constantly upon that string, the opponents were able to deceive many.

An association to oppose the amendment was organized by some of the "high society" men and women who used to fight suffrage; and a few social workers who ought to know better were misled into taking the same side.

Mrs. Margaret Robinson, who was distinguished for the reckless extravagance of her statements against woman suffrage in the old times, opposed the Child Labor Amendment with the same tactics, and with the help of the same little group of reactionary women. They sent out literature representing the Child Labor Amendment as a "red" conspiracy to nationalize the youth of America, and attacked its supporters, especially Owen Lovejoy and Mrs. Florence Kelley.

The Republican State Convention failed to endorse the amendment. The Democratic State Convention endorsed it; but the Democratic candidate for governor, who had worked for the plank, announced soon after that he had changed his mind, and had become convinced that the amendment was "Bolshevistic!"

While most of the manufacturers op-

posed the amendment, some of the more humane manufacturers and their wives stood up strongly for it, notably Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird. But the state was covered with a network of propaganda reaching into every hamlet, and at the county fairs the ground was pink with the handbills distributed in thousands by the opposition.

In the latter part of the campaign, Cardinal O'Connell came out in opposition to the amendment, and instructed the parish priests to preach against it. This happened soon after the National Catholic Welfare Council had issued an appeal for the amendment. Some of our prominent Catholics told me that they regretted the Cardinal's attitude, and that they still favored the amendment; but his influence is potent in a state like Massachusetts, where nearly half the population is now Roman Catholic.

The real cause of the Catholic opposition is believed to be the fear that if any Federal action in regard to children is allowed, it will be a precedent for establishing a Federal Department of Education, to which the Catholic Church is strongly opposed.

It was claimed by opponents, both Protestant and Catholic, that the Child Labor Amendment aims to take the education of children out of the hands of their parents. Mrs. F. E. Slattery, president of the League of Catholic Women, wrote in the *Boston Traveler* of October 25:

"Congress may require a certain character of schooling or a compliance in home conditions with rules established by the Federal Bureau, if the child should be permitted to work. If it prohibits the child from labor altogether, it will lay out a program for the child to follow in the use of its time."

Of course, the proposed amendment gives Congress no such power; education is a subject strictly reserved to the states. But that is the sort of appeal that was made. It was declared, as formerly in opposition to the maternity bill, that Congress could send "an army of spies" into our homes, etc., etc.

The so-called "Citizens' Committee to Protect Our Homes and Children," of which Mr. Herbert Parker was president, published big advertisements carrying the same charge. They said, in part:

"'Labor' includes every exertion of body or mind except for play. This amendment would give Congress power for all time to control and prohibit the labor of every person up to eighteen in the home, on the farm, and in the school. It would enable Congress, through Federal agents, to interfere in the discipline of every household, and take from par-

ents the right and duty to educate and guide their children. It would go far to destroy our Federal Union. It would be a national calamity."

This preposterous pronouncement was signed by an array of distinguished names, but, from President Lowell of Harvard down, they were almost all names of men and women who had in like manner predicted that woman suffrage would be a national calamity.

The opposition arguments largely dealt with what Congress "could" do—if its members lost all their common sense and all their regard for the opinion of their constituents. Thus, Mr. Herbert Parker declared that, if the

amendment were ratified, Congress "could" compel all the parents in Massachusetts to send their children to be educated at an institution in Oklahoma! It would have been just as rational, and more true, to say that, as Congress has power to regulate interstate commerce, it "could" forbid the shipping of any goods across state lines except sugar candy—or "could" forbid the shipping of any goods at all by Catholics or to Catholics.

The amendment was declared to be of Bolshevistic origin, though the first bills for a national child labor law were introduced in the United States Senate by

Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, and Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, while the Czar was still on his throne. Those who favored the amendment were called traitors, and accused of trying to undermine the Constitution.

Intellectually, the arguments against the amendment were beneath contempt. The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee had all the arguments and all the facts, but the opposition had almost all the money. It contrived to stir up an extraordinary sentiment against the amendment, and made a multitude of well-meaning people believe it to be the

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Golden Rule Sunday

By Ruth Sawyer

Author of "Doctor Danny" and "Gladiola Murphy"

IT would seem strange to put aside one Sunday in the year and ask the world to observe it as Golden Rule Sunday if we, the people of the world, kept for the remaining days of the year a steadfast vigil of brotherhood.

The Golden Rule has become a precept we know well enough to forget. We have made of it a coined phrase, to hang on our walls, in offices, to teach our children, to print in newspapers; in short, we use it for everything but practical living. And yet it is something that can be universally practiced; there is no race or religion incapable of understanding it.

Golden Rule Sunday is to be observed December Seventh. It comes on the first Sunday in a month that culminates in Christmas. Once a year, at least, we say: "Unto us is born this day in the city of David a Saviour which is Christ, the Lord." Once a year, at least, we make ourselves believe that we believe the verity of the Heavenly Host when they sang: "And on earth peace, good will to men."

There is an old Christmas legend, familiar to nearly everyone. Through the snow of Christmas Eve the Christ Child wanders, ragged, cold, knocking at every door, asking shelter. And some are too deaf to hear the knocking; and some are too busy to answer it; and some are too crowded to take Him in; and some are too poor to share what food they have; and some are too rich to bother with one so neglected. It is not until he has been welcomed to a warm hearthside, and the children share their porridge with Him and make Him laugh again that He is discovered to be the Christ Child.

I suppose were He to come knocking at our doors—or any child, ragged, hungry and cold—that we would hear, and

shelter Him. But our imaginations are too dull, are hearts too short-circuited, to hear the far-off knocking of the children in the Near East.

We need an obligation imposed upon us, a feast day appointed, to open our ears and our hearts to the cold, hunger and desolateness that grip a hundred thousand Armenian, Georgian, Greek and Turkish orphans. They look to America to provide necessities of life until they have reached an age of pro-

multitudes on the fare of five loaves and two fishes.

When I think of the mothers of America who like myself make up the average I realize how little we know of sacrifice for ourselves or our children. There is very little that we cannot manage to give our children with economy, which is quite a different thing from sacrifice. We know their bodily well-being, their happiness, their education are assured. And yet, how many of us are giving them any training at all in self-denial? Would not a few days, months, of lean material living enrich their lives and give them something without which we cannot afford to let them grow up?

American women, especially the mothers, could make possible not only a Golden Rule Sunday throughout the country but a Golden Rule week or year that would profit their families as well as the children of the Near East. At any rate, let every family sit down on Sunday, December Seventh, to a Near East dinner of soup, bread, fruit and milk, or rice, cocoa and crackers. Let every club that meets that week to break bread put aside the usual club luncheon or dinner and eat what the orphans eat; and, best of all, let those who are in the habit of entertaining lavishly for this week at least gather their guests for a feast of spirit and good will instead of rich food. The cash balance in such providing would buy food for thousands of hungry children.

It is not a question of how much any one person or family can afford to spare; it is a question of how much we can afford to put into the mouths of our own children when there are children just across the world waiting to be fed from the bounty of our tables.

(Checks may be made out to the Near East Relief and mailed to 151 Fifth Avenue, New York.)



Courtesy of the Near East Relief
The Armenian model for Golden Rule dinners

viding for themselves. And if we think a moment we must know how easily we could vindicate the faith they have in us. By merely depriving ourselves of the excesses of living we could contribute millions. As a people we know that we overheat our houses, overclothe and feed our bodies, overamuse our minds, overindulge everything but the Christ spirit within us. And this, we have been told over and over again, grows and feeds

Editorially Speaking

Into the World Court!

HOPE is rising that the United States may join the World Court during the short session of Congress. President Coolidge will recommend our joining, and with the new confidence that an overwhelming vote must have inspired, he will perhaps push as well as endorse. A poll of the Senate indicates sixty senators already backing the plan—only four short of the necessary two-thirds. And the long list of organizations that made a plea for the Court to the President last week indicates something of the popular pro-Court sentiment. In that company not only thirty different kinds of church societies but a number of business organizations, headed by the Chamber of Commerce, were represented. The churches are for the Court, business is for it, the women's organizations are for it, and so is the American Legion. Some of the opponents of the Court have gone, and the rising feeling for it should sweep aside the others.

Now is a good time to tell *your* senators if you are for this first big step in substituting law for war.

The race between the peace movement and those forces, the world around, that are driving toward disaster, is close. There is no time to be lost.



"Paternalism"

GEORGE MADDEN MARTIN, who besides being a well-known writer of delightful tales, is herself a club woman of many years standing, in an open letter to the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs makes a strong plea that club women should have a greater sense of individual responsibility as citizens. She urges especially that every woman should feel her own responsibility for conditions in her own local community, then see that the highest type of representatives are sent to state and national legislatures, and that she should have personal knowledge of measures before giving them her support. These are things that need to be said to women everywhere. A strong sense of personal responsibility in civic affairs is greatly needed, and if every community maintained the highest standards in its civic life, there would be far less for governments, state and national, to do.

But when Mrs. Martin advises women to let state and national affairs alone, and warns them against supporting the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, we must differ from her reasoning; nor do we share her fear of what she calls "paternalism" in the measures for which women are working. The first legislation secured by the Women's Joint Congressional Committee was the Sheppard-Towner Act. It had the backing of most of the women's organizations of the country, expressed through their leaders. The elected officers of these organizations knew both the need and the relief the proposed measure was to give, and while many individual women in these organizations knew little about the measure, in supporting it they followed leaders whom they trusted, just as men have always done.

Mrs. Martin reasons that if every individual group does its duty locally, there would be no need for Federal or even state activities. Let's see how this would work out in meeting the problem of reducing the death rate of babies and of women in child-birth, which the Sheppard-Towner measure is doing. Suppose the clubwomen of Louisville should see to it that the city establishes clinics for prospective mothers and for young babies—how would the mothers and babies of some of the most rural and sparsely settled parts of that state

be given any aid unless the state itself should make some organized provision for them? In the same way, a prosperous state with a well-organized department of child welfare, like New York, can keep down its own infant death rate and can give instruction to its own ignorant and poverty-stricken mothers. Now, why should not some of the experience and wealth of the prosperous and progressive states be used to bring up the standard in states not so fortunately situated?

What is the paternalism in these measures advocated by organized women, of which Mrs. Martin and some others disapprove? It is based not on Federal control *taken away* from the states, but on Federal leadership in *cooperation* with the states, and it is difficult to see how any other method could be as practical, as economical and effective. In the case of the Sheppard-Towner Act, the individual state makes plans to provide instruction and clinical care for mothers and babies. The Children's Bureau, in Washington, goes over these plans in the light of its own experience and knowledge of what has been found effective in other states. When the plans are approved, the Federal Government adds a dollar to every dollar appropriated by the state legislature. Thus the strength and wealth of the nation as a whole is drawn on for the benefit of all. Instead of leaving the weaker members to shift for themselves, the entire family cooperates. This is enlightened self-interest. In the modern world ignorance and disease in one state are dangerous to all the others.

The entire Federal appropriation for 1923 for the Sheppard-Towner Act was \$1,240,000, \$240,000 to be appropriated, \$5,000 to each state when its plans were approved, \$950,000 to match state funds, \$50,000 to the Children's Bureau for administration. The staff of the Children's Bureau managing this work consists of two physicians, a public health nurse, and three clerks. There is probably not an investment of the Federal Government which is paying such dividends in increased public welfare. We urge anyone interested to send to the Children's Bureau for the report dealing with the Sheppard-Towner Act.



American Women's Clothes

IN larger numbers than ever before, Americans have been traveling abroad this year. Great ships full of them are going around the world. China, Japan, Ceylon, the Red Sea—these have become more than names to many thousands of us. Especially American women are becoming world travelers. The security and ease with which travel is arranged for them tempts the leisure which women in this country have more than anywhere else in the world.

One thing they bring home with them is a new appreciation of American shops and merchants. They find little, even in out-of-the-way places, that is not offered for sale at home, certainly no place where shopping is made so easy. Many a woman has dreamed of buying clothes in Paris, but most of them come back disillusioned, and buy their wardrobes at home. They find that nowhere, not even in London or Paris, do shops carry the assortment of good-looking, well-made, ready-made clothes that are seen, not only in the shops of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, but also in smaller cities. Nowhere are saleswomen so obliging; nowhere do they make alterations and exchanges so quickly and cheerfully; even in the matter of price, and with favorable money exchange, one can do better at home than in Paris or London. The American merchant has developed an extraordinarily

effective organization for supplying the needs of the public with the least possible friction, and in variety to meet every taste. It is due largely to him that American women have the reputation of being the best dressed in the world.



National Grange Please Answer

THE misunderstanding that even the best measure has to struggle against is shown by the action of the National Grange at its recent annual meeting, when it went on record against the Child Labor Amendment as "dangerous to the best interests of the community and to the welfare of the children themselves," and because it "tends toward centralized, costly, bureaucratic control." Undoubtedly, the farmers see Congress, under such an amendment, prohibiting all work of boys under eighteen on the farm, and prohibiting girls under the same age from helping farmers' wives in the kitchen. Any state legislature could prohibit that now if it chose. It doesn't do so because no one wants it to. Congress would not do so for the very same reason. What some state legislatures have done is to prohibit boys and girls under eighteen from engaging in certain dangerous occupations. This kind of provision might well be extended to children of other states. Why should we be afraid to give Congress the power to do this? Why should not the children of the poorest and most backward parts of the country have some of the protection given to those in the most progressive states? There is no other way it can be done except by Congress and the states cooperating under such an amendment as is proposed.

Suppose that all agricultural help given by the Government must be confined to what the individual state can do for the farmer. Suppose that all Federal aid to the farmer should stop. That is centralized and bureaucratic. It is a fine example of paternalism, infinitely more costly than anything proposed for the children. Would the Grange approve of stopping it?



Education Week With Reservations

SEVERAL women's organizations quietly exhibited the courage of their convictions in the matter of Education Week. The Young Women's Christian Association, the National League of Women Voters and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom each found part of the program unacceptable. The League of Women Voters very practically took what they could use—in harmony with their own program, leaving the rest alone. The other two organizations declined cooperation altogether, on the explicit ground that the program contained elements they could not approve. The program for the first two days included many slogans and statements concerning the red flag, Communists, pacifists, radicals, etc. "We sincerely believe," said the Y. W. C. A., "that anything which tends to be propaganda violates a fundamental principle of education, and it seems to us that such statements border closely upon propaganda. It seems to us also that such phrases as these, appealing to the motive of fear, negative in emphasis, are educationally unsound. . . . Furthermore, we are promoting a program of international education, the keynote of which is cooperation and good-will among the nations. For this reason we cannot consistently endorse a program which has as one of its slogans—'America First,' because it is capable of so many different interpretations."

The women are to be congratulated on their clear-sightedness, their courage and the quiet sureness of their decision. Some ignorant voices will cry they are revolutionists, of course, and add this to the count against them. But their work will not suffer as it would have suffered from compromise.

Lame Ducks and Common Sense

MRS. STOKES gives you a thumb-nail sketch of the lame-duck Congress, on page 7, and points the moral. It would be hard to think of any convincing arguments against that moral. To have a Congress which contains so high a proportion of men who have been repudiated by their constituents go on passing legislation is absurd on the face of it. The case is sharp this year. The present Congress, which refused to concur with President Coolidge on some of the most important issues, will stay on until next March, and the new Congress will not sit until a year from this December unless called in special session. It is not fair that the President, elected by such an overwhelming vote, should still be hampered in carrying out his policies.

The Norris amendment, under which the terms of senators and representatives would begin on the first Monday in January after election, is just common sense.



Mrs. Harding

SEVERAL months short of their presidential term, the Hardings' story is ended, and the swiftness of Mrs. Harding's decline from the heights is a poignant reminder of our common liability to incalculable change. Her many friends grieve for her, and the country observes her passing with sorrow and a recollection of the remarkable courage with which she bore her husband's death and the long ordeal that followed. But dominant over all reflections of sadness and sympathy is the sense that Florence Kling Harding had finished the task she undertook long ago, and finished it well. Her husband said on the day of his nomination, "Whatever honor has come to me this day I owe to Florence." From the first—from the beginning of that small newspaper venture in which she so fully shared, all the way up the road to the Presidency, and through its problems—she was a true helpmeet.



Buy Christmas Seals

A GOOD antidote to depression over the state of the world is a reflection on the winning fights that have been made against disease. One such curse of mankind that is now on the defensive is tuberculosis, and this is a fight in which every one can share. In two decades the number of deaths per 100,000 population has been reduced from 202 to 95—through education, through the efforts of the National Tuberculosis Association and other agencies. The time has not come to slow up in the fight, though. While the percentage of gain is heartening, the White Plague still takes from us in this country a hundred thousand lives a year. As always when Christmas approaches, a means of carrying on to a triumphant finish lies on the counters of your stationer, your department store. Each Christmas seal costs only a cent, but those pennies should be multiplied to a billion.



What Is "Mrs." To A Voter?

WE applaud Mr. John Voorhis, chairman of the New York Board of Election Commissioners. He claims that there is no point in printing the prefix Mrs. on a ballot; that it isn't part of the name, and therefore has no more reason to appear than Mr. before the name of every masculine nominee. The point he made, as we understand it, was one of legality; but ours is a point of feminism. After all, what concern of the voter is the matrimonial estate of a nominee? Mr. Voorhis' contention, which didn't win out this year because of technicalities, may not be terrifically important, but it is on the right track.

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by ANNE WILLIAMS for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, Consulting Editor

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of secret national rivalries, they intend to work in concert and in public before the public opinion of all the world.

America's chance is to send abroad the right men to the conference which will prepare the final agreements—and we have such men. She is not asked to sign the Protocol which should emerge from such a meeting. She may agree upon treaties of her own, containing similar undertakings, but these would be negotiated by the Secretary of State of the United States and confirmed by its Senate. How can this country refuse so great an opportunity to take part in the advancement of this generation, an opportunity created for the world by the most enlightened of her own citizens? It is verily a case of "multitudes, multitudes, multitudes in the Valley of Decision."—R. M.

The National Board Meeting

America's Great Opportunity

DECEMBER is the month chosen, and Rome the place, for the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, which will issue the invitation to the United States to come and confer, during the summer of 1925, on the possible outlawry of war through the League of Nations.

It must be clearly understood that the United States, which is not a member of the League, cannot be asked to consider the signing of the Protocol, but she can celebrate the 1925th Christmas by agreeing to go to Europe and discuss the prospects for the outlawry of war as presented by fifty-five nations of the League. It is more than possible that she will find Germany seated in the circle of those who are striving practically for peace.

It should be of profound interest to every man and woman in this country that the main features of the plan to be discussed were proposed by a group of distinguished Americans, Dr. Shotwell and General Bliss being the leaders. The key idea is nothing short of revolutionary, inasmuch as war, which has been from the beginning of time the orthodox method of settling disputes between nations, is to be classed, henceforth, as an international crime.

If the Protocol is signed, two things should come to pass. The weapons of war will become weapons for joint enforcement of peace, against any nation which attempts war, and "world wars" can only take place when the accepted Protocol breaks down completely. Also, there is set up a legal means for determining when a nation has committed an act of aggression against any other nation. The aggressor must stand at the bar of international public opinion and there set forth the justification for his action. While alliances for mutual assistance may still exist, they must all be registered with the League of Nations and open to the scrutiny of the public.

I have said above that such a plan is revolutionary. It attempts to transform the thinking of the whole world, and yet we find such leading statesmen as Ramsay MacDonald, President Herriot, M. Boncour, Chairman of the Defense Committee of France; Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia, and even representatives of Yugoslavia, earnestly proposing to make this attempt toward international peace. In place of a ruinous military and naval competition, they ask their own countries to try the sanction of law and economic pressure; in the place

NATIONAL BOARD meetings come but twice a year. Therefore the week of November 10, when the seven regional directors met with the national officers in Washington, was a busy one of stock-taking and conferences. Of the thirty-three hours spent in session, no less than fifteen were devoted to organization, state by state, and to finance in relation to organization—proof enough, if proof were required, that the problems which confront workers in the states most directly are those in which the National Board also takes quick concern.

"We have traveled a goodly way since this time a year ago," said Miss Sherwin, at the end of the state-by-state reports, "to our goal of an organized League with a functioning state board in every state."

A tempting foretaste of convention doings in Richmond next April is contained in the program plan hammered into shape after hours of eager discussion which left every member of the Board satisfied that each section of the League's program is to be adequately and brilliantly treated. It is far too soon to announce any of the proposed convention features, but delegates who admired the smooth working of the convention arrangements in Buffalo will be glad to learn that Miss Louise Michael is to be again the convention secretary.

Work in behalf of the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment will proceed with increased earnestness as the character of the powerful forces arrayed in opposition is more clearly revealed. While every assistance is being given to the ratification campaign in the states, in Washington there will soon be a renewal of efforts to secure action in the Senate favoring America's entry into the World Court.

International questions will be in the foreground of women's interest in Washington this winter, stimulated by a notable series of conventions and conferences, of which the first and perhaps most distinctive is to be the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, called by Mrs. Catt to meet January 18 to 24. The National League of Women Voters is to be one of the participating organizations.

Regional directors in Washington for the meetings of the National Board were: Mrs. James E. Cheesman, of Providence, Rhode Island; Miss Gertrude Ely, of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; Miss Adele Clark, of Richmond, Virginia; Mrs. William G. Hibbard, of Winnetka, Illinois; Miss Marguerite M. Wells, of Minneapolis, Minnesota; Mrs. Charles H. Dietrich, of Hastings, Nebraska; Mrs. W. A. Shockley, of Reno, Nevada.

We Must Begin All Over Again

THIS is the day after election. It is too early to know how much, if any, the vote exceeded that of 1920. If it develops, as it may, that the total for the whole country shows no increase, the League of Women Voters will have the satisfaction of knowing that many other agencies failed in their effort to get out the vote. Cold comfort? Yes, but still something.

It is not too early to know, however, that the League must start again at the very beginning, not on a get-out-the-vote campaign, because that should be continuous, but on one of elementary instruction in how to mark the ballot. Events of November fourth prove the need of such education.

My own town is probably an average community. It is neither urban nor rural. It has a Kiwanis Club and supports the Red Cross 100 per cent. It has a considerable number of recently naturalized citizens, but not many of any one nationality.

It has a League of Women Voters which offers a program of political education to the general public. The general public does not, it is true, avail itself of the League's service. Nevertheless, there was a larger attendance at the League's pre-election meeting than at the one political meeting held during the campaign, although the latter was sponsored by the Republican party, which is the majority party here. And the vote, especially of women, was materially larger than in 1920.

The League has been warmly complimented on its aforementioned meeting by one of the ablest of the presiding judges on our local election board. The meeting was designed not only to give instruction to voters on how to mark their ballots, but also to instruct election officials in their duties. All of the members of the local election board were invited to attend and nearly all of the women members of the board were present. The address was given by the City Solicitor of our county seat town, who for many years was the chief deputy of the county board of elections. What was intended to be a half hour's talk lasted more than an hour because of the many questions which were asked. Discussion followed the address and continued for half an hour or more even after the meeting adjourned. These details are given because they indicate so clearly the need of just such a meeting.

We had six ballots, the presidential, state and county, judicial, a proposal for a county-jail bond issue, a school tax levy and a tax levy for garbage collection.

The election has taught us that some of our voters do not know how to vote even for President. The count in one of our voting precincts was delayed *four hours* because so many presidential ballots were split. A very considerable number of voters distributed their votes among the presidential electors on three tickets.

In another precinct one national ballot was marked for each and every woman elector on the various party tickets and for no others.

In one precinct a man asked for help in marking his ballot and insisted that he would *not* mark within the circle, thus voting for Coolidge's electors, because he did not know them; he wanted to vote for Coolidge and Coolidge only. No, he was *not* a foreigner, and he was *not* a first voter, and he was *not* a woman.

On the tax levies many blank ballots were returned. On some of them both *yes* and *no* were voted.

In one voting precinct Warren Stone, one of the La Follette electors, received one more vote than did any other elector on the Independent Progressive ticket. In the same precinct some of the Republican electors received ten more votes than did some of the others on the same ticket.

The state and county ballot, which is usually voted straight by a minority only of the electorate, seems to have presented fewer difficulties to the voters and much less trouble for the election officials.

To reiterate, this Ohio town is probably an average town

for general intelligence, civic enterprise and political education. The writer would certainly not be willing to concede that it ranks lower nor would she claim that it ranks one whit higher than the average.

The errors above quoted are typical. Multiply those for one precinct by the upward of 6,500 voting precincts in this state—to say nothing of all the precincts in all the other states—and the probable result is a bit staggering, isn't it? Pursuing the thought produces a brain storm of speculation out of which perhaps no clear conclusions can come except the one stated at the beginning. Voters, in general, need instruction on how to mark their ballots. If the League of Women Voters does not give this instruction, who will?

The need of education of election officials in the legal requirements of their duties is another story.

The crying need of better election laws and methods is still another story.

If the League of Women Voters does not concern itself with these questions also, who will?—ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

Locked Ballot Boxes

AS members of the District of Columbia League stood watch on Election Day over locked ballot boxes which were placed on the principal street corners of the Capital City, residents witnessed the inauguration of an educational program in behalf of District Suffrage by the District of Columbia League. Under the direction of Mrs. Edna L. Johnston, chairman of the District suffrage committee, and Mrs. George A. Ricker, president of the District League, these silent symbols were erected as the first step in impressing the community with the status in which it is placed without the right of franchise.

A special committee of League women was on duty beside the ballot boxes from early in the morning until five o'clock. Civic organizations of the District, which have advocated suffrage for Washington residents for some time, took occasion to commend the League's silent but convincing work on Election Day.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who has blazed so many suffrage trails, arrived in Washington during the afternoon, and with the District leaders she posed for a photograph beside a non-workable ballot box.

With "District of Columbia Suffrage" one of the five subjects recommended for legislation in the program of the Department of Efficiency in Government, the District League's work in this direction is of widespread interest to League women in every city and town.

Counting the Returns

NO announcement of the number of votes cast on November 4 will be attempted by the National League of Women Voters until official figures are available from all the states. League officers, committee chairmen and workers in the ranks of the get-out-the-vote campaign have paused for a moment, deeply conscious that the greatest effort which women have made unitedly as voters is only an opening chapter in what must be a long story of developing citizenship. It seems certain that the work of the last few months has checked the steadily decreasing vote-rate of the country, has brought many millions to the polls who would not otherwise have felt the urgency of their duty as citizens, and in many states where educational effort and tense political interest combined may have brought about a twenty-five per cent increase over the vote of 1920.

Reflection brings increased conviction that the campaign will bear fruits more precious than mere numerical increase. In the light of its experience all political machinery and practice will be subjected to new scrutiny, and the relationship of

the individual citizen to government given new importance. The lessons of the get-out-the-vote campaign will not be immediately apparent or quickly learned, but whatever they may be the way will be sought to make them a part of the working program of the League for 1925-1926. In this sense the campaign has only just begun.

Award of the silver loving cup, which is to be given by the National League to the League in the state showing the greatest percentage of increase in the number of ballots cast over the 1920 total, will be made by a special committee of seven persons, representing each region. The committee, a member of which was selected by each regional director, consists of Mrs. Walter Peck, of Providence, Rhode Island; Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Julian Salley, of Aiken, South Carolina; Mrs. John Borden, of Chicago; Miss Gladys Pyle, of Huron, South Dakota; Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, of Wichita, Kansas, and Miss Retta Martin, of Boise, Idaho. These women will base the award upon the official figures now being secured by Miss Helen Rocca, of the Department of Efficiency in Government, from the department in each state charged with the official count of votes.

Public Welfare in Government

This is a partial reprint of the address of Miss Marguerite M. Wells, president of the Minnesota League, at the recent sixth annual state convention.

FOUR years ago, if women in general were indifferent about politics, in one direction their interest had already been aroused. Woman's responsibility for welfare in the family long since had led her to an interest in public welfare, and when public welfare went into government, woman's interest followed it there. Even before they were enfranchised, women had begun to take an active, if indirect and ineffective, interest in public welfare measures. So it is a coincidence probably, but a very interesting and significant one, that women's enfranchisement comes in an era when the relation of public welfare to government is a major political question. Somewhat as in the Rooseveltian era, the relation between business and government was a major political question.

The theory upon which our American democracy is founded is equality of opportunity. At first the great foe of equality of opportunity was believed to be government, by men who had had their experience in Europe. Thus in this country the effort was to leave the individual free of government that he might enjoy the natural opportunities that were his. Time has passed. Conditions have changed. A huge and complicated economic, social and industrial system has developed in this country which threatens to deprive great numbers of people of their equal opportunities. If they are now to be safeguarded in these opportunities, there is only government to do it, and by the same token that it was a function of our democracy in the beginning to leave individuals alone in the enjoyment of the opportunities they possessed, it is a function of our democracy now to protect individuals from great forces that threaten to take away from them opportunities that by rights are theirs.

The people who are threatened in these equal opportunities are the young and the unfortunate, the sick, the handicapped. Thus we have such measures of government to consider as Federal and state aid for education, protection of infancy and maternity, mothers' pensions and child labor legislation. Whenever we make up our minds to put some measure of the sort into government, there are two questions to be considered.

The first question is: How far shall we go? How much of government shall we invoke? To go too far threatens the very ends that we wish to serve. To go too far is called paternalism. There is room for great and honest difference

of opinion about where paternalism begins. But the struggles that occur on the question are less between people of conflicting views in the science of government than of conflicting interests. Every public welfare measure threatens, if only by an inch or a dollar, somebody's profit or power. When representatives of these interests oppose the measures they cannot avow their reason; they talk instead political theory. It is from these that most of the agitation about paternalism comes.

The second question to be considered when time comes for putting a public welfare measure into government is: Under what government will you put it? Will you put it under local government on the one hand, or central government, on the other?

There are advantages both ways. Both for local and for central government. The advantage of local government is that all law must be administered and enforced on the individual in the smallest possible unit and, other things being equal, the more closely the making of the law is tied up with that unit, the better the result.

The advantages of centralized government are just as real, but not so obvious. All progress comes from an accumulation of experience and knowledge, and experience and knowledge are accumulated in centers. A central government, therefore, is the place to set standards. What we should constantly strive for is law-making that combines both these advantages. We have pretty nearly attained it in several instances—in the Sheppard-Towner Infancy and Maternity Act, for one. There is room for great and honest difference of opinion on this question, too. But, here again, the conflict actually comes, not so much between two schools of political thought, as from the opposition of those interests which the proposed public welfare measure threatens. It is these interested opponents who talk loudest of centralization and bureaucracy. They even talk as though the choosing of a central government for law-making were taking it from the people altogether. When you hear men and women talk so, you may know they have been deceived themselves or are trying to deceive you. For all three governments, local, state and national, belong to the people. The women in this room own the Minnesota government, whether you live in Crow Wing County or Lac Qui Parle. The government of Minnesota belongs to the people of all the counties. If not, it belongs to no one, for there are no other people to own it. The Federal government belongs as much to the people of Minnesota as to the people of New York. It belongs to the people of all the states. If not, there are no people to own it and the Federal government becomes a myth.

Bringing in New Members

ECHOES of membership drives which many Leagues inaugurated side by side with the get-out-the-vote campaign in October and many others initiated the day after election are being heard from coast to coast. There are a few which have already been concluded, but in the main the drive is on for anywhere from a month to three months' duration.

The St. Louis (Missouri) League is now engaged in a campaign to double its membership of 3,000. It has mapped out an intensive method of reaching every woman voter, the city is divided into districts to be canvassed by teams, and weekly meetings are held to record the progress made.

Wisconsin is also in the grip of an intensive state membership campaign. It has set out to double its membership list. In Pennsylvania the Grove City League began its membership drive before the visit of the state get-out-the-vote caravan, and is still engrossed with it.

Mrs. Ernest LaPointe is director of the membership campaign being waged by the Jefferson County (Alabama) League. The quota decided upon is 2,000 members, and a party in honor of the new members is being arranged for the close of the drive. Monroe County (New York) League has

been making steady gains in membership. A year ago it was practically non-existent, and today it has 450 members.

Five hundred members by January 1 is the goal of the reorganized Oakland (California) League. It is now in its third month's existence, and has a membership of one hundred. The Columbia (Missouri) League has increased its membership drive one hundred per cent without the formality of a drive. For four years the League had about the same number of faithful members, meeting once a month. Six months ago it began holding its meetings at noon in a cafeteria, each member securing her own luncheon and taking it to a private room set aside for the League meeting. The programs consist of regular programs, not to exceed fifteen minutes, a speaker on current events, and another speaker on a topic of national, state, or local interest.

Many ways have been utilized to gain the interest of women in the League's work, and Mrs. Mary O. Cowper, executive secretary of the North Carolina League, especially recommends a citizenship school, in case a membership drive does not seem to meet with instant favor. The Durham (North Carolina) League gained seventy new members during a citizenship school held three days just before Election Day. With speakers discussing such subjects as "Methods of Getting More Efficient Government"; "State Government"; "Women in Industry"; "The Administration of Welfare and Relief Work in North Carolina"; "North Carolina Laws Relating to Women," those women attending the school who were not already League members, immediately sensed the need of the League's educational program and information.

Election Night

EXACTLY one hour after the typewriters ceased to click in the workroom at national headquarters a Western Union operator was drawing forth a different kind of clicking from the wire installed in the same room, a radio was shouting things in Miss Sherwin's private office, a blackboard was bristling with Anne Williams' interpretation of the returns, a District League husband was megaphoning through the halls, and a flowing bowl (cider) regaled shouting, shoving Washington in the press-room.

Every time the National League gives one of those little gatherings we say to ourselves, "This will be the last one." Our janitor also says it. Time passes and then something momentous looms. Someone says something about opening house for it and all the others gasp, but we have another party. They began with the reception for Lady Astor after the Pan American Conference. Once during that occasion our good friend Mr. McMillan, the head doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, who very kindly acts as our head man on specific occasions, whispered to us that there were twenty-two hundred on the floor and added that he feared the timbers of the old house might be strained. They probably were, but not so much as our imagination when we tried to figure how twenty-two hundred guests got in on six hundred invitations. Our last party was for Mrs. Taft and Mrs. Wilson, in January. The party was scheduled to begin at five o'clock. Before four-thirty the east rooms were crowded and by five a double line of waiting guests extended across the porch, down the steps, along Seventeenth street, across F street and into the next block, leaving space for the street cars in F street. Prospective guests from the State Department across the street told us afterward that they watched the line from their windows, waiting for an opportunity to enter it.

Cosmopolitan Washington is never more so than on election night. Without any returns of their own, Washingtonians hungrily watch and wait for news from all sections of the country. While results in Delaware were being posted, women were asking, "What do you hear from Kansas?" "What is Illinois doing?" "Have you heard from Maine?"

Every return that came over the wire drew gasps of interest from some member of the crowd and brought forth interpretations, with details of local conditions, as the residents of Washington participated in the only way possible in a national election.

Members of the District of Columbia League were hostesses at the election night party, and Mrs. Catt, Miss Sherwin and Miss Wells were honor guests.—ANN WEBSTER.

A Tri-State Conference

EVERY important subject pertaining to League work found its place on a full program arranged for the tri-state conference held in Berea, Kentucky, on November 11, when the Kentucky, Ohio and West Virginia Leagues joined in a discussion of League problems. It was a large and representative gathering, with the presidents of the three states and several local presidents contributing to the program. As the date conflicted with the date set for the National Board meeting in Washington, Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region, was unable to attend the conference, and conference delegates had to be content with a long-distance greeting.

The morning session was preceded by an Armistice Day celebration with Berea College, at which Mrs. James W. Morrisson, of Chicago, treasurer of the Illinois League and a recognized authority on international affairs, was the speaker. "Relating the National Program to State Use" was the subject of a round-table discussion led by Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, president of the Kentucky League. Mrs. P. W. Poff, director of the West Virginia League, and Miss Agnes Hilton, president of the Cincinnati League, presented their ideas on "Local League Programs."

Organization, finance and the Child Labor Amendment were considered at the afternoon session, with Mrs. G. P. Boomsliet, president of the West Virginia League, as discussion leader. Miss Sybil Burton, president of the Ohio League, discussed "State Organization," while Mrs. E. W. Fickes, president of the Ohio County (West Virginia) League, and Mrs. George T. Settle, president of the Louisville League, handled the subject of "Local Organization." Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, president of the Cleveland League, proved an able discussion leader for the finance session, in which Mrs. E. S. Tachau, finance chairman of the Kentucky League; Mrs. Harold Wales March, vice-president of the Kentucky League, and Miss Grace Peters, finance chairman of the Ohio League, participated.

Miss Hannah Protzman, chairman of the child welfare committee of the Ohio League, was the assigned leader for a discussion on the Child Labor Amendment, and the plans for ratification in these three states were thoroughly considered. The evening meeting, with Mrs. J. W. Raine, president of the Berea League, presiding, was devoted to the World Court. Mrs. Morrisson, who has recently returned from a trip abroad, was the only speaker. Mrs. Morrisson delighted her audience with her observations on foreign affairs and her masterly presentation of the World Court proposal.

The Foreign Affairs School

THE Massachusetts League has accepted the invitation of the Council of Radcliffe College to hold a Second School of Foreign Affairs at Radcliffe, to be in session January 14, 15 and 16, at Agassiz House. Miss Bernice V. Brown, dean of Radcliffe College, is now chairman of the League's American Citizenship Committee, which is charged with the conduct of schools held by the Massachusetts League in cooperation with the colleges of the state. The program will be confined to the factors entering into foreign relations.



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Florence Fifer Bohrer

Women Who Won

IT seems that we were a little headlong in rejoicing over the volume of the vote—since the first impressions have not yet been fully verified, and the estimates range from twenty-five to thirty-two and one-half million, as against about twenty-seven million four years ago. Conclusions must wait on reports of secretaries of state. In a few instances that is the case too with reports of women elected to state senates and legislatures. But all except one state have been definitely heard from, and we venture to print the list, with the understanding that you may have to turn back to this list and add names or make corrections even yet.

We have named 119 women state representatives, and 9 senators, a total of 128. In 1922 we listed 84 women elected to state legislatures, of whom 5 were state senators. We are now putting down each state, though some of course did not elect their legislatures this year, and we have left in also the two governors, the congresswoman, and the secretary of state, who were described at length in the issue of November 15. The state from which no answer can be elicited is New Mexico.

To this list we may add the information that Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford was reelected state superintendent of public instruction in Colorado, and Minnie J. Nielson reelected to that position in North Dakota.

ALABAMA

No election until 1926

ARIZONA

No women elected

ARKANSAS

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Democrat

Erle Chambers, Mrs. Sidney J. Hunt, both reelected; Mrs. Elizabeth H. Thompson

CALIFORNIA

MEMBERS OF STATE ASSEMBLY

No party designation

Cora M. Woodbridge, Anna L. Saylor, Esto B. Broughton, Grace S. Dorris, Eleanor Miller—all reelected

COLORADO

Official count not complete

Minnie Love and Martha Long, reported elected to House of Representatives

World News About Women

CONNECTICUT

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Alice P. Merritt

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Marjory Cheney (endorsed by Democrats also), Corinne R. Alsop, Mary B. Weaver (incumbent), Helen A. Green, Edith Raymond, Clarissa Nevius (incumbent), Helen E. Lewis (incumbent), Annie E. Vinton (incumbent), Mrs. Maud Woodward, Mary M. Hooker, Edna C. Fenniman

No party designation

Hannah D. Townshend, Elizabeth W. Coe, Julia Emery, Sarah B. Crawford, Ethel M. Ryan

DELAWARE

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Florence M. Hanby

FLORIDA

No women elected

GEORGIA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Democrat

Bessie Kempton (incumbent), Mrs. Viola Napier (incumbent)

IDAHO

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Anna Hanson

ILLINOIS

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer

MEMBER OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Republican

Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill (incumbent), Mrs. Katherine Hancock Goode, Mrs. Rena Elrod

INDIANA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Antoinette C. Hagenwald, Elizabeth H. Daugherty

IOWA

No women elected

KANSAS

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. R. H. Trueblood, Mrs. Ben Mickel

KENTUCKY

No women elected

LOUISIANA

No women elected

MAINE

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Katharine C. Allen



Julia M. Alexander

MARYLAND

Legislature not elected this year

MASSACHUSETTS

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

M. Sylvia Donaldson (incumbent); Mrs. Harriet Russell Hart

MICHIGAN

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Cora Reynolds Anderson

MINNESOTA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

No party designation

Mrs. Mabeth Hurd Paige, Hannah Kempfer (both incumbents)

MISSISSIPPI

No election. Miss Belle Kearney was elected to the Senate and Mrs. Nellie N. Somerville to the House in 1923, for four-year terms.

MISSOURI

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Emma Knell

MONTANA

Official canvass not made

NEBRASKA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Clara C. Humphrey, Sarah T. Muir

NEVADA

Mrs. Mabel A. Gillespie

NEVADA

MEMBER STATE ASSEMBLY

No party designation

Daisy Allen, Florence Snazey, Mayme Schwebble

NEW HAMPSHIRE

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Dr. Zatae Straw, Mrs. Arnold S. Yantis (incumbent), Mrs. Hobart Pillsbury, Mrs. Mary Chapman, Mrs. Imogene V. Emmons, Mrs. Marcia S. Hilton, Mrs. Nellie J. Page, Georgie E. Worcester

NEW JERSEY

Mrs. Mary T. Norton

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Margaret H. Barden, Jennie Fortier, Victoria Langlois, Helen J. Young, Virginia P. Lunderville, Katherine Donahue

NEW JERSEY

CONGRESS

Democrat

Mrs. Mary T. Norton

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

May A. Thropp, Mrs. Lila Thompson

(incumbent), Madge I. Ebert
Democrat
Mae Carty, Mrs. C. Finn (both incumbents)

NEW MEXICO

No answer

NEW YORK

SECRETARY OF STATE
Republican

Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp

MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY

Republican

Mrs. Rhoda Fox Graves

NORTH CAROLINA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Democrat

Julia Alexander

(Mrs. Giles Cover, who was listed in the last issue, was shown by final returns to have been defeated)

NORTH DAKOTA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Minnie D. Craig (incumbent), Laura B. Sanderson

OHIO

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Mrs. Nettie B. Loughhead, Mrs. Maude C. Waitt (both incumbents)

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Grace E. Makepeace, Nettie M. Clapp, Mrs. Clara Wood Derr, Mrs. Viola D. Romans, Mrs. May Van Wye, Mrs. Florence H. Wells, Mrs. C. J. Ott, Osa Penny

OKLAHOMA

STATE SENATOR

Democrat

Mrs. Lamar Looney

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Farmer-Labor

Mrs. Anna Laskey (incumbent)

Democrat

Gladys Whittet, Mrs. Ida Lee Robertson

OREGON

Official canvass not made

PENNSYLVANIA

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Mrs. Flora M. Vare

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Lillie H. Pitts, Martha G. Thomas, Helen Grimes, Alice M. Bentley (all incumbents), Maud B. Trescher, Martha M. Pennock

RHODE ISLAND

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Democrat

Isabel Ahearn O'Neill (incumbent)

SOUTH CAROLINA

No women elected

SOUTH DAKOTA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Gladys Pyle (incumbent), Celia M.

Kelley, Christine Olson

Democrat

Mrs. Mabel Moodie

TENNESSEE

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. W. P. Davis

Democrat

Lizzie Lee Miller

TEXAS

GOVERNOR

Democrat

Mrs. Miriam Ferguson

UTAH

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. N. A. Dunyon, Mrs. Julius Smart, Mrs. Arthur E. Graham, Mrs. Achsa E. Paxman*

VERMONT

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mary J. Simpson, Mrs. Ina R. Niles,

Rev. Mabel T. Winch, Mrs. Josie H. Fay, Mrs. Elsie C. Smith, Lillian E. Richardson, Mrs. Annette Dimock, Mrs. Flora B. La Morder, Mrs. Ada S. Barlow, Mrs. John Taylor

Democrat

Mrs. Ella B. Seward

VIRGINIA

No election until 1925

WASHINGTON

STATE SENATOR

Republican

Reba Hurn (holdover)

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Mrs. Belle Reeves, Mrs. Harry John Miller, Mrs. Maude Sweetman (all incumbents)

WEST VIRGINIA

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Republican

Dr. Harriet B. Jones

WISCONSIN

MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY

Republican

Helen M. Brooks, Mildred Barber,

Helen F. Thompson

WYOMING

GOVERNOR

Democrat

Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross

The increase in the number of women elected by no means tells the whole story. The more remarkable thing is that there are so many women of excellent records, either of past service in the legislature or of public service through women's organizations. We shall have more to say about these women, both individually and collectively—often.

* In the last issue we said Mrs. Paxman is president of the Utah League of Women Voters. This should have read past president.

Feminist Progress

TWO constitutional amendments were adopted at the recent election in Massachusetts. One strikes the word "male" out of the qualifications for voters, thus bringing the state constitution into harmony with that of the nation. The other declares women eligible to hold any state, county or municipal office, and further provides that a change of name on the part of a woman who is a Notary Public shall not render her commission void, but she shall register under her new name. Hitherto her marriage has been held to forfeit her commission and to require a reappointment. A law had already been passed making women eligible to state, county and municipal offices, but the amendment clears away any possible doubt as to the constitutionality of the statute. The legislature had submitted both these amendments by a unanimous vote.—

A. S. B.

Catholic Women Meet

THE National Council of Catholic Women, organized in 1920 as a department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, held its Fourth Annual Convention in St. Louis, from November 9 to 12. Two hundred and seventy-seven officially accredited delegates and nearly one thousand members and visitors registered during the four days.

Girls' welfare and the standardization of girls' clubs and boarding homes was one of the principal topics of discussion. An elaborate exhibit of photographs, plans, specifications, sample budgets, etc., of girls' clubs and boarding houses was a popular feature, and had a close rival in the exhibit portraying the work done by the N. C. C. W. among the Mexicans through the establishment of community houses in the Mexican districts of San Antonio, Houston and Austin, Texas.

In order to arouse a greater civic consciousness, the Catholic women's organizations of America were urged to form classes for the study of civic problems and to exercise the right of suffrage for the preservation of the principles sacred to Christian civilization. This work has gained support steadily during the past year, and a formal resolution was adopted at the convention fostering the study club movement. Other resolutions adopted were:

Pledging cooperation with the N. C. W. C. Department of Education in bringing about a better understanding of the Catholic attitude toward education and of Catholic insistence on freedom of education and the preservation of Constitutional parental rights;

Indorsing Parent-Teachers' Associations and Mothers' Clubs;

Protesting against the Cummins-Vaile Birth Control Bill and the Equal Rights Blanket Amendment;

Urging full cooperation in the campaign against narcotic drugs;

Calling upon the heads of the motion-picture industry to give the public clean pictures speedily and upon the Catholic public to exercise "box-office censorship";

Urging special solicitude for the under-advantaged child;

Calling for greater participation in civic and social movements.

Mrs. Michael Gavin, president of the N. C. C. W. since its organization, gave up her office in accordance with the constitution, which states that an officer can serve only two terms consecutively. Miss Florence Loeber, a prominent attorney of New Orleans, Louisiana, formerly treasurer of the N. C. C. W., was elected in her place. Mrs. Gavin was elected first vice-president; Mrs. Arthur Mullen, Omaha, second vice-president; Mrs. John N. Jackson, Seattle, third vice-president; Miss Anna D. Gamble, York, Pennsylvania, secretary, and Mrs. M. B. Daly, Cleveland, treasurer.

AGNES G. REGAN.

Mrs. Michael Gavin, as president of the New York Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, is now directing the Catholic immigration program assigned to that branch of the National Council by Cardinal Hayes about a year ago. This is follow-up work among Catholic immigrants in New York. Through this service, Catholics coming to the country are not only cared for at Ellis Island, but homes and employment are found for them, and information concerning the filing of citizenship papers is given.

An important decoration in recognition of her services while president of the National Council, has just been conferred on Mrs. Gavin by the Pope.

The Lima Conference

THE Second Women's Pan-American Conference will meet in Lima, Peru, December 20—January 7, jointly with the Third Pan-American Scientific Conference. Its full name is the Conference of the Women's Auxiliary Committee to the Third Pan-American Scientific Conference. At the first such conference, which met in Washington in 1915-1916, it was decided that every Scientific Pan-American Conference thereafter should have annexed to it a women's meeting, which should give the women of America an opportunity to become better acquainted and to exchange ideas. The program covers discussion of social service, child welfare, domestic economy, education, Pan-American questions, and women's work, including means for protecting women in industry and improving their working conditions. Among the delegates announced from the United States are: Mrs. Samuel McCune Lindsay, of New

York; Mrs. Glen Levin Swiggett, Washington, D. C.—representing several women's organizations; Miss Amy Woods, formerly National Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in the United States; Miss Annie S. Peck, well-known mountain climber, author and lecturer.

A Tribute

CLUB women of New York paid homage to Mary Garrett Hay at the thirteenth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, November 10-14. She was made honorary president, a not unusual office until you know the history of the New York Federation, and the sentiment that goes into that title. It is this way: Mrs. William Tod Helmuth, founder of the New York Federation, stood on the highest pinnacle in the eyes of the club women. She was president from 1897 to 1900, and after retiring was voted honorary president, the first and only that the Federation has ever had until this last convention. So in bestowing this office by unanimous vote upon Miss Hay, a past president, the women of the Federation paid her the highest tribute at their command.

On the Cause and Cure of War

PREPARATIONS are going forward for the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, called by leading women's organizations none of which is a peace society, to be held in Washington, January 18-24. The Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America (both Protestant), and the National Women's Trade Union League have now joined the six organizations listed in the CITIZEN for October 18.

The officers are: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, general chairman of the conference; Miss Josephine Schain, general secretary; Mrs. Thomas G. Winter—recently president of the General Federation—chairman of the Program Committee; Mrs. George P. Ford, representing the Y. W. C. A., publicity chairman; Mrs. William L. Darby, representing the W. C. T. U., chairman of local arrangements, and Miss Ethel B. Ketcham, of the A.A.U.W., treasurer. The committees on arrangements and program will meet on December 12 to develop their plans.

Countess Karolyi

THE arrival of the Countess Catherine Karolyi, wife of Count Michael Karolyi, former president of Hungary, in this country caused much comment. S. Stanwood Menken, president of the National Security League, tried to have her deported on the ground that she had Bolshevik connections. The American Reception Committee—on which could be found the names of many

prominent women—protested, and the effort very properly failed. The régime of the Count Karolyi was succeeded by that of the Bolshevik, Bela Kun, and the Count and Countess fled to Italy. The Countess is lecturing here on "Hungary and European Peace," "Why I Am An Exile," and "The Last Three Hungarian Revolutions" at the invitation of a committee of American women.

A Line on the Movies

By IRENE THIRER

HE WHO GETS SLAPPED—Here is cinema entertainment of the first water. Victor Seastrom has screened Leonid Andreyev's famous drama with majesty and spiritual as well as technical understanding. The film is excellently cast, with Lon Chaney as "He," the once brilliant scientist turned circus clown because of a horrible catastrophe in his life. Norma Shearer is dainty and pretty as the bareback rider, and John Gilbert makes a dashing, handsome hero. Mr. Chaney is, of course, the most marvelous character actor the screen has to offer. Take the children to see this without fear. They won't understand it, but the circus scenes will amuse them. A Metro-Goldwyn production.

THE LOVER OF CAMILLE—Another clown picture—this adapted from Sacha Guitry's play "Deburau," and produced with great skill for the screen. It's a story of the Paris theatre and of an actor who believes that love is everything in life. Monte Blue does a fine piece of acting as the title-rôleist, and Marie Prevost makes a charming Camille—the lady of the camellias. Willard Louis and Pierre Gendron have small but effective rôles. This picture will have absolutely no appeal for the youngsters. A Warner Brothers production, directed by Harry Beaumont.

THE ONLY WOMAN—Norma Talmadge's newest screen vehicle serves as a fashion plate and nothing more. Truly, Norma's gowns are exquisite and she is lovely to look upon. But the story is hackneyed—that one about the good woman who reforms the inveterate drunkard—and Sidney Olcott's direction does not do justice to his former presentations. Neither Miss Talmadge nor Eugene O'Brien, her leading man, does any acting to be talked about. A First National production from the story by C. Gardner Sullivan.

THE GREATEST LOVE OF ALL—We shouldn't advise you or the children to miss George Beban's half-movie half-play when it comes to your neighborhood theatre. Mr. Beban's newest effort, concerning the tribulations and the joys of some Italian folk living in the lower East Side, is mighty amusing and a bit heart-rending. The cast of twenty-four principals tour the movie theatres with Mr. Beban to appear with him in the

"speakies" episode. Written, directed and produced by George Beban.

WORLDLY GOODS—Pretty good movie stuff! Agnes Ayres—comelier than ever—Pat O'Malley, the leads, and Sophie Kerr, who wrote the story, help to make it such. The tale tells of a blah-blah idler whose incessant talk gets him nowhere at all—until! One of the picture's best features is its clever subtitles, which are humorous to a degree of excellence. A Famous Players production, directed by Paul Bern.

THE GARDEN OF WEEDS—When James Cruze and Betty Compton—she's his wife now—get together on a movie it's bound to meet with the approval of the silver sheet audience. "The Garden of Weeds" is no exception. Mr. and Mrs. Cruze—Betty's the heroine—worked in consistent harmony and made an interesting, subtle production out of that stereotyped theme concerning the chorus girl who strays from the straight and narrow path, meets up with love and finally finds her way back to the road. Rockliffe Fellowes shares honors with Betty Compton. A Famous Players production, directed by James Cruze.

Help for Homemakers

(Continued from page 11)

been appointed; but Mrs. Edith Elmer Wood, head of the Housing Division of the American Association of University Women, will assist in starting the work. Three bulletins on housing are in preparation and others will shortly follow.

Reports from this division will also be based on widespread inquiries into the housing situation. Statistics will be collected showing just what standard of housing prevails for various sections of the population and what the homebuilder should expect in materials and labor, in relation to his income.

The Division of Food and Nutrition, whose studies are a continuation of those carried on in years past under the States Relations Service, has prepared a number of bulletins valuable to anyone who has charge of preparing food for others, whether in a large sanitarium or a two-room flat. The most significant project launched by this division is a study of diet for diabetics, the increasing use of insulin having emphasized the importance of diet in treating this disease. With the cooperation of the United States Public Health Service, a report on this study will be forthcoming in the near future.

If you visit the Bureau when you are in Washington, you will find there a group of hard-working young women, almost annoyingly modest about their own accomplishments, but very much in love with their jobs. And you will see the important beginnings of a project to put the American home on a sound social and economic basis.

Social Hygiene—A Public Problem

By Gulielma F. Alsop

College Physician at Barnard

STUDY of the modern science of biology has done much to dispel some of the stigma that has always surrounded the question of social hygiene.

Ever since the Middle Ages, when syphilis was introduced into Europe, either from sailors returning with Christopher Columbus or from returning Crusaders, the question of venereal disease has been handled in secret. Practically no headway was made against it until very recently, when the growing consensus made it possible to fight this great modern plague in the open.

At the beginning of the twentieth century science had discovered the necessary facts about the spread and propagation of syphilis, but these facts became of nation-wide importance only when, during the Great War, so many soldiers were rendered both useless as fighters and burdens as patients through venereal diseases. The United States army then equipped itself to fight syphilis and gonorrhoea. It enlisted the help of the whole nation, even calling upon Congress for an appropriation of money. But even earlier, in 1912, the Board of Health of New York City had determined to treat venereal disease as any other communicable and preventable infection, believing that only by using all the available means of promoting community health could these plagues be checked.

In order to gain the cooperation of all individuals suffering from one or more of these diseases, the emphasis was laid upon their prevention and cure rather than upon their moral side. But all disease has a moral side. Tuberculosis is a disease of poor living. The careless happiness of the well suggests the outworn remark of the anti-suffragist who said she didn't care whether she voted or not, her men gave her all she wanted. And if tuberculosis exists because of our carelessness about the other fellow-woman—about her wages and hours—so also does venereal disease exist because of the general indifference of a vast mass of the healthy population.

This pleasant indifference is the individual's crime—it may be against a son or daughter; it surely is against a great mass of our population and of the next generation. No one has the right to ignore the question of social hygiene. No one has the right to remain uninformed.

The reports of the Surgeon General of the army during the war state that no disclosures were more startling than those showing the devastation wrought by the venereal diseases upon the health

and efficiency of the soldiers. From April, 1917, to September, 1918, the loss to the army represented 2,295,000 days of service, five out of every six of these cases having been acquired in civil life.

Syphilis is a slow, insidious, chronic disease whose effects, if untreated, are extremely disastrous. It is the cause, in the individual acquiring it, of paralysis, of optic neuritis and iritis, often leading to blindness; of locomotor ataxia and general paresis. Twenty per cent of the insane in the New York insane asylums are cases of syphilitic insanity. (See Park's "Public Health and Hygiene.") Besides these disasters to the individual acquiring it, syphilis is the great destroyer of the next generation. Still births are three times as frequent among syphilitic women as among the non-syphilitic. Even worse than its destructive effect is its maiming and crippling of the next generation. Deafness, interstitial keratitis, with great impairment of vision, and lastly mental deficiency are the results of inherited syphilis. The whole appalling problem of the moron class, of the insane, is therefore closely related with the presence of syphilis in a community. Besides these well-known syphilitic effects are all those more subtle defects of nerve plasm inherited to the third and fourth generation, causing whole families of neurasthenics to live miserable lives.

The second venereal plague, gonorrhoea, is not quite so disastrous in its effects upon either the individual or upon the next generation. Upon adult women its most frequent effect is sterility and mutilation from necessary operations; upon babies, blindness. The infantile blindness, due to catching the gonorrhoea infection from the mother at birth, can be prevented by the proper care of the infant's eyes at delivery. This care is now required by law.

Not until the general public, and especially the intelligent public, realizes that these two great plagues of modern times are both preventable and curable diseases, will it demand to be freed from their continual menace. Their eradication is a problem in which every parent, every teacher, every doctor, every legislator must have a hand. It is useless to enact laws in advance of public opinion. The problem of the medical profession is the problem of prevention and cure. It is equipped with the means for both, but it remains for the public to avail itself of the help at hand.

In the next number Dr. Alsop will discuss the means for control of social disease.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

make a serious mistake," he said, "if it waits that long. To legislate as close to the election returns as possible is always the best politics."

President Coolidge within a few days after election started the machinery for the comprehensive investigation to be made by the Agricultural Commission appointed by him, which has for its aim the delineation of a program restoring agriculture to economic equality with other industries. The commission has held its first meeting in the Department of Agriculture and plans to study the whole farm question, including relief legislation, present laws and scientific education of the farmer. The President appointed a committee of nine and has given it a free hand. He was anxious to have the commission begin work soon after the adjournment of the last session of Congress, but was persuaded by political advisers that that course would be unwise as it might be interpreted as having political connotation.

Interwoven in this farm situation is the mobilization of sentiment throughout the agricultural regions of the country during the last six months against the Child Labor Amendment, which is now before the legislatures for ratification or refusal. Although the American Federation of Labor is asking for the adoption of the amendment, there is also considerable labor sentiment against it.

Moreover, in a word, the national situation is none too assuring. Five states in the Union already have acted and out of these only one, Arkansas, has voted for the amendment. Massachusetts in an astonishing vote last week defeated ratification by more than 400,000. Louisiana, North Carolina and Georgia have declined. Refusals need only total thirteen to defeat the amendment, as three-fourths of the states (thirty-six) must ratify to make it constitutional. Whatever heavy artillery there is in this movement will have to be brought to bear at once. The arguments that are being brought to bear by propagandists among the farmers against the Child Labor Amendment are arguments understood without explanation; to wit, that farm wives prefer to mother their children instead of submitting them to a Congressional mother. This is simple language, but it is the kind that wins, and too technical explanations in refutation gain little headway.

Washington has been full during the fortnight. Your correspondent can only mention an impressive and spiritual ceremony held before the tomb of Woodrow Wilson in the National Cathedral here on Armistice Day, participated in by those who year after year have trudged to his door on S street and been received in his characteristically simple fashion.

The daily bulletins from Mrs. Harding's* sick room are being received with great sympathy. She has been one of Mrs. Coolidge's good friends from the first day of the incumbency of Mr. Coolidge as Vice-President. Moreover, while Mrs. Harding was a Senator's wife she established a neighborhood of friendships here which have steadfastly stood by her. There is a feeling permeating Washington concerning the White House—that it asks too much from a purely personal standpoint. If there were no other aspect of the proposition for a reorganization of the government departments than that it should relieve the presidency of some of its physical drains, it would be a compelling problem. Certainly the White House has been the scene of more sadness during the last year or so than is usually allotted to one household.

The President is being urged to revive the more elaborate ceremonies of inauguration, including the inaugural ball of former years, but in view of his extraordinarily simple tastes and his overpowering desire to go to bed at ten o'clock and take his recreation in a simple walk down by the river back of the White House, it hardly seems probable that he will accede to these demands, which come principally from those more or less materially interested.

Conspiracy vs. Conspiracy

(Continued from page 13)

Jewish bankers in New York; yet, when the barnstormers decry Wall Street, they use the name of J. Pierpont Morgan. There are great Jewish fortunes and interests in the United States, but when the list of vast fortunes is scanned, it is the name of Rockefeller that is at the head and a hint is given that Ford will yet displace him. One runs down the list of the "big rich" quite a way before a Jewish name is quoted.

One truth is that the possession of much wealth creates jealousy and distrust in all times and places. No proof of that fact is needed; everybody knows it. It would seem to have helped on this discovery of Jewish world control. A second truth is that there are five religions praying to the same God and drawing their proof of his existence from the Scripture known as the Old Testament: The Greek Catholic; the Roman Catholic; the Protestant, who accepts the Old Testament and also the New Testament with its story of the Christ; the Mohammedan, who repudiates the Christ and accepts the Old Testament but believes in a different miraculous agent of God—Mohammed, his Prophet; Jews, who claim the Old Testament as the religious record of their people, repudiate the stories of the Christ and of Mohammed. These faiths, wor-

shipping the same God, have, each at different times, believed they could and would convert the rest of the world to accept their faith and to believe that they had some special messages from their common God that the rest did not have. Doubtless, at all times, even now, there have been some of each faith who still believe their religion can and will be universally accepted. To those who so believe, their faith seems so infallibly right that they think the world must, in time, espouse it. In the suspicion and the jealousy such conditions arouse any story is possible.

In the hideous pictures of big, wicked hobgoblins "gittin' us" when and if we are not "watchin' out", there is a curious revival of religious prejudice of middle-age flavor. Although the alleged Jewish control of international banking, the great newspapers, the theatres, the movies, the clothing trades, the food trades, etc., is the evidence put forward to demonstrate that the Jews are gaining control of the world, just as the Protocols predicted they would, the thread of religious fear runs through the entire story. The Protocols make much of the final compulsion of the world to accept the Jewish faith and those who believe the Protocols as prediction of what is actually going on, continually emphasize the fear of the overthrow of the Christian religion. A little jealousy of the sometimes boastful dominant Jew of wealth, a little racial antagonism and a quantity of very old-time bigotry, seem to compose the soil out of which this scare grew.

The anti-Catholic uprising is chiefly based on the fear of Catholic encroachment on Protestant rights and even the fear of the Reds is strangely interwoven with the belief that religion will be outlawed wherever they gain a foothold. Here Protestant and Catholic share a common fear.

There is one obvious fact that none of the fear propagandists appears to have noted, and that is that "liberal thought", "higher criticism", "skepticism", the adjustment of the findings of science with the "written word" have been steadily tearing at the orthodoxy of Catholic, Jew and Protestant alike for the past half century, with the result that priests, rabbis and clergy have cried out in loud lament over the falling off of their members. That they have good reason for alarm, a slight investigation among one's acquaintances will suffice to prove.

Should a group of Jews attempt to impose a super state upon the world, the strategic leaders of the defense will be Jews in any or all lands whose unquestioned faith in democracy will tolerate no violation of the principle of liberty. Should the Jewish faith be imposed on others, Jewish skeptics will lead the defense. As in Hungary, when Bela Kun, Jew, was attempting to bring the country under Bolshevism his Jewish allies

* Died November 21.

pronounced the struggle to be one between the young and the old Jews, so may we safely rely upon faithful old Jews everywhere to save the world from any of their faith with paranoiac notions of world supremacy. So, also, should any groups of Catholics, at any time, strive to impose their religious or political control upon us, we may rely upon Catholic democrats and Catholic skeptics to protect us.

Indeed, what seems chiefly wrong at this time is to be found among those Protestants who have clearly lost their heads. To them this world is "hanted" with conspiracies and super states. The disturbed state of the public mind and the fog that conceals the truth is emanating from that camp—a little group of timid, bigoted, scared Protestants, who see bogey-men in the dark. These bogeys are queer fellows: they wear the red robes of the cardinal with golden crosses upon their breasts; they hide under their capes big Jewish money bags and carry in one hand the red flag of the Bolshevik and in the other "made in America" guns. The bogey-men steal along in the dark with the cautious soft step of the bandit. They were born in diseased imagination, nurtured in the bias of unbalanced minds, and the fear of them is being preached to scared, intolerant thousands.

Out of this imagined trinity of conspiracies and super states, together with the gossip out of which their structure was built, came, it is alleged, the rejection of the League of Nations by the United States Senate, and certainly the misrepresentation of its objects and conduct, the abuse heaped upon believers in the decency of substituting law for murder, the misinformation supplied to the War Department and its military auxiliaries, the propaganda misleading and unfounded, published, advertised and sold by certain societies and commercial groups. Here is the story in a nutshell. Names and addresses need not be given—what is the use?—the promulgators are poor, little, scared men and women—that's all.

The great factor which looms huge and clear to this investigator after a two years' search, is that there is no shred of reliable, unanswerable evidence in support of any one of the three chief alleged conspiracies, nor of the thousand little ones out of which the big ones are built. On the other hand, a book, just as bloodcurdling as any one of those put out to prove any one of the other alleged conspiracies and much more logical and well-adorned with illustration, could be written to prove a Protestant conspiracy to establish full-fledged militarism in America, under Christianity, determined to destroy the right of free speech, free press, free assemblage and freedom of religious worship. Yes, imagine yourself a Jew, or a Catholic, and do you not

see that a book on the Great Protestant Conspiracy would scare you into as senseless a state of mind as these other books have produced among certain Protestants?

Now, there is no Protestant conspiracy, no Jewish, no Catholic and no Red conspiracy big enough to affright a sensible nation. No American mili-

tarism is threatened. What we have is a bogey conspiracy vs. bogey conspiracy and a lot of irresponsible frightened gossips on both sides. When reduced to bare bones, it is bigotry vs. bigotry, or bigots vs. bigots. Once this proud land talked of liberty and opportunity for all—now it talks of fear. Pooh, America, who's afraid?

The Bookshelf



By
M. A.

AFTER the work for elections is over, and before the work for Christmas begins, there is a short, very short breathing space in which to turn to fiction for a mental rest. And for most of us restful fiction means story. We may appreciate the nuances of delicate characterization and admire the

charms of exceptional description, but when we are tired we revert to childhood and demand a story.

"*The Green Bay Tree*," by Louis Bromfield, fills just that need. It is the story of everyone and everything within its pages, of Shane's Castle and how it fell, of Lily Shane and how she eluded the town and tried out life in France to suit herself, of her sister Irene, and how she was pursued by the instincts she tried to escape, of Krylenko, the labor leader, of the Town itself, how it became prosperous, and what that cost. The pages are crowded with people who live and move and feel. Outside of old Julia Shane and young Ellen, not many of them do much thinking, and in that, as in other things, Mr. Bromfield has kept to the realities. One suspects that the book is too facile, that it is too definitely a book of the moment to last. But in the moment it is a corking tale.

So is John Masefield's "*Sard Harker*," though in a very different way. A hard, unvarnished adventure story of a Caribbean country where devil worship still claims its devotees and its victims, it has nearly all the faults. The plot is of such an age that Lilith probably told it to Adam before Eve arrived. The girl of Sard's dreams is a bisque doll with a moment of bravery. The minor characters speak translated Spanish, English, cockney and an Englishman's version of American slang with very little reference to their color or nationality. One doubts that the author ever saw his plot as a whole thing, so engrossed was he in writing of physical and mental endurance. When he falls into his familiar easy poetry it is perfectly evident that prose is an awkward vehicle. Yet with all those faults the book holds by sheer strength. It is the work of a fine mind deeply interested in its subject, and you can't get away from it when you once start to read.

"*The Fire in the Flint*" is story, too, with an emotional quality of truth that conceals its inevitable propaganda. Written by a Negro, Walter F. White, it tells of young Kenneth Harper, Negro graduate of Harvard, medical officer in the army and able physician, and of how he went back to his home in Georgia



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"WHEN you have a garden, you have a future," said Frances Hodgson Burnett, looking out on her own a little while before her death. It was because of a nature that could find a future in a garden, could see romance in the humdrum world, that Mrs. Burnett won so warm a place in the hearts of her readers. She was a natural born story-teller. Even as a little girl she was in demand to entertain her schoolmates with the romance she thought up, and actual writing—actual publishing—began when she was in her teens. Born in England in comfort, she was brought to America—a young girl—during the Civil War, when her family's fortunes had failed. It was then Frances Eliza Hodgson began her long career of writing stories and books that always sold. It is too long a list for any one to remember, but every one recalls half a dozen romances, beginning with "*Little Lord Fauntleroy*" and ending with "*Robin*"—all richly and absorbingly human.

determined to spend his life in helping his people. In spite of his efforts to keep out of racial clashes, he is persecuted by the "crackers" and hunted by the Klan. The end of the story is smashing tragedy, told with a power which makes its horror ring in one's memory. Mr. White's discussion of the problems of the South is honest and intelligent, and the fact that its bias is Negro makes it that much more interesting in comparison with books about the South which have a white bias. His descriptions of Klan meetings recall Frank Tannenbaum's careful analysis of the psychology which underlies the Klan's success. The portrait of old Judge Stevenson is very fine, and one wonders how many Judge Stevensons there are to appreciate the book. Certainly many Southerners will see red when it is mentioned.

Four long short stories form the content of Sidney Howard's "*Three Flights Up*." They differ widely in manner as well as in subject, and they form an interesting group of the varied studies a young author may make. But they are much more than that. They are original and alive, and at least two of them, "A Likeness of Elizabeth" and "The God They Left Behind Them," contain characters which stick in one's memory like old friends. Mr. Howard is gaining considerable fame as the author of plays which are appearing on Broadway. He is young and obviously talented, and his work is worth watching.

The Green Bay Tree, Stokes, 1924. \$2.00.
Sard Harker, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.50.
The Fire in the Flint, Knopf, 1924. \$2.50.
Three Flights Up, Scribner, 1924. \$2.00.



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GRACE DODGE HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Massachusetts—"No"

(Continued from page 15)

greatest menace that had ever threatened the American home.

The National Child Labor Amendment can probably secure the endorsement of three-fourths of the states, without Massachusetts; but the outcome of the popular vote in this state is a striking object lesson on "the private control of public opinion." It shows how a small group with much money and no scruples can put over a tremendous publicity campaign of misrepresentation, and can deceive a majority of the public with absolutely baseless propaganda.

Lloyd George, commenting on the Tory victory in England, said that the Liberals must improve their methods of broadcasting; that they had fought their battle with bows and arrows. The friends of the Child Labor Amendment in Massachusetts were as completely out-matched as if they had been fighting with bows and arrows against machine guns and poison gas. There can be no fair contest where one side has very little money, and the other has funds enough to circularize individual voters by the hundred thousand, to control most of the newspapers, and to use radio, handbills, and advertising on a great scale. This is why Senator Wadsworth and the *Woman Patriot* and all that group are trying to change the United States Constitution so that future amendments must be ratified in three-fourths of the states by a popular vote instead of by the legislatures. Even in dealing with a legislature, the side with the longer purse has a great advantage; but the other side can get its arguments before the legislators, whereas under present large-scale publicity methods it cannot get its arguments over to the mass of the voters in competition with a largely-financed campaign in opposition.

With the Aid of Nathaniel

(Continued from page 12)

well, just everyone—Italian, colored, Catholic priests, anyone who might help. One day when visiting a colored minister in the most congested part of the city, upon coming out of the house I saw a crowd of dirty little children gathered around my own, and was just in time to hear Nathaniel say to them in our own best platform manner: "You know, my mother is going to get you playgrounds, and you want playgrounds, and so you go home now and tell your mother to go and vote for them." One of the dark-brown kiddies asked in a tiny voice, "Z' I goin' to have them playgrounds too?" Nathaniel drew in a bit from his perilous position, half out of the car window, and said, "Well, I don't know, but you tell your mother to vote for them, and maybe you'll get

'em." We there and then assured the youngster who had spoken and the other dark-hued ones that they would have the playgrounds just as much as all the other boys and girls, and they waved us a beaming good-bye.

By the fifteenth of October our campaign was well under way, and we had a large city-wide committee. We were reaching organizations with speakers at every possible meeting, we had the support of the churches, almost without exception, we had the endorsement, however reluctantly given, of the Board of Education, and we had the most remarkable publicity in our local newspaper.

One Saturday a headline in the *Argus* gave us some heavy hours. It read: "South Side Tax-Payers Association Denounces Recreation Measure"—that was news and had to be printed. The article said that every one of the hundred members had pledged himself to vote "No." We countered this attack by getting the unanimous endorsement of the board of directors of the East Side Tax-Payers Association, and it was printed in the same type as the former item. So that was that, and we hoped for the best.

Meantime, Nathaniel watched each evening in the local paper for "Rekerashun" news, and when the campaign opened and fine big articles would appear night after night, his enthusiasm knew no bounds, and the sight of his mother's name would bring exclamations of joy and "Can't I help with the 'Rekerashun,' mother?" So he was put to cutting out news, and each morning in the most serious manner he would take the scissors and ever so carefully, tongue gripped between his teeth, clip the news of our campaign, and tack the clippings up with the collection of former days' work on the wall of campaign headquarters, which was his daddy's office, confiscated for the time.

Our big moment came when the major candidates for governor spoke in Mt. Vernon to big audiences, and both, at our request, spoke enthusiastically for the Playground-Recreation measure and urged the people to vote "Yes." The fact that this was not a political issue, and that it had been so definitely endorsed by the torch-bearers of each party, gave us for the first time the premonition that perhaps we were going to win after all.

So we came to the last week. The Playground-Recreation Association sent us a field worker, they sent us dodgers, and pamphlets, and trailers for the moving picture houses, which were run every night for the week before election. They sent us prepared publicity from which to pattern ours. We raised a little money, the Rotary Club and the Lions Club each gave us twenty-five dollars, and so we had dodgers printed to go out through the hands of every school child, and badges for our election-day

workers. The Boy Scouts helped us get out some five thousand pamphlets throughout the city, and ten thousand more would go to the homes of school children.

But how about the many homes where there were no children?

Well, little Nathaniel loves maps, and his room is covered with them—big maps, little maps, and every kind of map—and not the least of these maps in Nathaniel's room is one of Mt. Vernon, small, but showing the streets quite clearly. Nathaniel himself suggested that he could take the remaining dodgers around the neighborhood to houses where there were no children, and so, only half seriously, consent was given. Off he started, the day before election, early in the morning. In one hand were the dodgers, and in the other was the map of Mt. Vernon taken off his wall. Through the busy day it was only vaguely that we heard—"More dodgers for Nathaniel," saw him trudge off with the gleam of the Crusader in his eyes—again, "more dodgers for Nathaniel." That night, when he showed us on his map where he had been, we found to our amazement he had covered half the city, house to house, with our dodgers.

November 4 dawned, a perfect autumn day, and from six in the morning to six at night, we covered the thirty-five polling places of the city—women and their loyal sons and daughters working through the long day. Tired and weary, our task done, we waited for the returns to come in.

And what they told was that Mt. Vernon had voted on Proposition No. 2—6,386, yes; 1,734, no—a 5,500 majority.

A Pioneer

(Continued from page 9)

that the consuming power of the country, if properly organized, could be made a great force for the abolition of child labor, too long hours, and starvation wages. She came to New York to be Secretary of the League.

"I think Illinois was glad to see me go," she said reflectively. "I had made a great deal of trouble there. I used to take cases of violation of the factory act to the District Attorney. He was scared. 'You ask me to prosecute this small frame-gilder,' he said indignantly. 'How can I tell but that next week you'll be asking me to prosecute Marshall Field? I won't do it.' So, being a member of the bar, I took my own cases to court."

When Mrs. Kelley came to the Consumers' League, children of any age could work at any job, no matter how dangerous, as long as their growing bodies could stand it. Women, thanks to the decision which nullified the first eight-hours law of Illinois, could not be "deprived of their right to contract to work as they and their employers can

agree." That is, they had the precious privilege of working unnumbered hours at starvation wages.

The Consumers' League hoped to "awaken responsibility for conditions under which goods were made and distributed, and through investigation, education, and legislation to mobilize public opinion in behalf of enlightened standards for workers and honest products everywhere."

Under Mrs. Kelley's dynamic guidance the work of the League has grown until there are branches in sixteen states and in several large cities. All the states except Alabama, Florida, Iowa and West Virginia have, within the past twenty-five years, put some limit on the hours women may be required to work. Nine states are still enforcing minimum wage laws. The labor of children has been regulated in many of the more progressive states, and after two Federal child labor laws passed by the Congress of the United States were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, a child labor amendment to the Constitution has been passed by Congress and now awaits ratification by the states.

Work for social legislation has not occupied all of Mrs. Kelley's time. When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded, she joined it; and as its founder, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, said at the dinner, "She tried to know the Negro problem as the Negroes know it. She has worked with us, not for us." During the long years of the suffrage fight she was a constant and valuable worker, writing and speaking for it all over the country. In addition to her regular duties, she accepted in 1917 the

secretaryship of the Board of Control of Labor Standards for Army Clothing. She has written books which are classics in the field of social and industrial economics. Her literary style, like her speech, is a swift pounding home of facts, a piling up of evidence so vivid that it must convince even the most prejudiced.

It sounds like a full and satisfactory lifetime of work, and if it were any one but Mrs. Kelley, she might be expected to draw a long breath and sit back on her laurels. But not "F. K."

Between the Child Labor Amendment, which must be ratified by three-fourths of the states before it becomes part of the Constitution, the attacks on the minimum wage laws which must be met, the eight-hour day which must be spread to other states and industries, and the threat of the blanket amendment, her work is mapped out for her for some time to come.

"The thing people can't seem to understand about the Child Labor Amendment is that it is merely an enabling act, allowing Congress to pass legislation which shall be constitutional. The decisions of the Supreme Court on the previous acts left no other course of action possible. Fortunately, opposition to the amendment can do no more than postpone its passage. Arkansas has ratified, and it hangs pending until thirty-five other states do likewise. A state which has ratified can't change its mind and unratify. But a state that acts in darkness can see the error of its ways, repent and ratify at any time.

"It isn't a pleasant prospect to have to wait, and we are hoping that Massachusetts' adverse referendum was an isolated instance and not an indication of

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what will happen in the legislatures which are to meet next year. Each year that ratification is lacking, children suffer who might be spared.

"As for the minimum wage laws, you see the trouble is that the decision of the justices who declared the District of Columbia law unconstitutional, ranged so far afield that it endangered the laws of individual states. And now there are cases up in California, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Kansas to test the validity of their respective laws. The League prepared a brief in defence of the District of Columbia law, and has supplied data in defence of the laws of the separate states.

"Agitation for the blanket amendment seems quiet for the present. The Woman's Party, which is sponsoring it, failed to appear at a hearing in Congress when they could have had it, and

they are bending their energies toward breaking down existing state statutes intended to provide health and safety for working women. Their claim is that women should not have them until men choose to demand them for themselves. It is a strange reversal of the Equal Rights principle, for it actually creates a new subjection of women to men in industry. It puts the fighting strength of the would-be forward-looking Woman's Party shoulder to shoulder with the reactionary forces which are trying to nullify the social legislation of the last thirty years. It is a most curious paradox."

It is difficult to get any clear picture of Mrs. Kelley outside of the work for which she has spent her life. All her interests, her trends of thought, her turns of mind, are social, and as one of her friends said, "She is what she is interested in."

This means that there is always a fine impersonality in her conversation, and a desire that her private life, her vaca-

tions and her friends, be "not played up." Yet a gleam of pride shone through the casual mention of sons and grandsons, and a twelve-year-old granddaughter who is "a most socially minded child."

Two things about her give the stranger a clue to her quality of humanness and to her success. The first is that fine humor which lurks in her eyes, and in the turned-up corners of her firmly set, generous mouth. The second is her surprising voice. It has strength combined with unusual range, so that she has been heard to talk over the 'phone in a light, singing tone, and turn away to lay down the law to a mistaken person at her side in a voice that must have made many a reactionary employer cringe. And in between is a low, confident tone that thinks out loud with clarity and vigor. It is her voice which carries the confirmation of Newton Baker's description of her—"a deeply philosophic temperament, and a fighting arm."

With Our Readers

The two letters that follow don't answer each other perfectly, but they furnished an interesting contrast, coming in at about the same time.

I AM returning to you your postal card unsigned. I am not interested in women under forty who are married and live their days in office. I am a *very old-fashioned woman*. I believe that women were sent into this world to have children and to take care of them and make a happy home for them and for her husband. That to me is her highest office. A woman may be everything that is charming, and leave her children to maids and teachers and she loses all interest for me. O, yes, I know just what you are thinking, but don't be too sure you are right, either about me or the women who are emancipated. I am not criticizing your magazine, far from it. But your circular was just a bit too sure that all women think as you or your magazine does. When you can tell me how many mothers [words omitted: Meaning among our readers?] whose joy is in their homes, husband and children, whose greatest joy is in making of their children, the most cultured, courteous, patriotic, with a reverence for those in authority, those who are elderly, in fine a nation of happy healthy, homey families (movies eliminated), then I shall be interested in your magazine.

The second is a personal note from a former suffrage worker.

YOU should know that I have twins; two years old and another child four years! And they used to tell me that women would not have children if they got the vote! Another exploded argument.

I WAS very glad to read your article "The Sugar Tariff" in a recent issue. It is indeed a question women should study.

You say, "On one side, favoring the high tariff, are the forty thousand beet-sugar growers of the West." I am sure that

number can be, or is, greatly reduced, and the ones who favor the high tariff are the sugar trust, its agents and a few misinformed growers who are led by politics through some organizations to believe that the sugar industry could not live without this high tariff. (It might better die then, if it has to thrive to make a few rich at a sacrifice to many.) The beet growers are not reaping any benefits from it, and many hundreds have lost their homes the past few years or are renters on land they once owned. When the grower and his children (and, in many cases, his wife) do the work, returns are fairly good, but when he pays for hired help in addition to paying taxes, rent and other expenses, there is nothing left. Yet many people who are dissatisfied with returns are raising beets because they cannot get enough money each spring to buy other kinds of seed. The beet companies advance seed and will advance money for labor if necessary.

Many women and children work in the beet fields several hours each day to hoe, thin and top them.

The sugar-beet growers are *not* protected, and the trusts would be amply protected by a much lower tariff.

I hope other farmers will see your article and write you as to real conditions here.

ELIZA BUCKLAND.

Thornton, Idaho.

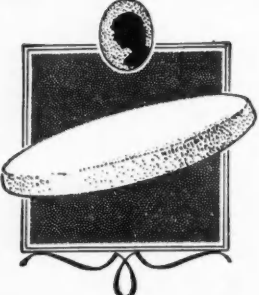
P. S.—"The Lie Factory," by Carrie Chapman Catt, is splendid. We need more such brave women as she.

We hand ourselves this bouquet:

I CONTINUE to enjoy every issue of the CITIZEN and appreciate the great discrimination your office shows in going through the great mass of political material available and your discernment in the selection of the important facts with which we should be familiar.

Spartanburg, S. C.

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Your Need—Information

FOR some issues past, our Heart-to-Heart has been shut out from this page by political advertising, but during that time we have never paused in working for our goal—the 40,000 subscribers needed to make the Woman Citizen self-supporting. The result of our work, yours and ours, is seen in the big list of contributors to the Woman Citizen's Educational Extension Fund and in the subscription drives which you are now beginning to report to us.

There seems to be something about reading the Woman Citizen that makes women feel neighborly. The nicest story has just come to us of how a far-western woman, a stranger in New York, made a warm friendship with a New York City woman through the Woman Citizen. The stranger was riding on top of a Fifth Avenue bus, when she recognized the bright cover of the Citizen, which a pleasant looking woman across the aisle was reading. Feeling sure that this was a safe introduction, she leaned over and said, "I take the Woman Citizen at home, too, and I feel I can trust anyone who likes it." And she asked for some information about the city, which she needed. She met with a very friendly response, and the incident did not end there, but has led to a real friendship between the two—the stranger from Oklahoma and a very delightful New York City business woman.

The recent presidential campaign has shown more than ever the need of a medium like the Woman Citizen, which tries to present the news and issues fairly and in a simple, understandable manner. Many a woman cast her ballot on election day realizing that she knew very little of what it was all about. Tell her now about the Woman Citizen, and get her subscription!

It is difficult to get the information the Citizen gives anywhere else. To get a well-rounded view of political questions from the newspapers, one has to read several different papers. Most magazines go to press several months before the date of issue and so cannot give fresh news. The Woman Citizen has an advantage in going to press only two days before it is in the mail. It fills a real need in helping women to keep up with public affairs and to have intelligent opinions of their own.

There is only one month left in 1924. Let us make it count tremendously in increasing the subscription list of The Woman Citizen and putting it on a stable foundation. We want to end the year with our goal at least in sight. How much will you help?

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